AMERICAN POP

Popular Culture Decade By Decade
Volume 1, 2, 3 and 4

Bob Batchelor

Greenwood
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American Pop

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American Pop

Popular Culture Decade by Decade

VOLUME 1
1900–1929

Edited by Bob Batchelor



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Foreword: Popular Culture's Roots Run Deep

Ray B. Browne

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Although *American Pop* focuses on popular culture as it developed in the twentieth century, it is critical that readers understand that most of these topics did not spring to life without roots running deep into the nation's past. In today's fast-paced, computer-dominated society, it is easy to forget history and innovation because so much of American idealism is based on looking toward the bright future. We are a nation obsessed with the idea that better days are on the horizon.

What one discovers when examining the development of culture over the course of the twentieth century is that each innovation builds off a predecessor. America has always had a popular culture, although what that means might change with each new technological breakthrough, national craze, or demographic shift. And, while defining culture is not an easy task, it can be seen as a kind of living entity. Similar to a growing garden, culture is the gatherings of community beliefs and behaviors, which depends on its roots for sustenance. As the plants grow both individually and collectively, they develop and influence the surrounding societies.

People in Colonial America, for example, had their cultural roots deeply implanted from the cultures of the lands from which they emigrated, but every people or group of individuals must harmonize the old with the new in order to justify one's culture. The unifying themes that emerged from the development of a new national culture enabled people to make sense of the world and their relationship to it. American colonists, therefore, adjusted to the old-world cultures of the people who were already settling the nation, while at the same time creating a new popular culture based on their lives as members of the new country.

The harmonization of the new with the old might be called *folk-pop* or *pop-folk* because the result led to a new everyday culture. This evolution is a neverending process in which the new is blended with the old and a new is born. Human nature demands cultural and individual cooperation for safety and advancement, which it achieves in various ways. Inventions and discoveries, for example, are not as helpful in shaping cultures as are innovation and dissemination of those inventions and discoveries. Culture must speak to its constituencies in their vernacular before it can be understood and

fully appreciated. Cultures both lead and follow cultural politics, policies, and social movements.

The fields of entertainment from which the colonists could draw were rich: traveling acrobats, jugglers, circuses of various kinds, animal shows, "magic lantern" shows, group or individual singers, Black "Olios" (one-act specialities), drinking houses, card games, and other group activities.

In the conventional forms of culture development certain figures stand tall. Benjamin Franklin, after his move to Philadelphia, contributed in various ways through his writings in *Poor Richard's Almanac* (1732–1757) and others. He stated that his highest admiration was for "the people of this province . . . chiefly industrious farmers, artificers [skilled craftsmen] or men in trade [who] are fond of freedom." Inventor of the lightning rod and the Franklin Stove, and many more technological and cultural innovations, no one did more to advance popular culture in these early days than Franklin. In the twenty-first century, one finds similar figures who are much revered for their ability to create. Steve Jobs, Apple founder and executive, is a modern day Franklin in many respects, inventing products that transform popular culture, while at the same time, cementing his place in that history.

Less comprehensive but far more inflammatory were the political contributions of Thomas Paine (1737–1809). On January 10, 1776, he published *Common Sense* and sold it for a few cents so that everybody could own a copy. In a few months no fewer than 500,000 copies had been sold. Another of his great contributions was *The American Crisis,* which opens with the fiery words, "These are the times that try men's souls." Paine intuited and valued the power of the popular culture and wrote his works as if by a common citizen for other common citizens. Today's Thomas Paines may be the countless citizen journalists, primarily Internet-based, blogging, posting, and carrying out the kind of agenda Paine advocated. The writer turned to pamphlets as a method of keeping down price, just as today's bloggers use inexpensive tools to reach audiences nationwide.

Another powerful voice in popular culture was Harriet Beecher Stowe. Through *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) Stowe alerted the public to the evils of slavery (with the help of the Almighty, in her words). After the enormous success of the work, the author claimed that God had dictated the book, with her merely writing down His words. Regardless of these claims, for the next 50 years the work was performed on stages worldwide more frequently than any other play in English (with the possible exception of Shakespeare's collected works).

A little more than a century later, racism still plagued the nation, but instead of being represented by a novel, two charismatic leaders took center stage. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X stood at opposite poles in the fight for equality, King preaching nonviolence, while Malcolm advocated "by any means necessary." As powerful as these leaders were, however, they became icons after their assassinations. As a result, their images transcend who they were as leaders, attaining a kind of immortality as popular culture figures.

Colonists loved professional plays. The first such presentation in America was "Ye Beare and Ye Cubbin Accomac County" staged in Virginia in 1665. The first theater in the Colonies was built in Williamsburg, Virginia, sometime between 1716 and 1718. *Romeo and Juliet* may have been presented in New York City in 1730 and *Richard III* in 1750, in addition to Williamsburg a year later. In 1752 the Charleston, South Carolina, theater presented 58 different offerings, including Shakespeare. Fourteen of Shakespeare's plays were staged 150 times in pre-Revolutionary Virginia, and from the 1850s to the Civil War Shakespeare was performed in all the major cities and several small ones.

For the second half of the nineteenth century one of the distributors of popular culture was widespread black-faced minstrelsy—thousands of such dramatics were presented on stage by whites with faces blackened by charcoal. No one can identify exactly when and why the first Negro minstrel show became so popular. Some authorities suggest that African Americans seem to be natural-born entertainers. Others are firm in their belief that the minstrel show flourished because blacks saw it as a means of social equality with whites who otherwise held them in slavery.

Minstrelsy was in its heyday from 1830 to 1870. So-called songsters, cheap songbooks running from 20 to some 50 pages and selling for 10–50 cents, were the main distributors of minstrel pieces, as well as songs from other sources. During the popularity of the minstrel show there were more than 100 shows running and some 2,000 songsters distributing at least 20,000 songs. Not all minstrel shows were black-on-white. Some were black-on-black, after black actors realized that white shows were exploiting them and they could in fact create their own shows. Minstrel shows were later eclipsed by vaudeville.

From these beginnings, one can trace the origins of Tin Pan Alley, which helped launch ragtime and jazz. In addition, the songsters and minstrel shows initiated a kind of crossover success that became the gold standard in the music business. "Crossing over," or scoring hit records in different genres, would come to define many of the industry's biggest stars from Elvis Presley and Johnny Cash to Chuck Berry and Little Richard.

The most enduring form of popular culture is the printed page, even though some observers feel that books, magazines, and newspapers are doomed in the Internet age. Books in particular, though, carry a special place in peoples' hearts, not only as tools for learning but as objects of affection. Many readers simply like to hold a book in their hands and feel the pages glide through their fingers. Even the most ardent techie does not get the same emotional lift from reading text on a screen, whether a laptop or handheld device.

The most influential literary form breaching the gap between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been the detective story. This form of literature has from its beginning satisfied deep interests of large groups. From the earliest times, people have wanted answers to the mysteries of life that keeps us continually looking back at history. Our fascination with the archaeological and anthropological past, for example, leads many to believe in monsters such as Big-Foot (Sasquatch) and the Loch Ness Monster. Many small towns and local villages have similar folktales of creatures frequenting dark mountains, forests, and deep lakes. Today, this love affair with fear and the unknown drives much of the current film and television industries. From the low budget sensation *The Blair Witch Project* to big budget movies filled with blood and gore, people thrive on their imaginations resulting from a collective indoctrination to fear.

These prehistoric beings supposedly living among us also help keep alive the mysteries and manifestations of the past, delivering some kind of answer in the form of explanations and comforting conclusions. Histories and mysteries need what scholar Russel Nye called a "hook" to keep readers on the edge of their curiosity. But mysteries search more deeply into human existence and help explain us to ourselves. Einstein was certainly right when he said, "The most beautiful thing we can experience is the mysterious. It is the source of all true art and science." The enticement of the mysterious is a never fading light in the darkness of life's many anxieties.

Literary interest in horror developed in Europe in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) and pushed ahead vigorously in the *Memoirs* of Francois Eugene Vidocq, a reformed French thief who joined the police force and electrified Europe with publication of

his underground activities in 1829. Edgar Allan Poe (1809–1849) caught the imagination of Americans beginning with *Murders in the Rue Morgue* (1841). Film scholars see Poe's writing inspiring the American film noir movement in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s.

The coals ignited by the interest in mystery and drama glowed especially in the publication of the adventures of Sherlock Holmes and Dr. Watson in 1887. Many Americans tried their pens at the art. Mark Twain published several works in the type, for instance, but found little success. But the door into the riches of mysteries had been opened to authors and readers of the twenty-first century. Mystery, having metamorphosed through the broadened titles of "Crime Fiction" and lately "Novels of Suspense," is the most popular form of fiction today, and is being used by historians for the true human emotions and actions contained in them. Historians a century or more from now may find themselves doing the same with the novels of Stephen King or James Patterson, novelists who sell millions of books, yet are taken less seriously by the cultural elite because they do so well.

One of the results of popular culture's interest in the make-believe and distortion of the minstrel show was the literary hoax, which flourished in such works as Poe's "Balloon Hoax," published in the *New York Sun* on April 13, 1844, an account of eight men crossing the Atlantic in a large balloon held up by coal gas. Others include Mark Twain's "The Petrified Man" (one of several by him), in which a character is discovered with his thumb on his nose in the timeless insulting gesture—the credulous public does not recognize the joke.

Other real-life hoaxes cropped up on every street corner. P.T. Barnum (1810–1891), famous for working under the philosophy that there's a sucker born every minute, opened his American Museum of Freaks in New York City, exhibiting all kinds of freaks and captivating the public especially with his Cardiff Giant, a plaster duplicate of the discovery on a farm outside Cardiff, New York. It was 10 feet long and weighed 3,000 pounds and had been proven a hoax, but still fascinated the public. The hoax, literary or physical, fed the American dreams of freedom and expansion and was an example of the American dream of personal fulfillment.

Another stalk growing from the same root included the works of the so-called Southwest humorists, who carried on in their stories and language the literature of the hoax. David Ross Locke (Petroleum V. Nasby), Henry Wheeler Show (Josh Billings), and George Washington and his Sut Lovingood stories created exaggerated physical and linguistic caricatures of their fellow citizens in a world they expected and hoped would be recognized as hoaxes. Instead of laughable hoaxes, however, they created a world of reality that is carried over in American popular culture today. The stereotype of the illiterate Southerner has a central role in the twenty-first century, particularly in television sit-coms and movies. The standup routines of Jeff Foxworthy and Larry the Cable Guy are built around the premise of the South being strangely (although often lovingly) different than the rest of the nation.

Another popular form of literature developed out of the idea of the hoax—graphic caricature and literature. Although the caricature had been common from the earliest days of America, the so-called common caricature known as the comic strip narrative, developed by the Swiss cartoonist Rodolphe Topfer in 1846, was probably introduced into America in the *San Francisco Examiner* on February 16, 1896, as "The Yellow Kid." Since then most newspapers have run their series of comic pages in the United States and abroad—especially in Japan, where they are read by all members of a family under the name *anime.* They are likewise pervasive in American (and world) culture,

especially in animation, movies, and advertising, particularly when used to pitch products to children and young people.

Because of our growing knowledge of and interest in archaeology and anthropology, our interest in the 6,000 or so languages spoken worldwide, and the suspicion that humanity may be doomed to future space travel and colonization, more works are developing in comics and movies of the extreme past and the imaginative future. Such comic strips and books, now called graphic novels, to a certain extent feed on the hoax works of the nineteenth century and intellectually are not rocket science, as we freely admit.

Many of the ideas and artwork in today's comic books are useful in understanding modern popular culture and its influence. For example, graphic novels have been published for both political parties in the 2008 presidential campaigns. Furthermore, many of the ideas and artwork are highly suggestive to the genuine rocket scientist, and the art work is highly prized for its newness of ideas and execution of detail by comic book aficionados. One original picture of Mickey Mouse, for example, recently sold for $700,000. Many comic book fans live in a world of their own making, but to a certain extent in America's broad, rich, and complicated popular culture, each area is something of an island of culture all its own, justifying its existence.

Just as English poet William Wordsworth said that the child is father to the man, so a culture in one form and one power or another is always a product and variant of its predecessors. It grows and alters or breaks down the restrictions of its sometimes elite, sometimes popular predecessors as the force of the new development becomes overwhelming and suggestive. Sometimes the popular culture grows and sometimes fades, but, although it may diminish in use and memory, it seldom disappears. Popular culture is like animated wall murals and graffiti that permanently etches a record of the lifeblood of a culture of the moment.

The cornucopia of twentieth-century present and developing American popular culture has resulted from the free flow of opportunity provided by its predecessors. So it was up to the last century. The garden of popular culture seemed to the culture traditionalist a patch of weeds overwhelming the flowers. But a new culture in the process of finding and developing itself was not crowded. The new cultures were driven by the changing dynamic of a new people in a new land with opportunities for all men and women to live by and in the cultures they both desired and found satisfactory. Suggestions and opportunities will continue to be found and developed.

The power of the twentieth century continues to develop in the twenty-first as the richest and most energetic culture so far produced continues to flourish—sometimes to the bewilderment and consternation of the citizenry, but always irresistibly, Americans and non-Americans—as long as human nature insists that it wants or needs something new, improved, or just different and finds it in America. Popular culture is the voice of a worldwide, but especially American, growing insistence on democracy in all aspects of life, and the voices of the people—especially in America—will continue to flourish, be creative, and heard.

From the beginning, American popular culture, given a virgin land in which to grow, has developed fully and rapidly. Its influence has been especially forceful domestically and globally in the twentieth century as a result of its growth in the preceding century in the arts and extended cultures. American popular culture impacts the cultures of the world everyday, creating and resolving tensions that are labeled "Created and Made in America." In the popular cultural world in all its manifestations the most influential label on world life at the present is and in the future will be "Lived in America."

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Preface

American Pop: Popular Culture Decade by Decade provides a survey of popular culture across America from 1900 to the present and presents the heart and soul of America, acting as a unifying bridge across time and bringing together generations of diverse backgrounds. Whether looking at the bright lights of the Jazz Age in the 1920s, the rock 'n' roll and lifestyle revolutions of the 1960s and 1970s, or the thriving social networking Web sites of today, each period in America's cultural history develops its own unique take on the qualities that define our lives. *American Pop* is a four-volume set that examines the trends and events across decades and eras by shedding light on the experiences of Americans young and old, rich and poor, along with the influences of arts, entertainment, sports, and other cultural forces.

Based partly on Greenwood's "American Popular Culture through History" series, this four-volume set is designed to give students and general readers a broad and interdisciplinary overview of the numerous aspects of popular culture. Each of the topical chapters stands alone as a testament to the individual decade, yet taken together, they offer an integrated history and allow readers to make connections among each of the decades. Of course, this organization also encourages readers to compare the sometimes striking differences among decades.

WHAT'S INCLUDED IN *AMERICAN POP*

The volumes in this set cover the following chronological periods.

- Volume 1, 1900–1929
- Volume 2, 1930–1959
- Volume 3, 1960–1989
- Volume 4, 1990–Present

Each volume, in turn, covers the popular culture of the decades through chapters focused on specific areas of popular culture, including:

- An Overview of the Decade
- Advertising
- Architecture
- Books, Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics
- Entertainment
- Fashion
- Food
- Music
- Sports and Leisure
- Travel
- Visual Arts

In addition, each group of chapters is preceded by a timeline of events for the decade, which gives extra oversight and context to the study of the period.

Sidebars and Other Features

Within many of the chapters, the text is supplemented by sidebars that feature the significant, fascinating, troubling, or just plain weird people, trends, books, movies, radio and television programs, advertisements, places, and events of the decade. In addition sidebars provide lists of new words and phrases for the decade; new foods introduced during the decade; and "How Others See Us," information on how people outside of the United States adopted, reacted to, or disdained American popular culture. The chapters are enhanced with photos and illustrations from the period. Each volume closes with a Resource Guide, providing selected books, articles, Web sites, and videos for further research.

The appendices feature "The Cost of Products"—which spans from 1900 to the present and shows the prices of selected items from food to clothing to furniture—and a list of potential classroom resources of activities and assignments for teachers to use in a school setting. A carefully selected general bibliography for the set, covering popular culture resources of a general or sizeable nature, rounds out the final volume. A comprehensive index offers access to the entire set.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

American Pop is an audacious project that pulls together more than one million words about popular culture in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. A series like this one owes a large debt to many wonderful authors, researchers, writers, and editors. First and foremost, my deepest gratitude goes out to Ray B. Browne, the series editor of the original "American Popular Culture through History" books. Like so many other popular culture scholars over the past several decades, I owe Ray more than I could ever hope to repay.

I would also like to thank all of the authors who poured their collective hearts into the series: David Blanke, Kathleen Drowne, Patrick Huber, William H. Young, Nancy K. Young, Robert Sickels, Edward J. Rielly, Kelly Boyer Sagert, Scott Stoddart, and Marc Oxoby. Their work provides the backbone of this collection. Several excellent writers contributed to the more than 300 sidebars that appear throughout this set: Mary Kay Linge, Ken Zachmann, Martha Whitt, Micah L. Issitt, Josef Benson, Cindy Williams, Joy Austin, Angelica Benjamin, Peter Lazazzaro, Jillian Mann, Vanessa Martinez, Jessica Schultz, Jessica Seriano, and Brie Tomaszewski.

Not even Superman could edit a collection like *American Pop* without a superstar team of editors. I have been lucky to benefit from the wisdom and leadership skills of

Kristi Ward and Anne Thompson throughout the project. *American Pop* would not exist without their enthusiasm, hard work, and dedication. Thanks also to Cindy Williams for her original editing of the project. She is wonderful.

My great honor in editing *American Pop* has been picking up where Ray left off. I have had the pleasure of writing three books in the series, so all told, I have spent more than five years of my life with this series. My sincere thanks go to my parents, Jon and Linda Bowen, and my brother Bill Coyle for their support. As always, my wife, Kathy, has lived this collection with me. I appreciate her sense of humor, sound advice, and thoughtfulness. My whole heart belongs to our daughter Kassie. Her smile, hugs, and kisses were always awesome diversions from writing and editing.

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Introduction

In the early decades of the twentieth century, popular culture in the United States transformed as its focal point shifted from its traditional European roots to a uniquely American perspective. The nation stood at a critical crossroads. On one hand, the United States grew rapidly into a military and economic superpower, which forced an even more intimate relationship with the rest of the world. The country's cultural development, however, had to catch up by breaking from its fascination with Europe, instead emphasizing its "Americanness"—a popular culture distinct and unique from that of the Old World.

The newfound focus on American culture from American sources enabled the country to culturally stand on its own. From naturalist literature and homegrown jazz music to architecture that pointed skyward and the development of sports distinct from Europe, the United States created its own culture in the first three decades of the new era. The changes were profound and long-lasting, essentially laying the groundwork for what would later be described as "the American Century."

Popular culture stood at the heart of the nation's development in the early twentieth century. Despite being difficult to define because of its nebulous nature, popular culture served as a type of unifying system. Using popular culture as a guidepost, people navigated among one another, using its symbols, representations, and ideas to make sense of the world. While the large-scale influences on people's lives were often difficult to understand or interpret, popular culture provided something of a common language—critical in a time when immigration led a population explosion. From 1900 to 1929, these signposts ranged from discussions of social criticism in movies by Charlie Chaplain or D. W. Griffith to the Jazz Age tales of author F. Scott Fitzgerald. They were serial radio programs and Model T Fords and everything in between.

In addition to forming a uniquely American culture, the power of popular culture enabled society to begin the long journey toward overcoming barriers such as race, class, wealth, education, and profession. Of course, this trek did not take place without pain and struggle—the evil forces of hatred and bigotry ran deep in the nation's historical roots. And, at the same time, the gap between wealthy individuals and the rest of

the nation grew exponentially. All this led to a volatility that, while not unprecedented, wondered far astray from what most people assumed to be the American Dream.

This entanglement of the American Dream and popular culture became deeply knotted in the national psyche. The steadfast belief in the power of this idea enabled people to trudge on, even during times of cataclysmic change, such as World War I, and emerge from such an epic event ready to take on the new day. This feeling in itself is wholly American—continually assessing the past for lessons and guideposts, while simultaneously peering into the future for glimpses of what may be soon to come.

So, what was popular culture in this early twentieth-century period? On the surface, the combination of technological innovations, a strong economy, military and international might, and strong leadership across a number of fields propelled America's cultural growth like a shot from a cannon.

Through the lens of popular culture, the American people found a way to interpret themselves and the world around them. Sometimes, this meant that people willingly allowed themselves to be blinded to reality. A fascination with the latest motion pictures, radio, or celebrity gossip, made it easier to put off thoughts of war, economic disparity, and melancholy. At other times, however, popular culture educated and infused a sense of unity in people that did not really previously exist. As a result, popular culture—literally the study of what influences people as they conduct their daily lives—regularly served as a force for reinterpreting and changing the world. Or, it could be used to mask reality in favor of a Hollywood dream-factory version of life that emphasized happy endings and rainbows.

The challenge in analyzing American popular culture in the early twentieth century or any other timeframe is finding a technique to simultaneously capture the broadness of the field, while at the same time limiting the survey to keep it manageable. One way to achieve this balance is to look at an era thematically. Breaking popular culture into broad categories enables an integrated perspective to bubble to the surface, yet still enabling the nuances of each individual event to shine.

By examining popular culture within categories of leaders, money, innovation, and culture, an overview of the issues driving everyday America from 1900 to 1929 will emerge. From a broad perspective, these forces transform society almost the same way wind changes local or regional weather—most of the time invisibly, yet powerfully, but in other instances with force and intensity. Therefore, while popular culture is ever-shifting, the often undetected forces of technology, economics, political systems, and culture are working their magic on the system. All the roots of popular culture trace back to these forces.

One must acknowledge, however, that the choice to divide a field as broad as popular culture into these subcategories is deliberate. During the era under examination, for example, change took place regardless of whether one realized that a broader series of technological innovations were transforming the nation. A historical perspective makes it much easier to recognize these forces driving change, which may or may not have been discernable at the time.

Many instances of pop culture transformation, in fact, blur the lines between these topics. At what point, for instance, does the automobile move from a technological wonder developed through the force of will of a great leader to become a cultural topic? Did the car become Americana when Henry Ford dropped the price of the Model T to make it affordable to middle-class citizens or when the car became a central focus of movies and literature?

At its essence, however, popular culture is about context. It may be difficult, if not impossible, to statistically measure the impact of Theodore Roosevelt on the cultural development of the 1900s, but understanding his leadership does provide the framework for grasping the broader meaning of culture during his tenure as an iconic political leader.

The ability to examine the actions of the government or a particular leader or group of leaders is arguably the most positive aspect of popular culture. Rooted in free speech, the rise of mass media enabled Americans to criticize their leaders and institutions, thus opening new opportunities for collective education and information. For example, advertising, films, literature, and songs that examined the "new woman" in the 1910s led a more intelligent view of women's rights and the suffrage movement.

As millions of Americans interacted with mass media, whether watching the same movies or listening to radio programs, a common language developed that opened lines of communications between disparate groups. The downside to this unintended focus on mass communications, some argued, was that a growing fascination with pop culture actually diverted attention from important challenges the nation faced, ultimately serving as a kind of placebo. Therefore, popular culture enabled people to feel good about the world around them without really forcing them to directly confront critical issues.

LEADERS

Placing an individual leader at the head of a movement is a standard way to examine historical periods, such as "The Age of Roosevelt" or "The Babe Ruth Era" in the early twentieth century. Often these designations are warranted, particularly when the development of a truly American popular culture seemingly occurred foisted up on the back of an individual leader who symbolized wider transformations taking place. President Roosevelt, for example, served as one of these early trendsetters, dominating political and cultural life in the United States for more than a decade. Later, in the 1920s, New York Yankees slugger Babe Ruth changed the way the public viewed athletes, becoming a national cultural icon.

Although towering figures receive the limelight, more often it is a confluence of different forces that enable an iconic individual to dominate an age. In the 1920s, for example, Americans began their longstanding love affair with sports like never before. A closer look at the reasons behind the change reveals a complex series of factors that more or less pushed people toward sports figures that went beyond the charisma of individual athletes, such as baseball's Ruth or boxing champion Jack Dempsey. These compelling figures certainly deserve the spotlight, however, the context runs deeper.

In the 1920s, for instance, greater numbers of people across class divisions enjoyed increasing amounts of leisure time. For members of the middle and working classes, a significant drop in working hours (from about 60 hours weekly to 45) transformed free time. At the same time, wages increased. Families took vacations more often. The combination of greater free time and more disposable income funneled money into the blossoming entertainment complex. Between 1919 and 1929, American spending on recreation and leisure almost doubled to reach $4 billion a year. The nation would not eclipse this figure again until after World War II. The combination of middle class prosperity and family leisure time, as a result, deserves as much credit for the burgeoning fixation on celebrity culture as do the era's towering figures.

MONEY

Early in the 1900s, Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana looked out over the nation and declared American prosperity a divine right. In his eyes, God granted America preeminence as His "chosen people" who would "lead in the regeneration of the world." Within the boundaries of this global stewardship, Beveridge claimed, the divine mission "holds for us all the profit, all the glory, all the happiness possible to man. We are trustees of the world's progress, guardians of its righteous peace." Mixing profit, prosperity, and progress, Beveridge spoke to the keystones of American exceptionalism.

Although it is impossible to ignore the bombastic egotism in Beveridge's statements, this kind of sentiment took root in the American populace. People believed in the blossoming power of the United States to right the wrongs of Old World Europe. For countless millions of immigrants streaming into the country at the time, America represented a fresh beginning and a chance to live a better life. Equating progress and economic prosperity painted a vivid picture of the opportunity America held for its people. His remarks reached an audience of fervent believers in the power of the young nation to thrive and prosper.

As a result, it is in this early period of the twentieth century that the idea of an American Dream solidified. Subsequently, for much of the timeframe covered in this volume, the nation rode a steady wave of optimism prompted in large part by its economic power. People believed in the American Dream and continued to, even during the darkest days of World War I and the Great Depression.

Few monuments spoke more directly to America's obsession with money and technology than its booming corporate skyscrapers. Business headquarters like the Woolworth Building in New York City emerged as bold expressions of the nation's power and influence in the early years of the new century. President Woodrow Wilson, a savvy observer of American culture, dubbed the Woolworth Building the "Cathedral of Commerce."

Frank Woolworth used his own cash to finance the Gothic-inspired Woolworth Building (designed by famed architect Cass Gilbert), a 57-story symbol of the nation's capitalist success. Ironically, the skyscraper was paid for from profits derived from Woolworth's chain of five-and-dime discount stores that catered to working class folks.

At the same time, New York City grew into the skyscraper capitol of the world, emphasizing the city's importance in global finance and power as architects paid homage to the city vertically. From 1900 to the early 1930s, one or more new skyscrapers appeared in New York City each year. Designers responded by continually pushing the envelope a bit further in their yearning to maximize space above city streets.

Tall buildings had a sweeping impact on the psyche of the nation. On the most mundane level, tall buildings merely served as advertisements for their owners. In many respects, however, the appearance of skyscrapers marked a rite of passage for cities across the nation. Soon, a downtown area had to have a signature skyscraper or several to make its case for being a real city. They reflected the power of the United States and the modern technological age.

Yet, skyscrapers also catered to romanticism. Looking at beautiful buildings that confronted the limits of height and imagination caused excitement and invoked feelings of awe. Places such as Chicago's Tribune Tower and New York's Chrysler Building served as more than mere office complexes. Tourists flocked to them as destinations. They became landmarks and part of the city's identity. People took pride in the architecture of *their* cities, while the most famous tall buildings served as backdrops for films and

novels, as well as songs and skits. Skyscrapers represented America's economic power, defined its cities, and, in some senses, what it meant to be an American.

INNOVATION

In American vernacular, innovation is usually equated with technological progress. What begins as a focus on mechanical evolution, however, soon take on both cultural and economic consequences. The shift from quirky idea or seemingly divine inspiration to booming business or corporate powerhouse happens in a flash, whether it is Thomas Edison's invention and development of the telephone or Milton S. Hershey's manufacturing and marketing of the first American-made chocolate bars.

The early decades of the twentieth century witnessed a flood of new technologies that transformed life culturally, economically, and technologically. For example, the combination of Henry Ford's assembly line with the scientific management studies of Frank and Lillian Gilbreth turned the idea of automated manufacturing on its ear. Developed late in the nineteenth century, the automobile improved quickly over the next three decades. The transformation from gimmick to American cultural touchstone occurred in this era. The ripple effects of Ford's ingenuity were felt for decades across all aspects of American society and arguably into the next century as well.

Looking into the future, Ford declared that he would "democratize the automobile." The fusion of scientific management and piecemeal assembly line production enabled Ford to revolutionize the automobile industry. Between 1908 and 1925 more than 15 million Model T Fords rolled off the assembly line. The democratization took hold as Ford's emphasis on volume sales permitted him to slash the cost of the car, from $950 in 1909 to just $290 in 1925. Other manufacturers benefited from the national car craze initiated by Ford. By 1929 annual automobile production reached 5.3 million in the United States, a figure that would not be surpassed for 20 years.

In Jazz Age America, young socialites and urban hipsters viewed cars as a trendy accessory. Behind the wheel, they could escape the prying eyes of their elders and melt into the romanticism snazzy cars represented. The image of the automobile fell into the hands of brilliant marketing strategists and sophisticated advertisers who offered seduction as a selling feature. Offering new, improved models each year, the manufacturers appealed to the fickle nature of the newly wealthy and gave advertisers selling points. The automobile companies spent millions of dollars on magazine and newspaper ads.

The downside of innovation also became apparent rather quickly. In the case of automobiles, the vicious cycle of increased sales meant more congestion. Local, state, and federal governmental agencies had to build roads to accommodate all the new drivers. Reckless driving, accidents, and fatalities necessitated larger police forces and changed the way hospitals operated. Early drivers were notoriously bad. About 33,000 people died in automobile accidents in 1930, the majority pedestrians hit by vehicles.

Urban dwellers faced a seemingly endless amount of congestion, noise, and pollution at the hands of automobiles. Cars also changed rural America, introducing pollution and litter, while prompting advertisers to construct giant billboards to sell wares to those out for a leisurely Sunday drive. The era saw an increase in suburban living as middle class professionals opted out of city congestion for the bucolic lifestyle offered a short drive away. In 1923, the nation's first suburban shopping center opened in Kansas City, Missouri, called Country Club Plaza. Soon, similar plazas dotted the countryside, catering to the needs of families in the suburbs.

Revolutionary changes took place as the automobile came to occupy a central role in American popular culture. The national love affair with cars took hold quickly and developed into a defining feature of how Americans viewed themselves. Within three short decades, the automobile moved from technological wizardry to cultural icon—the kind of evolution that one witnesses over and over again in popular culture. Cars moved from invention to innovation to industry to iconic status seemingly overnight.

CULTURE

People in the twenty-first century believe that time moves faster based on the speed of the Internet, perhaps never considering the consequences of early innovations on society. The development of mass media during the early twentieth century decades, for example, played a significant role in altering the pace of life. Most visitors from 50 years earlier would have found life in the early twentieth century altogether too frenzied and chaotic. This early period is one that permanently changed the speed at which society operated.

People not only moved faster via automobiles and trains crisscrossing the nation, but the very notion of sound changed as commercial radio infiltrated one's life. During the Jazz Age, popular music broadcasts served as the core radio programming, generally broadcasting live performances in-studio or at offsite locations, such as concert halls and hotel ballrooms.

Similar to what took place in many other industries, as the booming radio business opened new avenues for companies to make money, corporations formed to gain a competitive advantage over smaller entities. The National Broadcasting Company (NBC) formed in 1926, while a year later Columbia Broadcasting Systems (CBS) joined the fray. The networks featured corporate-sponsored programming, such as *The Palmolive Hour* and *The Voice of Firestone*. By 1930, 51 million listeners tuned in each night to listen to the radio. The nation's major corporations saw the power in reaching mass audiences and partnered with the radio networks to appeal to potential consumers.

The business industry also had a stake in the development of radio. It did not take long for music producers to realize the power of sound. People responded to great songs and performers by purchasing the phonograph recording and/or accompanying sheet music. The union of media, culture, and commerce established the framework for how the entertainment industry worked.

By the late 1920s, more than 100 million moviegoers viewed films each week. In response, Tin Pan Alley publishing firms produced songs for motion pictures. People flocked to see the first talking movie, *The Jazz Singer* (1927), giving further impetus to integrating music and film. For the next step in the evolution, producers made lavish, big-budget musicals that appealed to people's love of sound and motion together. Metro-Golwyn-Mayer's *The Broadway Melody* (1929) won the Academy Award for Best Picture, the first musical to achieve the honor.

Music played a central role in people's lives. The union of radio, movies, and records proved how vital sound had become. Record sales alone skyrocketed in the 1920s, topping 110 million disks (78 rpm, selling for 35–75 cents), up 400 percent from the 1914 figure. Soon, singers and band leaders churning out hit records became brand names themselves. Paul Whiteman and His Orchestra filled the top spot among dance bands in the 1920s, while veteran vaudeville singer, dancer, and showman Al Jolson became a national celebrity, dubbing himself "the World's Greatest Entertainer." After charting

a dozen Number One hits in the decade, Jolson transitioned into one of Hollywood's biggest attractions, starring in both *The Jazz Singer* and *The Singing Fool* (1929).

In his 1905 presidential inaugural address, Theodore Roosevelt commented on "modern life," explaining that it was "both complex and intense." Furthermore, he said, "the tremendous changes wrought by the extraordinary industrial development of the last half century are felt in every fiber of our social and political being." While the president stood in awe as he looked back over the recent past, he would have been even more shocked at the transformations that stood poised on the horizon. By the time the era under consideration ended, the nation survived world war and industrial revolution, while confronting a teetering global economy.

In the first three decades of the twentieth century, America grew into an economic and military superpower. The hope and sparkle of the 1900–1929 era ended, however, when the stock market crashed in late October 1929. The economic disaster that set off the Great Depression ensured that the next several decades would be somewhat darker, but ironically rather optimistic.

What did not change, however, despite wars, economic troubles, political intrigue, and fundamental changes in demographics, was the force of popular culture—whether that meant guiding the nation, mirroring its mental condition, or charging off into the future. As a defining icon of the early twentieth century, Roosevelt advocated boldness, tackling challenges as they arose, and combating them (hand-to-hand, if necessary) as a means of strengthening the nation.

In the face of rapid change, the American people remained steadfastly optimistic, looking ahead with a fervor that was nearly palpable. The Great Depression would dampen that outlook to some degree, but the people themselves believed wholeheartedly in the American dream. They pictured a future filled with technological and scientific wonder. They had high hopes for the future, which sustained them through difficult times. The United States stood as an ideal and popular culture helped people understand and make sense of that idea.

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1900s

Timeline

of Popular Culture Events, 1900s

1900

The Automobile Club of America sponsors the first automobile show in Madison Square Garden.

Sister Carrie is published by Theodore Dreiser.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) is founded.

The first Davis Cup tennis match pits the United States against Great Britain.

Kodak introduces the $1.00 Brownie Box Camera.

The College Entrance Examination Board is established by representatives from 13 colleges and preparatory schools.

"A Bird in a Gilded Cage," written by Arthur J. Lamb and Harry Von Tilzer, becomes a hit song.

1901

General Electric develops the first corporate research laboratory.

United States Steel is formed and is the nation's first billion-dollar corporation.

The United States declares the war in the Philippines is over.

President William McKinley is shot by anarchist Leon Czolgosz, and the president dies nine days later on September 14. Vice President Theodore Roosevelt takes oath of office to become president on September 14.

President Theodore Roosevelt causes a national controversy when he dines with black leader Booker T. Washington at the White House.

1902

Owen Wister publishes *The Virginian.*

Dr. Charles Wardell Stiles discovers hookworm, a parasite affecting countless poor whites in the South.

Michigan defeats Stanford 49–0 in the first Tournament of Roses Association football game.

Congress authorizes the building of a canal across Panama.

1903

May 23–July 26: Dr. Horatio Nelson Jackson and Sewall K. Crocker complete the first cross-country automobile trip.

The Boston Red Sox defeat the Pittsburgh Pirates in the inaugural baseball World Series.

The 23-story, steel-framed Fuller Building is completed in New York City; because of its unique shape, it becomes known as the Flatiron Building.

The Great Train Robbery, directed by Edwin S. Porter, is the nation's first action movie.

1904

The first organized automobile race, dubbed the Vanderbilt Cup race after William K. Vanderbilt, a wealthy auto enthusiast, takes place on Long Island.

The first Olympic Games held in the United States take place as part of the St. Louis World's Fair.

The first segment of the New York City subway, from the Brooklyn Bridge to 145th Street, opens.

Theodore Roosevelt elected as the twenty-sixth president of the United States.

1905

First nickelodeon (nickel theater) opens in Pittsburgh.

The radical labor union the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) is established in Chicago as a reaction against the conservative policies of the American Federation of Labor (AFL).

May G. Sutton becomes the first U.S. player to win a Wimbledon singles title.

The Rotary Club, the first business-oriented services organization, is founded in Chicago.

1906

Upton Sinclair publishes *The Jungle,* a novel that reveals impure food-processing standards in Chicago.

Theodore Roosevelt wins the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts in negotiating a settlement to the war between Japan and Russia.

A race riot erupts in Atlanta, leaving 21 people dead (18 blacks), and the city is placed under martial law.

Devil's Tower in Wyoming is declared the first national monument by Theodore Roosevelt.

1907

As a result of the Immigration Act of 1907, Japanese laborers are excluded from immigrating to the continental United States by presidential order.

Ziegfeld's Follies opens on Broadway.

The *Lusitania,* the world's largest steamship, sets a new speed record, crossing the Atlantic from Ireland to New York in five days.

1908

Henry Ford introduces the first Model T, which sells for $850.

New York City passes the Sullivan Ordinance, which bans women from smoking cigarettes in public.

The first airplane fatality occurs when Lieutenant Thomas W. Selfridge dies in the crash of a plane piloted by Orville Wright, who is also seriously injured.

The first blood transfusion is performed in New Jersey by Doctors E. Zeh Hawkes and Edward Wharton Sprague.

The electric razor is introduced.

William Howard Taft is elected the twenty-seventh president of the United States.

1909

George Bellows paints *Both Members of the Club.*

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) is established.

Football is banned from the New York City public schools due to injuries and death rate.

Alice Huyler Ramsey is the first woman to drive across the United States—from New York to San Francisco.

Scribner's pays former president Theodore Roosevelt $500,000 for an account of his hunting trip to Africa.

Frederick Cook and Robert E. Peary both claim to have reached the North Pole first. The suspense grips the nation, but experts determine Peary is the winner.

Seventy-year-old Edward P. Weston walks from New York to San Francisco in 107 days, 7 hours.

Overview of the 1900s

Age of Innocence (coined by Edith Wharton in the late 1910s)
Progressive Era
The Peaceful Decade

NICKNAMES FOR DECADE, 1900–1909

GOVERNMENT

At the 1901 Pan American Exposition in Buffalo, New York, the United States showed off its technological prowess with the spectacular Electric Tower, which rose 375 feet and illuminated the night air. Surrounded by fountains and magnificent gardens, the Electric Tower symbolized the realization of American military, economic, and industrial power. The Exposition, designed to link together North and South America, ultimately showed visitors that the United States dictated matters in the Western Hemisphere.

President William McKinley and his wife visited the Pan American Exposition on September 5. The President delivered a speech applauding the industrial growth demonstrated at the fair and discussed reciprocal commercial relations between North and South America. The next day, McKinley stood in the Temple of Music, greeting and shaking hands with hundreds of well-wishers. One young workman, whose hand was bandaged, approached McKinley. The workman, anarchist Leon Czolgosz, had concealed a .32-caliber revolver in his bandage and shot the president twice in the stomach at close range.[1]

Immediately, a dozen or more men jumped on the assassin while he tried to fire off more shots.[2] McKinley seemed to recover over the next week while staying in Buffalo. Late in the second week, however, gangrene set in from the gunshot wounds to his stomach, and he died on September 14. His vice president, Theodore Roosevelt, took the oath of office in the house where McKinley lay dead. Over the next several days, businesses suspended operations, telegraphs and cable messages took a five-minute pause of silence in his honor, and for 10 minutes, every railway in the nation stood still. Czolgosz was indicted and executed in the electric chair in late October, less than two months after the attack.

To some, McKinley's death showed a seedy underbelly existed in the United States that threatened the serene view many people held. Divisions ran deep along class, ethnic, and racial lines, and this would flare up countless times throughout the decade.

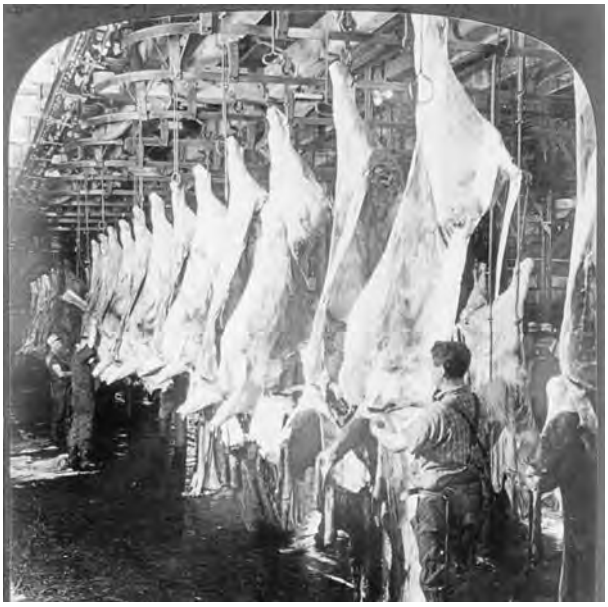
Theodore Roosevelt

Theodore Roosevelt embodied the best and the worst of the 1900s. A hero of the Spanish-American War, an adventurer, and a public intellectual, he captured the public's imagination long before he ascended to the presidency after McKinley's assassination. On one hand, he was a hero to American citizens. On the other hand, he preached, cajoled, and basically demanded

support on numerous moral crusades, and charged forward with nearly reckless abandon. His foreign policy, which centered on extreme nationalism, had little regard for local populations.

Roosevelt became a folk hero at a time when the people truly believed in the righteousness of the United States. He fervently believed in the might of the young country, the sanctity of democratic ideals, and America's deserved place at the forefront among the world's powers. He built a strong alliance with the middle class, embodying their hopes and aspirations, while turning a blind eye to extremists from both ends of the political spectrum. Although he would use both to his advantage, Roosevelt was no friend to organized labor or to big business conglomerates.

Roosevelt's concepts of morality and efficiency were not just ideals; they were core beliefs. Instead of viewing Roosevelt simply as a member of the Republican Party, he should be viewed as a conservative activist political leader, despite how foreign that may sound to modern ears. The Progressive movement played an important role in Roosevelt's conception of conservatism. He sought stability and order through change that he managed, which was another reason he distrusted extreme factions of different reform movements. For example, Roosevelt could simultaneously embrace the idea of reform in the meatpacking industry after reading Upton Sinclair's exposé of it in *The Jungle* (1906), but at the same time admonished the author for the socialist overtones in the book, which the president believed muted the importance of the work.



Swift & Co.'s Packing House in Chicago, 1906. The publication of Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* in 1906 brought national attention to the food industry, which led to the passage of the 1906 Pure Food and Drug Act and the Meat Inspection Act. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Invoking the spirit of Abraham Lincoln, Roosevelt established the model of how an activist president should act, especially in foreign affairs and in regulating business interests. Building the Panama Canal, negotiating peace between Japan and Russia, and annexing strategic islands in the Pacific proved that the United States could play a major role on the world stage. Fighting monopolies, establishing consumer protection laws, and intervening in disputes between business and labor paved the way for the presidents who followed.

Politics in the Progressive Era

In 1904, Roosevelt declared in his fourth annual message to Congress that the growth of the United States as a world power required the enlargement of the national government.

Roosevelt's counsel to expand government influence cautiously, while retaining a system of controls similar to those in place at private companies, in many ways sums up the ideology of the Progressive movement at the turn of the century. The Progressives, a loosely knit group of reformers, were primarily middle-class, urban idealists who believed that many Americans were missing out on the economic, social, and cultural opportunities presented by the new century. Given the tremendous changes people experienced as a result of the massive influx of immigrants, the changing industrial order, involvement in foreign affairs, and huge urban growth, the average person needed to believe that someone or something was working on his or her behalf.

Although the Progressives never had the kind of cohesive national organization that could affect wholesale change, they still fought against big business and for increased government intervention

in the economy and social realm. Essentially, the Progressives wanted to formalize and professionalize bureaucratic institutions to ensure that government worked for the public interest.

Primarily urban reformers, Progressive leaders, including many mayors and governors, envisioned the enemy to be the alliance between business leaders and political bosses. Their first targets were the state and local bosses who had a stranglehold on government. The Tammany Hall machine, which ran New York City government, symbolized the power and arrogance of the boss system, but corruption left few towns or cities unscathed. Reformers also battled against franchises for local utilities, such as water and sewage, gas, electricity, and public transportation, awarded to the highest bidder, usually a corrupt private company. Not surprisingly, the graft worked its way into local law enforcement circles, saloons, prostitution rings, and among civil servants.

The power of the political machines grew to such an extent that reformers fought back by attempting to pass more than 1,500 amendments to state constitutions between 1900 and 1920. Among the many reforms that passed during these years were the referendum, the recall, the primary system, women's suffrage, and popular election of U.S. senators. Recalls were especially effective in city movements.

While a large number of Progressives concentrated on political reform, others specialized in humanitarian relief. Settlement houses, a kind of community center for the poor run by middle-class workers, multiplied in the 1900s. These were based on Hull House in Chicago, reformer Jane Addams's pioneering effort at helping immigrants acclimatize to American life. Other reformers fought for improved child welfare, elementary and secondary education, and worker safety. Progressives were instrumental in passing many child labor and workman's compensation laws during the decade.[3]

President Roosevelt encouraged Progressive reformers to battle for stricter child labor and safety laws in factories. However, as a conservative, he believed that women should stay at home, exerting themselves as housewives, and that men should be the primary breadwinners so that children would grow up healthy.

Many laws were passed, such as the 1906 Pure Food and Drug Act, the Meat Inspection Act, and the Hepburn Act of 1906, which regulated railroad rates and strengthened the Interstate Commerce Commission—and yet, extreme factions in the nation grew stronger. In 1910, Wisconsin elected Socialist Party member Victor Berger to Congress, and the next several years witnessed the election of 73 Socialist mayors and 1,200 officials in 340 cities and towns.[4] Most of the real leadership of the Progressive Era happened on the local and state level, where individual efforts equated to real results.[5]

Progressivism comprised so many different aspects and initiatives that historians have found it difficult to define. Most Progressive leaders, including Roosevelt, wanted a gradual evolution of government, not the kind of revolution advocated by socialists, anarchists, and other groups who were viewed as extreme in the 1900s. An example of this thinking is the selective regulation of corporate monopolies. Roosevelt staked his claim as a trust-buster, but could have gone much further in breaking up illegal industrial combinations. J. P. Morgan and John D. Rockefeller, who headed corporate monopolies, viewed the president's actions with disdain, but regarded him as more of a nuisance than an actual threat.

As for control, Progressive leaders envisioned a government that placed control over things they believed needed to be restricted. Thus, conservatives hoped for control over immigration, which they viewed as detrimental because of long-held racist viewpoints and the fear that mass immigration would somehow debase the nation. Reformers on the front lines wanted controls placed over housing standards, public health initiatives, and welfare. Progressives hoped that government would swoop in when necessary to eradicate what they saw as societal evils, but at the same time understand when involvement was too much. The Progressives believed the answer lay with strong leaders, such as Roosevelt, La Follette, and mayors such as Cleveland's Tom L. Johnson and Toledo's Samuel M. Jones.

Diplomacy: Carrying a Big Stick

The United States not only showed off its military readiness in the 1900s, but also pushed its



Hundreds of men gather for the 1901 Florida State Democratic Convention. At the turn of the century politics was an all-male affair. Courtesy of the Florida State Archives.

way into foreign markets in search for new selling avenues. American political leaders realized that they would benefit from a healthy dose of economic and diplomatic stability overseas.

The victory in the Spanish-American War (1898) catapulted the United States to a more central role and convinced its citizens that an activist foreign policy was in the nation's best interests. The victory also symbolized the melding of diplomatic and economic initiatives, since the United States intervened in part to protect American sugar and tobacco interests in Cuba. The difficulty in overcoming the public's reticence regarding diplomatic maneuverings can be seen in the final count of the vote to ratify the Treaty of Paris with Spain in late 1898, which ended the war. Although the United States gained the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam in exchange for $20 million, the final Senate vote was 57 to 27, only two votes more than the two-thirds necessary for ratification. The Philippines rebelled against U.S. occupation, and it took three years to squelch the rebellion. The United States quickly learned that it was harder to govern a territory than to acquire it.

In East Asia, the primary goal was to keep an interest in the region and not allow the European powers or Japan to intervene and divide the spoils among themselves. Secretary of State John Hay outlined an Open Door policy in 1899 and 1900, which would allow the Western powers to enter China peacefully. Basically, the United States hoped to avoid military operations in China and settle disputes amicably. The policy aspired to take advantage of perceived economic markets in China.

Soon, Japan and Russia went to war over China, Manchuria, Korea, and other interests in the Far East. Although Japan emerged with a stunning victory over Russia, both sides overextended themselves and were ready for peace in 1905. Roosevelt negotiated the Treaty of Portsmouth, which ended the war on September 5, 1905. Serving as negotiator gave Roosevelt a bit more swagger on the international stage, but it hardly made up for America's lack of power in China. Hay's successor as secretary of state, Elihu Root, reinforced the Open Door policy in 1908.

While U.S. actions in the Far East were essentially a carryover from the McKinley days, the country's actions in the Western Hemisphere were stamped by Roosevelt's brand of cowboy bravado: "Speak Softly and Carry a Big Stick."

Toward this end, Roosevelt promoted a program to increase vastly the size of the navy by building at least two battleships per year. In a display of power, Roosevelt sent a fleet of 16 battleships and 12,000 men around the world from December 1907 to February 1909. The message was clear and aimed directly at Germany and Japan: America would fight to protect its interests.

As excavation began on a canal across the Isthmus of Panama (see Travel of the 1900s), the United States decided that it should ensure that their Latin American neighbors were, in Roosevelt's words, "stable, orderly, and prosperous." However, if a nation stepped out of line, it may "force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power."[6] This sanction, dubbed the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, ensured that the United States would intervene whenever it saw fit to preserve an orderly system.

THE ECONOMY

The Rise of Big Business

Many of American history's most prominent businessmen, including financiers John D. Rockefeller and J. P. Morgan, steel magnate Andrew

Carnegie, and automobile manufacturer Henry Ford, dominated industry in the 1900s. These men set the tone for the way in which business leaders conducted themselves in the era. They could be merciless in dealing with competitors or small businesses that stood in their way, but frequently they acted in the nation's best interests; for example, Morgan intervened in the financial crisis of 1907, saving Wall Street.

The decade gave rise to moguls and dominant corporations, and it also changed the prevailing social order. The corporation enabled a new white-collar, managerial class to emerge, which reshaped the relationship between labor and capital. The rise of big business changed the way people looked at education as a career-building institution, put farmers at the mercy of fluctuating world markets, and impacted government at all levels.

John D. Rockefeller and J. P. Morgan changed the way people viewed big business. Neither man had much use for the age-old idea of business competition, so they set out to eliminate it by building what they called trusts, which Rockefeller believed were necessary and safe. Those trusts were in fact monopolies. The financiers felt that corporate combinations provided stability to the economy. Smaller concerns would be sacrificed for the good of the national economy.

From 1895 to 1904, more than 2,000 companies were consolidated into large enterprises, which wielded a great deal of power. For example, the United States Steel Corporation, America's first billion-dollar corporation, consisted of 213 different manufacturing concerns, included 41 mines, and owned more than 1,000 miles of railroad track and 112 ore ships. All told, this company accounted for 60 percent of the nation's steelmaking output and 43 percent of the pig-iron capacity. These large business consolidations occurred for many reasons, but the primary reason was to dampen price wars and allow one company to determine rates.[7]

Many small businesses also thrived during this period, especially in the manufacturing industries that did not require intricate production processes or advanced marketing skills, including lumber, publishing, and clothing manufacturing. Whenever big business saw no real benefit from taking over a small business, it allowed the small business to continue. Small owners could protect themselves to some degree by obtaining patents over their manufacturing processes.

Rockefeller and the Modern Corporation

John D. Rockefeller grew up in upstate New York, but made Cleveland, Ohio, his adopted hometown. As a young man, Rockefeller built a mini-empire in oil refining. In 1870, Rockefeller rolled all of his interests into the newly founded Standard Oil Company and headquartered the company in Cleveland, the nation's principal refining center. After his early attempt to form a cartel failed, Rockefeller spent from 1872 to 1879 buying up competing refineries. Noted for his fairness, he paid honest prices for the companies as he gobbled them up. Refineries that did not sell out soon found that they could not compete with Rockefeller's machine.

Along the way, Rockefeller squeezed every cent out of the process by maximizing efficiencies, but he did not micromanage his empire. He trusted his lieutenants to work hard, and his fair treatment of

THE BIRTH OF PAPER TOWELS

Philadelphia-based Scott Paper capitalized on the demand for improved hygiene by manufacturing and selling assorted brands of toilet paper. In the early 1900s, the company essentially invented the market for toilet paper. Later in the decade, Scott Paper introduced the world's first paper towels, first called Sani-Towels, but later renamed Scott Towels. Again, Scott Paper used advertising to convince the public that it needed these products.

The first paper towels were actually made by accident, when one of Scott's mills made a tissue that was too thick to use as toilet paper. Company founder Arthur Scott had heard about a Philadelphia schoolteacher who cut up copy paper for her students to use to wipe their hands, instead of using a communal cloth towel, which spread germs. Scott realized a use for his thick, absorbent tissue, and the paper towel was born.

workers was markedly different from that of the industrial leaders in railroads, steel, and coal. By the late 1870s, Rockefeller controlled from 90 to 95 percent of the nation's refining power.

The hegemony Rockefeller established in the refinery industry carried over into feeder business segments such as big railroads and the kerosene market. His command over the railroads forced them to pay him kickbacks on Standard's shipments and even on his competitors' shipments.

Gradually, public opinion turned against Rockefeller. Editorial cartoons appeared showing Rockefeller and Standard Oil as a giant octopus, with its tentacles spread out around the world. Rockefeller became the richest man in the world, but disgruntled competitors filed lawsuits. In Pennsylvania, they filed an indictment against Standard Oil executives for criminal conspiracy. The latter forced Rockefeller to abolish the system of rebates and other shady practices. To combat the loss of competitive advantage, Rockefeller created the Standard Oil Trust, which centered the collective power of the subsidiaries into one overarching company directed by nine trustees.

The formation of the trust was a short-lived victory. The federal and state governments were moving against monopolies, bolstered by the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, which outlawed monopolistic combinations in restraint of trade. They brought suit against Standard Oil. The attorney general of Ohio won a case against Rockefeller, and the trust was dissolved in 1892. Rockefeller used the corporate-friendly laws of New Jersey to reorganize Standard. He increased the capital of the company from $10 million to $110 million and turned New Jersey Standard into the corporate headquarters for the new Standard Oil empire. In 1900, Standard Oil profits reached $56 million, but climbed to $83 million by 1906.

Again, several states and the federal government brought suits against the oil giant. The company endured a $29 million fine in 1907, but could not withstand the U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1911 that required New Jersey Standard to divest itself of all subsidiaries.

By 1913, Rockefeller's fortune reached $900 million. He devoted much of his life from the 1890s onward to philanthropic activities. He endowed the University of Chicago in 1892 and established a foundation to give money to education and health organizations around the world. The breakup of Standard Oil actually increased Rockefeller's wealth, since he gained shares in numerous oil-related industries.

Morgan: America's Financier

The mid-1900s were prosperous times for American businessmen. They borrowed money at an alarming rate to gobble up stocks. When a failed takeover bid at United Copper Company happened in the fall of 1907, two brokerage houses collapsed, and worried financiers started pulling money from their banks. Money and credit dried up, and even large institutions, such as the New York Stock Exchange, had trouble funding daily operations. The government at that time had no real authority to step into the crisis. As a matter of fact, only one man could save the day—J. P. Morgan.

Born into a Hartford, Connecticut banking family in 1837, Morgan built an empire which included vast railroad holdings and just about every other American industry. Morgan instilled fear in those around him; even his business associates and partners feared him. For much of the nation, especially the West and South, Morgan represented the money and power of the Eastern establishment.

When British investors began removing their money from the American market in 1893, President Grover Cleveland realized a crisis was brewing. The nation's treasury supply of gold dwindled down below $50 million, about half the amount that officials considered the bare minimum. In the midst of possible financial chaos, Cleveland reached out to Morgan. Morgan quickly organized a group of investors to buy $50 million in government bonds, with an option on an additional $50 million.

The president suggested a public sale of bonds, but both he and Morgan knew that the United States and Europe would stop the financial bloodletting only if Morgan stepped in. They struck a deal, and the crisis was averted. Estimates suggest that Morgan made anywhere from $250,000 to $16 million by rescuing the treasury. Morgan felt it was fair, even though he was criticized by

government officials for "profiteering," since the financier restored the credit of the federal government. Less than a decade later, Morgan bought out venerable industrialist Andrew Carnegie and formed the world's largest company, United States Steel, with a market capitalization of $1.4 billion.

Theodore Roosevelt realized he could gain publicity and support by taking on the big corporate monopolies of the day. In 1902, he went after Northern Securities, a railroad trust controlled by Morgan. Morgan personally visited the president, attempting to work out their differences diplomatically, but Roosevelt rebuked the great financier and warned that others would be in jeopardy if they did not obey the law. Roosevelt took great pride in standing up to Morgan, but before long the businessman would be called on, yet again, to save the nation financially in 1907.

The prosecution of Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company on antitrust violations and increased regulation in the railroad industry put pressure on companies to find money to cover their exposure on Wall Street. A study revealed that 8,090 companies with liabilities of $116 million went bankrupt during the first nine months of 1907. The collapse of F. Augustus Heinze's attempt to take over the United Copper Company Trust caused a widespread panic on Wall Street, cutting cash reserves to a dangerous level. Morgan, who was attending an Episcopal Church convention in Richmond, Virginia, did not return to New York. He believed that if the public saw him rushing back to New York, it would cause a deeper panic.[8]

Once again, as during the Cleveland administration, no government agency existed that could step in to provide safeguards for the economy. In the past, when banking crises erupted, reformers called for greater governmental control, but the uproar always subsided when the tumult ended. As the 1907 panic unfolded, Morgan returned to New York and assembled an ad hoc financial team to combat the downturn. It included Rockefeller, James Stillman of the National City Bank, George F. Baker of the First National Bank, railroad titan Edward Harriman, and an assortment of banking and finance experts.

After closing the Knickerbocker Trust Company, a venerable bank in the heart of New York's financial district on October 21, 1907, Morgan grappled with a solution to the panic. No simple solution existed, as it had in 1895. Morgan gave the Trust Company of America a $2.5 million loan to keep it going. He disliked the financial trusts, but he knew that if more of them went under, it would make stabilizing the economy more difficult. Morgan organized a group of banks to loan money to the trust and buoyed the public's spirits to a degree. After Morgan's display of strength, the national government deposited $25 million in select New York City banks to help out the troubled trusts and banks.[9]

Over the next several days, several more banks crumbled, and the New York Stock Exchange (NYSE) suffered from depleting credit. NYSE President Ransom H. Thomas personally visited Morgan and told him that he did not have the funds to stay open. Realizing this would be a fatal blow to public confidence, Morgan called the leaders of the city's most powerful banks and persuaded them, in 10 minutes, to ante up $25 million. The move brought about a round of applause on the trading floor and kudos from the *Wall Street Journal*.

When New York City threatened to go into default, Morgan again acted quickly to raise the millions of dollars it took to pay the city's employees. Over the following weekend, Morgan decided to organize all the remaining trust companies, and forced the presidents of the trusts to band together to give the others a $25 million loan. By November 6, 1907, the panic had ended. The federal government issued low-interest bonds and gave the proceeds to the various banks.

In May 1908, Congress passed a currency law that guarded against money shortages by allowing banks to issue money secured by the federal government. The bill also created the National Monetary Commission, but the crowning achievement was the development of the Federal Reserve System, led by the Federal Reserve Board, in 1913. The board, known as the Fed, monitors the availability of capital to banks, and gives the country a blanket of security that Morgan provided in the 1900s. Under the provisions of the Federal Reserve Act, money could be delivered quickly to local banks in times of crisis to avoid future panics.

LABOR AND THE WORKPLACE

The issues gripping working life in the 1900s exposed the very heart of Progressivism—the fight between private power and public welfare. At a basic level, organized labor challenged many basic assumptions Americans held dear: the rights of private property holders, the sanctity of business, and the power of democratic institutions. When labor organized, business viewed it as a threat. Socialists and other radicals in the labor movement were a minority of the total membership, but their activism prompted businesses to be ruthless in its attempts to stop unionization.

Like most other areas of life, workplaces were changing. Factories became larger and a new type of middle management focused on efficiency, stability, and solidifying its own power over workers. By 1900, more than 1,000 factories had more than 500 workers; only a handful of factories this size had existed in the 1870s. Swift & Co., a meatpacking company, employed 23,000 workers in 1903, up from 1,600 in 1886. The use of new technology centered on making manufacturing more efficient, regardless of how the pace impacted workers. With a steady supply of immigrant labor, managers could replace anyone who could not keep pace or complained.

Unions became more cohesive in the 1900s. Between 1897 and 1903, membership in the American Federation of Labor (AFL) jumped from 400,000 to almost three million. Perhaps more important, labor withstood the counterattacks made by big business and the periodic economic downturns that gave employers more of an upper hand, such as the panic of 1907.

Labor relations were relatively quiet until 1903, but the rest of the decade witnessed a virtual war between unions and employers. From 1903 to 1905, a battle raged in the mining fields of Colorado. The governor there declared martial law and sent the militia to thwart a strike by the Western Federation of Miners, whose workers demanded the right to organize and to be represented by the union. Fights broke out on the streets of Chicago in 1905, and the decade culminated in the bombing of the Los Angeles Times building.

The rise of a new managerial class that emphasized efficiency and focused on production numbers affected workers' lives, but on the shop floor workers still fought to retain control. Foremen still held great influence, often determining who was hired and fired, setting pay rates, and ultimately, establishing production levels. Workers fought against management's directives to raise production levels and control personnel. Workers were willing to fight because working conditions were dangerous, workdays were long, job security did not exist for most workers, and the pay was abysmally low.

For all its technological superiority, the United States still had one of the highest workplace accident rates in the world. For example, from 1907 to 1910, in one Pittsburgh steel mill, 3,723 new immigrant workers were injured or killed. From the clothing manufacturers of New York City to the textile mills of the South, workers toiled under unsafe conditions for pay that barely met the poverty line.

The Rise of the Wobblies

Violence was the Progressives' worst nightmare—they wanted orderly change, and labor was not willing to play along. In 1905, a group of 200 radical labor activists met in Chicago and formed the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), nicknamed the "Wobblies." The IWW was committed to empowering all workers, especially the non-skilled laborers excluded from the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Believing that the nation's most exploited and poorest workers deserved a voice, the Wobblies called for "One Big Union" that would challenge the capitalist system first in the United States and later worldwide.[10]

The Wobblies' rise to national prominence can be understood only within the context of the vast changes taking place in America in the early twentieth century. The influx of immigrants transformed society and provided the workforce that was coveted by corporations. Poverty was a way of life, however, for most working-class families. The IWW was overwhelmingly leftist and called for the ultimate overthrow of capitalism worldwide. Immediately feared by most and despised by AFL leader Samuel Gompers, the Wobblies challenged the status quo and fought for

the rights of America's working poor. The Wobblies planned to do what no union had tried before: unite blacks, immigrants, and assembly line workers into one powerful force.

IWW leaders included Big Bill Haywood, head of the Western Federation of Miners, Mary "Mother" Jones, a longtime union advocate, and Eugene Debs, the leader of the Socialist Party. The Wobblies began organizing strikes around the nation as a prelude to a general worldwide strike among the working class. Initially, the ranks of the IWW were filled with Western miners under Haywood's control. These individuals became increasingly militant when they were marginalized by the AFL. Traveling hobo-like by train, IWW organizers fanned out across the nation. Wobbly songwriters, such as Joe Hill, immortalized the union through humorous folk songs. The simple call for an inclusive union representing all workers took hold. IWW membership approached 150,000, although only 5,000 to 10,000 were full-time members.[11]

The Wobblies mixed Marxism and Darwinism with American ideals to produce a unique brand of radicalism. They led strikes that often turned bloody; newspapers, the courts, and the police attacked them; and "goon squads" were formed to protect the interests of corporations. The Wobblies battled for free speech and higher wages across the nation. It seemed that violence and mayhem followed them everywhere, and the Wobblies became the scourge of middle-class America.

As the Wobbly "menace" became more influential, American leaders took action to limit the union's power. World War I provided the diversion the government needed to crush the IWW once and for all.

The lasting importance of the IWW was bringing unskilled workers into labor's mainstream. After the demise of the Wobblies, the AFL gradually became more inclusive and political. The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), founded in 1935 by another mining leader, John L. Lewis, successfully organized unskilled workers. In 1955, the AFL and CIO merged to form the AFL-CIO, America's leading trade union throughout the second half of the century.

LIVING CONDITIONS

Life and Death

The United States was a harsh place to live in the 1900s. According to most estimates, more than two African Americans were lynched each week between 1889 and 1903. Union men died in state-sanctioned acts of brutality, such as those carried out by the Pennsylvania State Constabulary of 1905 involving a mounted police force called the "Cossacks" and by company-sponsored thugs breaking up a strike by the Teamsters in Chicago the same year.

Disease and unsafe living conditions in overcrowded cities took many lives, predominantly those of immigrants. Bathrooms, often shared among multiple families or open to the streets, led to a germ-ridden society with high mortality rates. Pittsburgh had the highest mortality rate for typhoid in the world with 1.2 deaths per 1,000 people between 1902 and 1908.[12] Disease was a major cause of death, but if fire broke out, no real escape existed for most apartment dwellers. More than 250 people died in apartment fires in Manhattan between 1902 and 1909.[13]

Infectious diseases were the leading cause of death throughout the early twentieth century. Yellow fever, cholera, and smallpox thrived in the crowded metropolises, while people constantly fought influenza, pneumonia, measles, and tuberculosis. In the South, hookworm and malaria were frequent causes of death among the poor. Of all these diseases, however, tuberculosis was the most deadly prior to 1915. In addition to the lives it took, it had a profound impact on society. Colorado and California attracted those suffering from the disease because of their abundance of clean air and sunshine, and legislators passed laws requiring teachers, nurses, and public health officials to submit to regular tuberculosis tests. Even the "dipper," a crude tin water fountain popular in public areas, was removed and replaced by glass-lined water coolers and paper cups.[14]

Mary Mallon, or "Typhoid Mary" as she was better known, was the first carrier of typhoid to be identified in the United States. An immigrant from Northern Ireland, Mallon worked as a cook for many wealthy families in New York City over a seven-year span. As a carrier, Mallon never

caught the disease herself, but she spread the disease from household to household. At least three deaths and 53 cases of typhoid can be directly attributed to Typhoid Mary. Some observers believe she may also have been responsible for an outbreak in Ithaca, New York, in 1903, which led to 1,400 cases. Mallon entered a hospital in the Bronx in 1907 and was held there until 1910. She dropped out of sight, but reappeared four years later, and was quarantined for life at Riverside Hospital in New York. She died there in 1938.

In the 1900s, the front pages of daily newspapers across the nation, including the *New York Times,* blared with gruesome accounts of suicides, double suicides, and murder-suicides. Perhaps much of this fascination with suicide can be credited to the sensational nature of the press, but it also speaks to the way in which people viewed death in the 1900s. People dealt with a number of calamities, from financial ruin to terminal illness, by ending their lives. Another answer may lie in the wave of neurasthenia, or "American nervousness," which swept the nation in the 1900s. This disease, reportedly caused by the agitation and stress of modern life, could have driven many people to act out their rage, especially given the number of husband and wife murder-suicides that occurred. According to journalist Mark Sullivan, the suicide rate was 11.5 per 100,000 in 1900, which compares with the murder rate of 2.1 per 100,000 citizens. (By contrast, *The 2008 Statistical Abstract,* published by the U.S. Census Bureau, reports that the suicide rate in 2004 for the general population was 10.9 per 100,000 and the homicide rate was 5.5 per 100,000 citizens.) In comparison, cancer had a death rate of 63; tuberculosis reached 201.9 per 100,000.[15]

Even the nation's literature contained characters that decided to kill themselves, rather than continue confronting a frustrating world. Beginning with Kate Chopin's *The Awakening* (1899), authors dealt with the angst of the modern world by having their characters kill themselves. Other authors that used suicide in their work included Stephen Crane, Jack London, Theodore Dreiser, Frank Norris, Willa Cather, and Edith Wharton. Their characters, from Wharton's look at upper-class life, to the seedy worlds of Dreiser and Norris, are unable to overcome the stresses of their age, including social status, financial well-being, and marital happiness.[16]

Disaster

Some of the decade's disasters can be attributed to a new way of life which clashed with the old; for example, trains and cars smashing into horse-drawn carriages and hitting pedestrians. In Berkeley, California, at the turn of the century, people had a terrible time with trains. Since the main line traveled directly through the center of town, trains frequently hit horses, cows, milk wagons, people, and other trains. People found it difficult to judge the speed of steam trains and electric street cars as they passed over the tracks, even though the liners were only moving at 15 miles per hour.

One of the first cataclysmic events of the decade occurred on the island city of Galveston, Texas, on September 7, 1900. On Labor Day weekend, as Galveston filled with tourists and revelers, a hurricane approached the region. Gale force winds reaching 102 miles per hour and rain smashed into the city, and a storm surge carried away the bridges that linked Galveston with the mainland. Soon, telegraph poles and homes were ripped from the ground and tossed in the air like matchboxes. Tidal waves repeatedly washed over the city and, at one point, the sea rose four feet in four seconds. At dawn, a thousand people wandered the city naked and in a daze; the storm had ripped the clothes from their bodies. In one strip four blocks wide and three miles long, every single house and building had been destroyed. Nothing remained but fallen timber and dead bodies.[17]

In the end, more than 6,000 people died in Galveston. More than 5,000 others were injured in the hurricane, and 10,000 were left homeless. The 32,000 survivors had no food, shelter, clothing, light, or power. The number of dead bodies overwhelmed gravediggers, and every available man was put on duty to bury the victims.[18]

As news of the destruction of Galveston blared across the front pages of newspapers across the country, relief poured in. Millions of Americans contributed to the effort. In just over a month, more than $1.5 million had been raised to help the survivors. Newspaper magnate William Randolph Hearst, who led the charity effort in New

York, organized fund-raising events featuring Broadway stars. The money raised was used to build a hospital and given to other relief efforts.

Built in the 1880s in Southwest Florida, the city of Arcadia quickly grew to more than 1,000 residents and became the center of the state's cattle industry. Like most swelling cities at the turn of the century, Arcadia's downtown area was a mix of cypress and pine-framed buildings that housed numerous stores and offices. Builders could not keep up with the influx of people or businesses to the city, and as a result, residents had to go without many basic services, such as a public water system and firefighting equipment.

On November 30, 1905, the people of Arcadia celebrated Thanksgiving. It was an unseasonably hot day, forcing many residents indoors to avoid the hot sun. That night, for reasons that were never determined, a fire broke out in downtown Arcadia. Brisk winds propelled the fire. Witnesses recalled that the fire made an unbearable noise and produced thick, heavy smoke that blanketed the town.[19]

Men and women formed bucket brigades to fight the fire. At daybreak, little remained except ruins and piles of ash. Only three brick buildings in downtown Arcadia were saved; most prominent was the town's new brick bank. In total, 43 buildings were destroyed in "the big fire," as the people of Arcadia have called it ever since. The estimated loss reached $250,000, and only about 25 percent of it was covered by insurance.

Arcadia officials and citizens banded together to rebuild the city. They wanted it to be a model for others of its size. One of the first ordinances they passed was a law requiring all buildings in the business center to be built with brick, stone, or concrete. Next, streets were graded and paved,



Devastation from the San Francisco earthquake, 1906. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.



View of street in San Francisco, California, in the aftermath of the earthquake a man patrols with a rifle, 1906. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

trees were planted, and water and electric plants were built. Arcadia was not going to take any more chances with fire.

In the morning hours of April 18, 1906, an earthquake shook Northern California on a 200-mile stretch along the San Andreas Fault. The tremor lasted for 40 seconds, then stopped for 10 seconds, then resumed for another 25 seconds. A series of smaller tremors then struck periodically. In San Francisco, the earthquake buckled streets, which producing great cracks. It broke water pipes, tossed buildings into the air, and set off fires that raged across the city's hilly streets. The walls of City Hall fell in, the Valencia Hotel caved in and caught fire, gas mains broke, and telecommunications lines fell—the city was in ruins.[20]

The earthquake was intense, but the resulting fires raged on for several days after, covering 500 blocks and 2,800 acres, completely destroying the financial district and 60 percent of the homes in the city. Winds propelled fires across the city, and witnesses reported that the flames stretched a mile high on the night of April 6. The loss of property reached an estimated $350 to $500 million. Despite all this, the people of the city rallied. Jack London reported that he saw "no hysteria, no disorder" and "no shouting or yelling."[21]

Pictures taken after the earthquake and in the following days support London's assertions. The people who gaze out from these photographs look confused but orderly. Most of the women are properly dressed, wearing the day's big, floppy hats, and the men are all wearing ties and bowlers—this decorum despite the fact that thousands of people were sleeping outside and taking all their meals from soup kitchens. The nation once again contributed heavily to the relief efforts, sending medical supplies, food, and doctors and nurses. President Roosevelt asked Congress for $2.5 million to help in the rebuilding of the region.

Advertising

of the 1900s

In the 1900s, industrialism and consumerism converged to form a culture of consumption in the United States and elsewhere. Advertising emerged as the most pervasive technique for promoting the budding consumer culture. The advertising industry was as innovative and clever in developing new ways to get people to buy things as the manufacturing industry was in creating modern production practices.

In its earliest form, advertising meant simply placing announcements in newspapers and magazines. However, as the medium evolved and the avenues for reaching the public expanded, advertising quickly appeared everywhere. Signs appeared on billboards, in store windows, on the outside of buildings, and on public transportation. They urged people to validate their self-worth through the products they purchased.

Advertising became embedded in people's daily consciousness thanks to the constant bombardment of advertising messages. As a result, class and social status even more clearly marked the difference between the "haves" and the "have-nots" in American culture. Blatant displays of newly acquired wealth permeated the land, especially in the urban centers, where the rich congregated and tried to outdo one another through displays of wealth.

The rich, however, were not the only ones to prosper in the new century. Americans purchased increasing numbers of machine-made goods because the rising middle class acquired more disposable income than in past generations. The upward mobility of the middle class was guaranteed by the millions of immigrants, who moved to the United States and took their place in factories and other points of production, virtually pushing those ahead of them up the social ladder. The immigrants themselves formed another buying class targeted by advertisers.

Advertising helped bring the immigrants to America in the first place. Agents working for the railroads and businesses that needed a steady flow of labor took out ads and handed out leaflets that urged Europeans to migrate to the United States. In 1904, steerage prices dropped, which allowed Europeans to board ships bound for America and be there a month later for as little as $10. Usually guaranteed a job upon arrival in the United States, they worked the fare off quickly.[1]

As the quantity of consumer goods increased, the outlets to purchase them expanded as well. Urban department stores, chain retail stores, and mail-order catalogs granted people greater access to goods they felt they needed. Advertisers embraced the idea of progress and used it to sell goods. In the 1900s, science, technology, and health care were consistent themes in advertising campaigns.

The creation of a modern consumer culture required introducing new products in innovative ways, which persuaded people to buy them. In many respects, advertisers needed to establish new domestic habits, which people would pick up and practice daily. For instance, advertisers had to convince people to buy boxed crackers wrapped in wax paper instead of crackers scooped out of a big, open-air crate at the general store. Advertisers linked packaging and product presentation to an emerging lifestyle, which focused on saving time and improving the quality of life.

As the United States transformed from a rural country of small towns and villages into a nation of bustling cities, advertising played a critical role in defining the new urban way of life. The idea of convenience, whether at work or in one's own kitchen, meant installing electric lighting and gas and electric stoves, and buying foods that cut down on preparation time.

These ideas became realities; for example, Colgate & Company taught consumers about the benefits of brushing one's teeth. Colgate booklets, such as *ABC of the Teeth,* produced by advertising agencies, were distributed at county fairs and other places where people congregated. The process had two goals: to inform people about performing basic dental hygiene on a daily basis, and to sell Colgate toothpaste.[2]

The same forces combined to deliver similar ideas about shaving and other areas of personal grooming. The Gillette razor, in advertisements featuring company founder King Gillette himself, convinced male consumers that they needed to shave daily and that his product was the ultimate tool for the purpose. Gillette's "shaving lessons" ads made his product popular, even though the typical Gillette razor cost $5, a luxury when industrial workers usually earned between $10 and $15 a week.[3]

Even a pure luxury item, like the newly invented line of Kodak cameras, could be incorporated into everyday life. Through an aggressive ad campaign that targeted both upper-class and middle-class audiences, the Eastman Kodak Company made taking pictures a normal part of life. Next, Kodak convinced the public that photography was so easy that a child could do it and introduced the Brownie line, an inexpensive camera which fit in



"The Kodak Girl," who advertised Kodak cameras, approximately 1909. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

ADVERTISING SLOGANS OF THE 1900s

Uneeda Biscuit boy/"Lest you forget it, we say it yet, Uneeda biscuit." National Biscuit Company, late 1890s/early 1900s*

"King of Bottled Beers," Budweiser, 1900s

"Don't experiment. Buy a Ford," Ford Motor Company, 1904

"Ask the man who owns one," Packard Motor Company, 1900s

"Delicious and Refreshing," Coca-Cola, 1904

"Good to the last drop," Maxwell House, 1907*

"His master's voice," RCA Victor Talking Machine, 1901*

"The milk from contented cows," Carnation Milk, 1907

*Among *Advertising Age's* 100 Best Ads of 20th Century. http://adage.com/century/

one's pocket. Kodak also successfully promoted major holidays, primarily Christmas, as important picture-taking opportunities.

MERCHANDISING

With companies manufacturing more consumer goods and more shoppers willing to buy them, retail outlets flourished. At the same time, mail-order catalog companies used improvements in transportation, packaging, and the national postal service to expand their services.

Packaging itself was transformed. Cans, bottles, and other devices were designed to be both practical and appealing. Wax-sealed cartons kept many foods, such as breakfast cereals and snacks, fresh for longer periods. Other innovations included sealed glass jars and bottles, cans, tins, and metal tubes. Outside wrappers changed as advertisers realized that designing packages that appealed to customers visually and stood out against the competition on store shelves developed brand recognition. Brand identification and loyalty drove sales, especially as shoppers (primarily women) had more time to hunt for the best price at many different stores.[4]

Mass merchandisers worked to change America's shopping experience and, in the process, solidified the unwritten rules that still govern the process to this day. For example, retailers now set the price of goods. The haggling for the best price, a common practice in nineteenth-century America, ended—no one argued with Macy's or Marshall Field's over prices. The new pricing policy enabled the department stores and chains to hire large numbers of low-paid, young salespeople. Workers were just another form of overhead to the owners. To cover their wages, rent, electricity, shipping, and other costs, the goal became to move merchandise as quickly as possible. Selling quickly required that shoppers be able to find what they needed as fast as possible. The retailers solved this dilemma by setting up stores with different departments that catered to one's needs. A man who wanted suits could now go directly to that area and find what he desired. Placing goods in departments gave management the ability to track what items sold the best and also how individual employees performed.

Mass merchandisers also realized the importance of giving shoppers a place where people would want to spend time. Luring people into the cities to shop, especially middle-class suburban women, was a key element in forming the consumer culture. On the other hand, large catalog retailers fulfilled the needs of people in rural areas. People who wanted to stay at home were catered to by such stores as Philadelphia's John Wanamaker's department store, which took telephone orders around the clock beginning in 1907.

At the end of the 1800s, department stores offered a wider array of services to draw people to the stores and keep them there longer. At first, they built soda fountains and lunchrooms for patrons. Gradually they added other conveniences, such as post offices, women's parlors, and child-care facilities. One common way to describe the largest department stores at the turn of the century was to liken them to palaces. Not only did department stores offer just about any product under the sun, they also offered lectures, live music performances, beauty shops, and even libraries to help people in their quest for personal improvement—a favorite theme in the 1900s.[5]

In 1902, both Marshall Field's (in Chicago) and Macy's (in New York) built cavernous new stores with more than a million square feet of floor space. In the process, they became important employers. Marshall Field's had 10,000 employees and estimated that 250,000 customers passed through its doors during the holiday seasons. Thousands of smaller department stores instituted similar ideas, just scaled down to a manageable level. They all used advertising specialists and filled local newspapers with ads emphasizing price and quality. To get slow-moving goods off the shelf, retailers offered deep discounts on the merchandise, thus beginning the phenomenon of clearance sales and bargain shopping.[6]

Chain stores, which stood between the small mom-and-pop general stores and the large department stores, became the next development in mass merchandising. Chain stores began when local entrepreneurs expanded their businesses, while at the same time adopting the economies of scale—low prices, low profit margins, and high volume—which characterized bigger stores. Moving from the local market to the regional and



A typical advertisement of the early 1900s for a still-familiar product. Waiter holding a bottle of Budweiser beer on a tray, approximately 1908. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

national required detailed central management and an emphasis on low prices. Chains had to offer something different to make people want to switch their shopping routines. Usually the differentiation came in the form of less expensive goods and a wider variety of products. Two of the more recognizable names, Woolworth's and J. C. Penney's, reached great heights in the following decades, with Woolworth's hitting the 600 store mark in 1913 and Penney's opening 300 stores by 1920.[7]

The first mail-order firm, Montgomery Ward, catered to the needs of the Grange, the nation's leading farmers' organization, when it began operation in 1872. Two decades later, the Montgomery Ward catalog listed 24,000 items. Customers paid cash on delivery and paid only if they were satisfied with what they received. Richard Sears began his business by selling watches in 1886. The company grew quickly. Just before the turn of the century, the Sears catalog contained nearly 800 pages. By 1900, it was the nation's largest mail-order company.[8]

Sears revolutionized the mail-order business by expanding its operations into manufacturing and bringing its auxiliary services, including transportation, mail sorting, and billing procedures, into modern times. In 1906, Sears moved into a 40-acre plant, with buildings connected by underground tunnels, railroad tracks, and wiring. The Sears empire grew to include ownership or partial ownership of 16 manufacturing facilities. Workers labored around the clock to fulfill the Sears goal of providing "nearly everything in merchandise." On a daily basis, more than 2,000 Sears employees processed 900 sacks of mail, while the express companies, railroads, post office, and telegraph company all operated branches on the complex. To run the operations, Sears owned its own printing plant and controlled the second largest power plant in Chicago, right after the Edison Company itself.[9]

The success of Sears depended heavily on advertising because the Sears Catalog is actually one long ad for both the products and the company itself. Sears established innovative methods of selling goods. The company created card indexes showing all the goods ever bought by every single customer. Also contained on the card were details about address changes, preferences, and family information. Sears used the card index to further segment its customer base. According to one historian, America's largest mail-order firm collected files on four to six million people.[10]

Arguably, no product has used advertising better in its history than Coca-Cola. Asa Candler bought the rights to the product in 1888 after the death of its inventor, John S. Pemberton, an Atlanta chemist. By most accounts, Candler wasn't sure what to make of the drink. Originally conceived as a possible headache remedy, the company's advertising was ambiguous on the issue into the 1890s. At one point, it alternated between portraying Coke as a "nerve and brain tonic" and a "remarkable therapeutic agent."[11]

Despite the rumors that Coke actually contained trace quantities of cocaine and that the company pumped it full of excessive amounts of caffeine, it caught on as a fountain drink, then as a bottled drink. By 1909, the company had more

than 375 bottling plants. Heavy advertising for the soft drink began in 1902. Several years later, the company installed an animated sign on the Penn railroad tracks between Philadelphia and New York. In 1909, a blimp with the Coca-Cola script lettering flew over Washington, D.C. At that time, the Associated Advertising Clubs of America reported that Coke was "the best advertised article in America."[12]

ADVERTISING AGENCIES

Over the course of the decade, advertising agencies evolved into entities quite similar to today's firms, though on a much smaller scale. Large agencies hired copywriters who specialized in the text and slogans contained within an advertisement. Artists and designers took over the look and feel of the ad, which in earlier times had been left to the whim of the printer. The position of account executive, a role entailing focus on the bottom line and the return on investment, gained importance as a middle ground between the creative types at the agency and the clients.

Over time, advertising agencies took control over complete campaigns and developed into highly professional firms to keep control over the process. Clients demanded coordination, a necessity considering the number of new products introduced by companies. Advertising agencies commanded synchronization between the strategic planners, copywriters, designers, media placement experts, and clients.

Early advertising agencies employed a trial-by-fire mentality. The leaders tried to lay the ground rules for the budding industry and debated over the place of advertising in the twentieth-century world. At various intervals, art took precedent over text and slogans; at other times, the copywriter's message held sway. One of the earliest uses of advertising was preparing slogans to adorn streetcars. Realizing the power of pictures early on, and as the use of colorful illustrations spread, advertising companies hired gallery artists to work on accounts. Famous artists, including N. C. Wyeth and Norman Rockwell, were among the many who lent their talents to advertising campaigns.

With little of the outside stimuli provided by today's multimedia gadgets, advertising ditties stuck in people's minds. One copywriter prepared weekly slogans for the streetcars in 80 cities. Others used the slogans to tell linked stories, so the public clamored for the next week's installment. The most popular advertising ditties were carried over to toys, plays, political cartoons, and other marketing avenues.[13]

While slogans caught the public's imagination, seeing familiar characters over and over again in advertising media gave consumers a warm feeling about the company and its products. Technological innovations in printing contributed to the use of characters and art in advertising campaigns. At the turn of the century, printers were able to produce varying shades of light and dark tones and print in color. In 1900, four-color front and back covers and one or two-color interior ads became standard in the magazine industry.


The Foremost Women Photographers in America

A SERIES OF PICTURE-PAGES SHOWING WHAT AMERICAN WOMEN HAVE DONE WITH THE CAMERA

Edited by Frances Benjamin Johnston

Sixth Article: Zaida Ben-Yûsuf

A RADICAL departure from tradition in any line of work usually makes the success of a new venture long delayed and difficult. This is particularly true of photographic portraiture, in which, until quite recently, a time-honored custom demanded a set arrangement of pose and lighting in order to fulfill the generally accepted idea of a good picture.

Unhampered by conventional methods, while strongly influenced by her artistic ideals, Miss Ben-Yûsuf entered the field of professional photography almost as a novice, but soon won wide recognition by her daring and original work. Devoting herself almost wholly to portraiture, Miss Ben-Yûsuf imbues all her studies with a touch of the picturesque, and at her best combines a rich effect of light with sweeping lines of drapery and distinction of pose.

Vivid and striking in treatment, Miss Ben-Yûsuf's portraits are always characteristic, not only of her sitters, but also of her own incisive personality.

An article on women photographers from the highly influential *Ladies Home Journal,* November 1901, p. 13. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

THE AGE OF *LADIES' HOME JOURNAL*

One of the earliest and best examples of the symbiosis between advertising agencies and magazines can be found in the phenomenal success of the *Ladies' Home Journal*. In 1883, publisher Cyrus H. K. Curtis created a new magazine by expanding a column titled "Women and the Home," written by his wife, Louisa Knapp, in one of his existing magazines. The popularity of the column rested on Knapp's no-nonsense approach to middle-class women's duties in the modern family. Contributions might include a melodramatic short story, several topical essays on items ranging from health to cosmetics, hints and tips on running a well-organized home, or a brief and often humorous analysis of current events from the perspective of "the ladies." A "typical" reader might examine two or three essays, scan a few others, and generally browse the pages in her spare time, looking for items of interest. Significantly, the spread of visual (rather than verbal) advertisements suited this glancing reading style very well. From the outset, Curtis intended the new publication to appeal to both subscribers and to the advertisers who wanted access to this vital group of active consumers. The strategy proved wildly successful. Claiming 270,000 subscribers in 1886, the number expanded to more than 400,000 only three years later, 800,000 by 1900, and more than one million—the first magazine to do so—by 1903.

Statistics for *Ladies' Home Journal* taken from Theodore Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964); Salme Hrju Steinberg, *Reformer in the Marketplace: Edward D. Bok and the* Ladies' Home Journal (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979); and John Tebbel and Mary Ellen Zuckerman, *The Magazine in America: 1741–1990* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Uneeda Biscuit

The National Biscuit Company, then known as NBC, produced and marketed a cracker in a distinctive package, sealed in a wax paper lining (dubbed the "In-Er-Seal") to keep the crackers fresh. This method of selling crackers was totally different from the traditional way of letting customers take their own from open barrels, with no concern for sanitation or freshness.

NBC leader Adolphus W. Green insisted on the low price of five cents a box for his crackers so everyone could afford them—which meant an extremely low profit margin. The company would have to sell tremendous numbers of crackers to make money, so advertising was a critical concern. Looking for a likable name and symbol for the cracker, NBC turned to the N. W. Ayer and Son advertising agency in New York. The agency recommended "Uneeda" (pronounced "You Need A") and created the biscuit slicker boy, a young child posed in a hat and raincoat, and the phrase, "Lest you forget, we say it yet, Uneeda biscuit."[14]

After winning the client's approval, Ayer launched the first multimillion dollar ad campaign in 1899. The success of the slicker boy fueled NBC's other products, including Fig Newtons, Barnum's Animal Crackers, and Oysterettes crackers. Almost immediately, NBC saw a return on the advertising expenditure. In 1900, it sold 10 million boxes of Uneeda crackers a month, and in 1907 alone, NBC made $4 million in profits. After Green's death in 1917, Uneeda fell to the wayside, but NBC's ideas regarding sanitation, packaging, and a finely orchestrated national campaign were ahead of its time.[15]

William Wrigley

During his lifetime, William Wrigley Jr. was widely regarded as "the world's greatest salesman," transforming a small soap business into the top chewing gum manufacturer in the world. Relying heavily on various forms of advertising, Wrigley pushed the William Wrigley Jr. Company to the top, making his name virtually synonymous with chewing gum.

In 1891, after working in his father's soap business for 20 years, Wrigley moved to Chicago at age 29 with his wife, Ada, and their young daughter to go into business for himself. He planned to sell soap in Chicago for his father's company and offer baking powder as a premium. For the rest of his business life, Wrigley advocated giving a bonus with each purchase.

Wrigley arrived in Chicago with $32 in his pocket, but he was able to secure a $5,000 loan from an uncle on the condition that his cousin serve as Wrigley's business partner. Wrigley soon saw that customers were more interested in the baking powder than his soap, so he quickly switched to the baking powder business.

Looking for another premium to offer, Wrigley turned to chewing gum. He gave away two packages of chewing gum with each baking soda purchase, and again the premium was more popular than the product. In 1892, Wrigley Chewing Gum offered its first two brands: Lotta Gum and Vassar. Gradually he phased out baking powder and concentrated on chewing gum.[16]

In the late 1800s, there were at least a dozen companies pushing their wares, and in 1899 the six largest merged to form a chewing gum trust. Although a newcomer to the industry, Wrigley was offered a place in the monopoly, but he refused. The young businessman plowed ahead, often teetering on the verge of bankruptcy.

Wrigley realized the power of advertising early in his career. Much of the company's budget focused on selling the product through advertisements and gimmicks. He expanded his premium offers, giving away items ranging from lamps and razors to cookbooks and fishing tackle. Wrigley even published premium catalogs to help customers choose what they wanted.

Wrigley used every form of advertising at his disposal. In his company's ads, Wrigley repeatedly told people about the benefits of the product. He bought space in newspapers, magazines, and even outdoor posters. In 1893 and 1894, Wrigley introduced Juicy Fruit and Wrigley's Spearmint



A very large Wrigley ad appears on a building in Martinez, California, ca. 1900. Entrepreneur William Wrigley made the most of advertising by using newspapers, magazines, outdoor posters, and even oversized paintings on buildings. Courtesy of the Contra Costa County Historical Society.

flavors. Wrigley designed the logo on the Spearmint package and decided that the company would concentrate on popularizing spearmint, which no other company had been able to do.

The public did not accept Wrigley's Spearmint immediately, but Wrigley pushed it relentlessly. In 1907, a depression year, Wrigley was able to buy over $1.5 million worth of advertising in cash-strapped New York for $284,000. The gamble paid off when sales jumped dramatically. Company revenue topped $1.3 million in 1909, and a year later, Wrigley's Spearmint was the top-selling gum in the United States.

Wrigley soon became the largest chewing gum manufacturer in the world. He bought the Zero Company in 1911, which had been making Wrigley's gum since 1892. From that point forward, the newly named William Wrigley Jr. Company manufactured its own products.

Albert Lasker

Albert Lasker propelled advertising through frequently murky waters in the 1900s. Working for the Chicago advertising firm of Lord & Thomas, Lasker controlled his workers with artificial deadlines that were ahead of schedule, the constant threat of firings, and a colossal ego. Unlike most men with his authority, Lasker stayed out of the public eye, wielding power behind the lines.

Beginning his career at Lord & Thomas as an office boy, sweeping up after the principals and cleaning spittoons, he later became a salesman in the Midwest. His success there, bringing in $50,000 in new business after just a few months, sent him down the path to prominence. By 1902, Lasker was the firm's star salesman. Two years later, after Lord retired, he bought 25 percent of the firm. At the age of 24, Lasker became a partner. Lasker's innovations included a card system that allowed the agency to determine which outlets (newspapers, magazines, etc.) were most successful for their clients. The results gave Lasker hard data, which impressed clients and resulted in higher budgets for campaigns.[17]

Lasker was also revolutionary in his thinking about writers. He liked advertising copy to resemble news pieces. Lasker paid writers extremely well, but if they did not produce, he was quick to fire them. The firm's revenues went from $800,000 in 1898 to $3 million in 1905, and then to $6 million seven years later.[18] In 1912, Lasker bought out his partners and ran the largest advertising agency in the world.

MAKING ADVERTISING PROGRESSIVE

The reform movement sweeping America in the 1900s looked at the advertising industry with a wary eye. Patent medicines, cure-alls, wonder pills, and health devices were all targeted by critics of advertising. The movement began when the influential editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal,* Edward W. Bok, began to crusade against unsubstantiated claims in medical advertising in the early 1890s. Other magazines joined Bok's crusade. The effort culminated in a muckraking article, which appeared in *Collier's* in 1904 that included a chemical breakdown of the ingredients of several advertised products. Later available as a book entitled *The Great American Fraud* (1906) compiled by Samuel Hopkins Adams, the articles proved that such supposed "remedies" contained no secret ingredient and, as a matter of fact, contained many additives that were either addictive or unhealthy. Even more frightening in the eyes of reformers were the chemical additives put into foods to extend shelf life. Scientists developing these preservatives worried more about effectiveness than the long-term consequences of consumption on customers.[19]

Spurred by Bok's efforts, along with Upton Sinclair's muckraking novel *The Jungle,* which investigated the grotesque conditions of Chicago's meatpacking plants, the consumer movement led to government regulation. In 1906, strong federal laws such as the Meat Inspection Act and the Pure Food and Drug Act forced companies to change the way they manufactured goods. Laws required businesses to list ingredients on food containers, medicine bottles, and pill holders. Advertising also had to adhere to the new rules. (See Food of the 1900s.)

Henry J. Heinz, born in Pittsburgh, founded the H. J. Heinz Company in 1888. Heinz used advertising to build brand recognition. The famous slogan "57 Varieties," describing Heinz's pickles,

was actually a made-up number that sounded good to consumers and Heinz. At the turn of the century, the company already produced close to 200 products. For product distribution, Heinz used brightly painted wagons and freight cars painted bright yellow and decorated with the Heinz pickle emblem. The Heinz Company participated in world's fairs, markets, and expositions. At the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago (1893), Heinz had the largest space designated for a food manufacturer. The company hired girls to hand out samples and mementos, such as a green pickle labeled "Heinz," which could be worn as a charm. Officials had to enforce crowd regulation for fear that the floor would cave in around the Heinz booth.[20]

Heinz established the Crystal Palace by the Sea on the Heinz Ocean Pier in Atlantic City. Visitors walked under an arch to a glass-encased Sun Parlor, which had comfortable furnishings and a full kitchen where hot and cold Heinz products were demonstrated. Next, adventurous guests could walk 900 feet out on the pier to the Glass Pavilion, which had a 70-foot-tall electric sign that read, "57." The pavilion contained an art gallery, lecture hall, and display of all the products manufactured by Heinz. In Pittsburgh, Heinz used his industrial complex as a living museum, where visitors could witness the cleanly scrubbed "Heinz girls" working in spotless surroundings. By 1900, more than 20,000 people visited the plant a year.[21]

Heinz became one of the first industrial firms to hire women—mostly German, Polish, and Italian immigrants from Pittsburgh. The women wore clean uniforms to impress the many visitors passing through the complex, and they were spotless themselves, a far cry from the unsanitary sweatshop conditions other immigrant women faced in the 1900s. Like many firms of the period and throughout the early part of the century, Heinz watched over the moral and physical welfare of workers. They were given cultural and recreational facilities for outside activities, and the company paid each worker's medical and dental bills. Other companies—Ford was a notable example—employed cultural and sociological means to control workers and to attempt in many ways to "Americanize" them, especially if the company relied heavily on an immigrant workforce.

Heinz was an authoritarian and did not allow unions in his plants, but he also realized that a great company could not cheat its customers and still be considered an outstanding business. Consequently, Heinz took a public stance against the preservatives and additives used and supported by many of his colleagues.

Advertising played a fundamental role in bringing the issue of sanitation standards, both at home and in business, greatly improving the health and welfare of citizens in the early twentieth century. Schools, organizations, boards of health, and concerned citizens groups all combined to focus on education, and used advertising to do so.

Metropolitan Insurance joined the fight for sanitation through advertising campaigns directed at the immigrants who bought insurance policies at the firm. The company sent agents into immigrants' homes to extol the virtues of cleanliness (at a time when a "clean" person bathed once a week on average). Agents handed out pamphlets that explained how diseases were transferred. Metropolitan then installed disposable drinking cups on many railroad lines and gave away fly swatters with the message, "Clean Homes, Pure Food, Clean Milk, No Flies, and No Mosquitoes."[22]

In this health-conscious framework, many entrepreneurs, including those at Scott Paper, produced goods that helped fight disease. In 1908, Hugh Moore used disposable drinking cups, but the idea did not catch on until health activists published a study proving the dangers of using publicly shared drinking containers. Moore then promoted the cups heavily through advertising. One ad, which incorporated the tagline "Spare the Children," showed a diseased man drinking from a public basin, while a young girl waited in line behind him. Advertisements like these seem heavy-handed, but they were effective, and Moore's Dixie Cups became the most famous, best-selling disposable cups in history.

Architecture

of the 1900s

American architects in the 1900s were more than simply builders or designers; they considered themselves artists. As such, architects faced many of the same challenges experienced by artists in other disciplines, such as overcoming European influences, dealing with modernity, and finding their way in an age dominated by industrialism and machinery. For the period's greatest architects, like Louis Sullivan and his protégé Frank Lloyd Wright, the answer was to find an essentially American soul and allow that spirit to personify their work.

Since the discipline combined artistic value with science, engineering, and technological innovations, architecture served the needs of growing corporations. If businesses could add revenue-generating floor space by building skyward, they could maximize the potential of each parcel of land they purchased. This became especially important in such growing cities as Chicago, New York, and San Francisco.

In the late 1800s, American architects built large, imposing buildings that celebrated the increasing wealth and might of the nation. Because they used a variety of styles from the past (Gothic, Romanesque, Renaissance, and Baroque), there was little uniformity. Sometimes several styles made it into the design of a single building. As time advanced, however, architects adopted specific styles to meet the needs of the growing nation.

Building materials had advanced throughout the nineteenth century, which allowed designers in the 1900s to be more adventurous and daring in their work. Architects used standardized sizes of prefabricated lumber (called "balloon framing" for its lightness in comparison to older structures) to build wooden skeletons for housing, offices, and other buildings. The success of the wooden balloon frame, although highly susceptible to fire, led architects and engineers to consider other sources of structural framing.

Building tall structures was not the only innovative design work taking place at the turn of the century. Architects were crafting a new America, represented by its tall buildings and magnificent structures on one hand, and homes and factories on the other.

SKYSCRAPERS

The skyscraper was one of the most impressive tributes to the twentieth century. These structures celebrated modern technology, materials, and innovation.

The development of iron and steel as structural materials fueled the idea of the tall building in the early nineteenth century. Steel allowed architects

to move skyward with a minimum of bulk, thus enabling larger windows and more flexible interior spaces. Before the development of a safe passenger elevator in 1857, the traditional limit for buildings had been five stories.

Many of the early advances in skyscrapers can be attributed to the devastating fire that wiped out most of Chicago in 1871. City planners and architects turned to fireproof iron and steel instead of wood and masonry. Modern business also demanded large working spaces. Because of these factors, along with high real estate costs, the skyscraper took shape in Chicago.

The men behind the rebuilding of Chicago were Boston financiers. They urged Chicago architects to build tall buildings to maximize profits, and encouraged designers to keep the structures simple by eliminating nonessential ornamentation. The resulting approach, renowned for its minimalism, became known as the Chicago Style. Louis Sullivan, in particular, realized the necessity of recognizing height, not just magnitude, in structures. Sullivan viewed himself as a poet first and an artist second. Sullivan immortalized his ideology when he coined the phrase "form follows function" in an 1896 essay written for *Lippincott's* magazine.

Sullivan soared to the top of the profession in the late 1800s, building great structures in Chicago, along with the Prudential Building in Buffalo in 1895. The Bayard Building (constructed between1897 and 1899), his only design in New York City, has been called a "spiritual ancestor" to the towering skyscrapers that now line the streets of the city. After his partnership with Dankmar Adler broke up, Sullivan had fewer and fewer commissions. His prickly personality and righteous attitude about his work drove away many potential clients.

Despite Sullivan's eccentricities, his reputation won him new projects. He designed what many consider his best work in the early 1900s: the Schlesinger & Mayer Store (later sold to the Carson Pirie Scott Company) in Chicago. Although not a tall building (the functions of a department store meant its form had to be somewhat blocky), Sullivan nonetheless used innovative techniques in the structural design so that the department store could remain open during the busy Christmas holiday season. Under his direction, workers put in a new foundation under the old one while customers shopped above them.

As the decade progressed, Sullivan turned to other types of buildings to express his "democratic" style of architecture. He secured commissions to design rural banks to serve primarily farming customers.

Sullivan's ideas about building tall structures served as the guide for construction over the next several decades. However, the stage moved from his beloved Chicago to the city that would become known around the world for its massive skyscrapers—New York. Fueled by what they had witnessed in Chicago, New York architects pulled out all the stops to surpass their Midwestern rivals. In the mid-1890s, New York skyscrapers already pushed past 20 stories.

Ironically, the architect who showed New York what a skyscraper could be was Chicagoan Daniel Burnham (1846–1912). Burnham joined with another famous Windy City architect, John Wellborn Root, to build a number of Chicago's most famous structures from that period: the Montauk Block (1882), the Rookery (1886), and the Rand-McNally Building (1890).

After Root's death in 1891, Burnham took over the agency. The newly renamed D. H. Burnham and Company grew into Chicago's largest firm, and then opened offices in New York and San Francisco. Burnham designed the Wannamaker department store in New York (1903), Chicago's Orchestra Hall (1904), and Union Station in Washington, D.C. (1907). Burnham also gained international renown as an urban planner. He played a major role in the redevelopment of Chicago, which resulted in Grant Park, throughout the 1900s. Burnham helped design urban plans for other cities, including one for San Francisco after the earthquake and fire of 1906.

Although Burnham achieved great fame with many projects, it was his design of the Flatiron Building (1902) that has been described as the ideal skyscraper. A joking reference to the shape, the Flatiron Building has a steel frame covered in terra cotta and stone. The building is situated on a relatively narrow triangular site at the intersection of three streets; it faces Madison Square Park. The Fuller Building (the building's official name),

along with the Statue of Liberty and the Brooklyn Bridge, shortly became a major tourist attraction and adorned countless postcards.

The Flatiron looks more like an alien craft cutting through space than a 22 story office building. The head of the triangle is accentuated by a single row of windows fronting the structure. Edward Steichen, the building's most famous photographer, captured the building towering over the trees in the adjacent park in a magnificent black-and-white photograph that depicts the remarkable thinness of the structure. Steichen's photograph juxtaposes the man-made Flatiron with a slightly crooked tree in the foreground, contrasting nature with fabrication, a key theme of architects and artists in the 1900s.[1]

Burnham's structure transformed the way in which people viewed office towers. More than just a place to work and maximize space, Burnham's design made tall buildings a source of corporate pride. Skyscrapers, in essence, defined corporate America, showed off the accumulating wealth of the nation, and helped solidify the burgeoning "corporate culture" engulfing American workers. For corporate leaders, it was not enough to have a thriving business: a skyscraper with the company's name emblazoned on it became the new corporate symbol of power.

From 1900 until the Great Depression hit in 1929, at least one new skyscraper appeared every year in New York. Tall buildings had an even more sweeping effect on the psyche of the nation. In many respects, skyscrapers marked a rite of passage for cities around the world. On the one hand, they were perpetual advertisements for their owners; on the other, skyscrapers catered to the romanticism of the masses. They reflected the power of the United States and the modern technological age.



Steichen's photograph of the Flatiron Building on a rainy evening, with horses and carriages in foreground, New York City. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

PRIVATE BUILDINGS

Classicism and Revivals

Between the Civil War and World War I, various styles of architecture gained popularity with the changing times and were influenced by the divergent climates across the nation.

The actual infrastructure of houses changed as well. Technological innovations like electricity, central heating, and plumbing made homes more livable. Building materials like stucco and tile were used to make houses built in warm climates, such as California and Florida, more bearable. Mass customization of the construction industry also played a significant role in housing styles. As the decade wore on, necessities like doors, windows, and roofing shingles were mass-produced and could be transported around the nation. This led to a more uniform look in cities and suburbs, where building houses quickly to meet the demand was essential.

One approach, which recalled the classical forms of Europe, was spread by American architects who trained in Europe and returned to America to practice their profession. Many Americans studied at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris, the foremost architectural school in the

world. The Americans who studied there, led by Richard Morris Hunt (the first American graduate), brought its techniques and theories back to the United States. The Beaux Arts style centered on lavish ornamentation, low-pitched roofs, exaggerated stonework, masonry walls, and arched windows.[2]

The Beaux Arts influenced designers built mansions in this style, which gave an air of royalty and power to America's new industrial rich. The New York firm of McKim, Mead, and White designed the mansion Rosecliff (1902) in fashionable Newport, Rhode Island, a summer getaway for the wealthy, along with many other mansions along the East Coast. Stanford White designed Rosecliff with Louis XIV's Versailles in mind.

The firm, led by Charles Follen McKim, William Rutherford Mead, and Stanford White, developed into the leading architectural firm in the nation in the 1900s. The accomplishments achieved by the firm included Penn Station, Madison Square Garden, the Brooklyn Museum, the Boston Symphony Hall and Public Library, and Low Library at Columbia University. The firm remodeled the White House, adding additional executive offices. McKim, Mead, and White carried out traditional designs, primarily centered on Renaissance and Romanesque styles. Although modernists scorned this type of architecture, it remained popular for much of the twentieth century.[3]

Between 1880 and 1910, the château style flourished, based on sixteenth-century French chateaus that combined Gothic elements and Renaissance detailing in stone masonry. The style, adopted primarily for wealthy patrons in the United States, included steeply pitched roofs and high spires. The most famous example of the château style is George W. Vanderbilt's Biltmore estate in Asheville, North Carolina (1895). At one time, the estate, landscaped by Frederick Law Olmsted who designed New York's Central Park, was a retreat. Today open to the public, it highlights the architecture and decorative arts of the period.[4] This style also found its way into many churches, college buildings, and government buildings.

A Tudor revival grew in popularity, first among the wealthy suburbanites of New York, Chicago, and other large cities, then gradually as designers built less expensive models for average home buyers. Tudors feature tall, narrow windows, large chimneys, and Renaissance detailing on doors and windows.

The Colonial revival stood as the symbolic rebirth of early English, Dutch, Spanish, and French designs, adapted to conditions in the United States with modern materials. Different styles of Colonial dominated different regions: in California, one found Spanish and Pueblo revivals; on the East Coast, Georgian and Dutch houses were common. Later, the Colonial form underwent a slimming process, down to a single story, which resulted in the Cape Cod style.[5]

The unassuming bungalow, which had made its appearance in the late nineteenth century, continued in the 1900s, setting off a national bungalow craze, which lasted into 1930. Designers modeled bungalows after the single-story houses used by the British in India (the name comes from the Bengal province in India where regional dwellings were termed bang'la or bang'ala by the locals). In the United States, bungalows, appropriate for a warm climate, were first built in Southern California. Builders in other regions, in spite of harsh weather conditions, adopted the style for low-income and lower middle-class families. In the end, the structures were simply cheaper to build than traditional suburban middle-class homes. Because of their low cost, they began to appear in industrial neighborhoods, such as the small steel mill town of Clairton, Pennsylvania, and in large sections of Cleveland, Ohio, which sprang up around Republic Steel.[6]

Interior Design

Begun in England and accentuated at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876, the Colonial revival in America influenced how people decorated the insides of their houses. Dubbed the Arts and Crafts movement, the philosophy hinged on a general rejection of the excesses of the Industrial Revolution and machine-made products. Looking back with nostalgia at the Colonial period, interior designers discarded wallpaper and heavy carpeting and returned to hardwood floors and simple styles of furniture. The movement turned into a crusade for simple living. In 1904, there were 25 Arts and Crafts societies in the

United States, whose purpose was to take urban dwellers back to a simpler way of life.

The women of the 1900s rejected the Victorian interiors so popular a decade before in exchange for simpler designs. A typical Victorian home was dark and cluttered with antiques, sculptures, and paintings mixed together with heavy draperies, embroidered tablecloths, and various lace curtains and doilies.

The main proponent of the style in the United States was Gustav Stickley (1858–1942), founder of *The Craftsman* (1901), a magazine trumpeting the movement. He advised that home decorating be unadorned, with paneled walls and small windows with groups of square panes. Stickley used built-in corner seats, fireplace nooks, and other cozy touches. He also advocated a sensible variety of furniture, labeled Mission style. These pieces used rough-hewn timber and no nails or glue to hold them together. Mission carpenters used oak as the standard material and finished it until it turned a golden brown. Stickley used *The Craftsman* to fuel the movement and to comment on other areas that touched his readers' lives, including art, education, politics, and urban planning.[7] The craze for natural-looking furnishings helped drive the bungalow rage, which featured exposed wood and heavy, organic fittings.

The Arts and Crafts movement was especially popular in California. A group of architects, including Joseph Worcester, Irving J. Gill, and Julia Morgan, among others, built structures that underscored practicality. They used native materials and color schemes to boost natural living. The Arts and Crafts movement influenced the nation as a whole. Sears, Roebuck and Company offered Craftsman home kits and matching Mission furniture in its mail-order catalogs. By mid-century, the company boasted that enough of its materials had been purchased to build a city containing 25,000 people.[8]

Many firms responded to the Colonial revival by designing handcrafted furniture, pottery, and glasswork. Frank Lloyd Wright used this style in his own designs. He emphasized large fireplaces where the family could gather together, exposed wooden beams in ceilings, and stained wood detailing.

For many women, as the country transitioned from a rural to an urban nation, the home ceased to be a place of production. Women, at least married women, became full-time homemakers. Single women, usually between the ages of 16 and 20, worked outside the home and accounted for nearly 60 percent of the female workforce in the early 1900s. Many women worked in the years they spent between school and marriage. Wives, however, had fewer opportunities for outside work, although these opportunities increased as the decade progressed.[9]

For women both on the farm and in the suburbs and cities, however, domestic life changed quickly. They may have rejected industrialism in decorating, but adopted the most innovative labor saving devices. Even the means for acquiring such goods became simpler. Women could turn to mail-order catalogues to fulfill just about every need: from a coffee grinder (49 cents), to a rocking chair ($2.95), to a full-sized wood-burning stove ($17.48), to a hair-waving iron (11 cents).[10]

Frank Lloyd Wright

America's greatest architectural genius was Frank Lloyd Wright (1867–1959), the son of a preacher father and a school teacher mother. During the first decade of the 1900s, Wright established much of his early reputation. After finding his mentor in Louis Sullivan, who was considered the father of modern American architecture, Wright helped the firm of Adler and Sullivan design the Wainwright Building in St. Louis, the Garrick Theatre in Chicago's Schiller Building, and many other buildings.

Wright referred to Sullivan as "Lieber Master," or beloved master, although the two men had a falling out over Wright's accepting private commissions to design houses (later in life they renewed their friendship). In 1893, Wright set up his own shop in Oak Park, Illinois, a suburb of Chicago. The first masterpiece he designed was the Winslow House (1893) in River Forest, Illinois.

Wright's Prairie-style houses reflected horizontal, rather than vertical, lines. Wright wanted his residential homes to be simple, relaxing, and promote harmony and quiet domesticity. There were



Robie House by Frank Lloyd Wright. Designed for efficiency and in a modern design, this house, built 100 years ago, still looks contemporary in the twenty-first century. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

no basements or attics in Wright's Prairie homes, and the wood was always stained, never painted, to emphasize the material's natural beauty. The outside of the buildings featured wide, overhanging eaves; the interiors were somewhat sparse and lit primarily with outside light.

The houses were supposed to adapt to the natural surroundings. Wright was striking out against the ornamentation and overwrought structures that dominated the American scene. In a Wright Prairie-style home, it is not uncommon to see the landscape meld with the walls and to find built-in planter boxes, meshed together perfectly with the overall rectangular design.

The Robie House (1909) in Chicago was arguably Wright's most powerful design of the decade. Fred Robie, an ideal client for Wright, wanted a modern house that emphasized ease of life. The Robie House was built with brick, stone, concrete, glass, and tile with efficient electric lighting, telephone, and burglar alarm systems. Robie, an engineer and efficiency nut, wanted his house to be free from "curvatures and doodads," which did little but collect dust.

Another of Wright's famous Prairie-style homes was built for wealthy heiress Susan Lawrence Dana in Springfield, Illinois. In the Dana House (1902), Wright rejected the idea that individual

rooms had to be a series of boxes and positioned his rooms diagonally, achieving his goal of "destroying the box." The Dana House was Wright's first to be built with a two-story living room.[11]

Then, Wright moved on to the exterior, expanding the number and size of windows. He also invented a way of wrapping windows around corners, making the corners of the house look like they vanished into thin air. Next, he made the roof longer and wider, extending it 20 feet past the last masonry support.

In the Dana House and others of the 1900s, Wright made artistic changes that were both admired and advanced. Wright's roofs were angled to protect inhabitants from harsh sunlight, but still allowed it to come in during the winter. He also built central heating systems with hot water pipes, thus keeping the architectural masterpieces artistic and livable. He even took into consideration cross ventilation in the summer to cool the houses, which was especially important in the days before air conditioning.

Throughout the decade, Wright designed dozens of homes, primarily in and around Chicago and part of Wisconsin. In 1904, Wright designed his first corporate building, the Larkin Building in Buffalo, New York. The Larkin Company was a thriving national mail-order business that manufactured its own products.

The Larkin Building, in downtown Buffalo, was adjacent to train tracks on one side and busy city streets on the other. Wright decided that the building must be grand, lending an air of dignity to the otherwise drab Larkin complex, which consisted mainly of factories. The building also had to be sealed off from its environment, which is routine today, but virtually impossible in Wright's day. The list of innovations Wright achieved with the Larkin facility includes double-glazed windows to reduce noise, heat, and cold, subfloor electric light and telephone connections, the use of magnesite, a synthetic, fireproof material as durable as concrete but softer, and wall-hung toilets with ceiling-hung stall partitions. The interior of the building featured a five story atrium, topped by a huge skylight. Although some observers likened the building to a closed society or church of work, Wright designed it to be worker friendly, providing fresh air (a rarity next to the coal-burning railroad cars) and an early form of air-conditioning.

Although the edifice Wright built was demolished in 1950 and was never fully appreciated by its owners, the building holds a lofty place in the annals of architectural history.

Books

Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics of the 1900s

A transformation took place among America's up-and-coming writers in the 1900s. A unique style emerged that loosened the nation's long-standing cultural ties to Britain and Europe. Writers in the United States asserted their "Americanness" and began examining the daily life of common people.

To a large degree, writers in the period were fueled by the nation's ascendancy in global economic and military affairs and the repercussions of the United States emerging as the world's most powerful nation. Its writers began the new century with a heightened sense of authority.

American writers interpreted the upheaval occurring all around them. Some reacted bitterly, like Henry James and Henry Brook Adams. The two old friends felt out of place in the new nation at the turn of the century. Henry James, from his perch in London, called the period from the Civil War to World War I "The Age of the Mistake." In his masterpiece, *The Education of Henry Adams,* privately published in 1907, the descendent of Presidents John and John Quincy Adams portrayed himself as bumbling and searching for meaning in the new century, but ultimately finding only doubt and confusion.[1]

Others relished the opportunity to contribute to the intellectual conversations gripping the nation. Taking their cue from the political leaders of the Progressive movement, African Americans, women, and immigrants lent their voices to a literary movement that included them more than it had in the past. W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington made significant inroads for black authors, and a number of women writers impacted the regional and national literary scene, including New England authors Sarah Orne Jewett and Mary E. Wilkins Freeman.

Mixing investigative reporting and literary nonfiction, a group of enterprising writers, angrily denounced as "muckrakers" by President Theodore Roosevelt, exploited middle-class anxiety by exposing society's ills in newspapers and magazines. Middle-class readers reacted forcefully to stories illustrating the evils of big city life or the growing power of corporations. During the reform era, the nation's politicians listened as well. Upton Sinclair's masterful novel *The Jungle* (1906), depicting the gruesome conditions in Chicago's meatpacking plants, spurred Congress to pass the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906.

As in other periods of the nation's history, sensationalism sold. Newspaper and magazine owners and editors quickly exploited this fact. Since the public could not turn to television or radio, newspapers and magazines wielded a great deal of influence. As early as 1900, more than 5,500 periodicals were published in the United States.

They ranged from literary journals, such as the *Atlantic Monthly, Harper's Magazine,* and *The Century,* to general interest or political weeklies and monthlies, including *Cosmopolitan, The Saturday Evening Post,* and *Independent.* The circulation figures are impressive, even by modern standards. The literary magazines boasted sales in excess of 100,000 copies a month; others climbed to as high as one million. In 1900, there were 2,226 daily newspapers with a combined circulation of more than 15 million.[2]

Technological advances in print production, which permitted color to be used more frequently, enabled publishing companies to sell a new style of magazine at 10–15 cents a copy, and to direct them to specific segments of the reading population. Women, in particular, were targeted by numerous publications. Among the most successful was *Ladies' Home Journal,* founded in 1883 and edited by Edward W. Bok. The magazine's circulation surpassed one million in 1902. Bok and other savvy editors realized they could offset the cover price by accepting advertising from the companies that catered to the middle class's newfound consumer culture.

Cheap binding, faster print production, and a better understanding of mass marketing led to the birth of the bestseller. Readers in the 1900s bought sentimental, romance, and historical romance novels approximately ten times as often as the works critics considered "literature."

Although his stature has risen dramatically in the many decades since his death, Jack London became America's first millionaire author by capitalizing on the public's insatiable appetite for adventure stories. London had failed as a gold prospector in Alaska as a young man, but his tales of the Klondike, such as *The Call of the Wild* (1903) and *White Fang* (1906) made him rich and famous. London's work habits were legendary—he worked all day and night, barely breaking to eat or drink, and slept less than five hours a night, reportedly writing 1,000 words a day for 17 years.

Dime novels (so called because of their cheap price and appeal to young readers with action-packed stories), first published in the 1850s, were still extremely popular in the 1900s. Most were published weekly, with lurid covers enticing their mostly male readership. Over the years, dime novels moved beyond Westerns, and readers increasingly picked from stories about detectives, life on the railroads, sports, and the city. The new century did not hurt the popularity of the Horatio Alger stories, which sold in department stores for 19 cents. These rags-to-riches sagas featured city boys preoccupied with making good and ultimately succeeding despite problems along the way.

NOTABLE BOOKS

Lord Jim, Joseph Conrad (1900)

To Have and to Hold, Mary Johnston (1900)

The Wonderful Wizard of Oz, L. Frank Baum (1900)

Sister Carrie, Theodore Dreiser (1900)

The Simple Life, Charles Wagner (1901)

Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch, Alice Hegen Rice (1901)

Kim, Rudyard Kipling (1901)

The Octopus, Frank Norris (1901)

The Tale of Peter Rabbit, Beatrix Potter (1902)

Up from Slavery, Booker T. Washington (1901)

The Virginian, Owen Wister (1902)

Heart of Darkness, Joseph Conrad (1902)

The Story of My Life, Helen Keller (1902)

Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm, Kate Douglas Wiggin (1903)

The Call of the Wild, Jack London (1903)

The House of Mirth, Edith Wharton (1905)

The Education of Henry Adams, Henry Adams (1907)

The Jungle, Upton Sinclair (1906)

White Fang, Jack London (1906)

A Room with a View, E. M. Forster (1908)

Anne of Green Gables, Lucy M. Montgomery (1908)

The Trail of the Lonesome Pine, John Fox Jr. (1908)

The Circular Staircase, Mary Roberts Rinehart (1908)

REALISM AND NATURALISM

The United States entered the new century riding a wave of industrial and military might that solidified its status as one of the world's great powers. But with the newfound strength came an ever growing list of domestic evils, including racism, sexism, and poverty, which mocked America's pledge of equality, opportunity, and progress. These disparities made the 1900s much more than an "Age of Innocence," as novelist Edith Wharton labeled the decade.

A more fitting categorization of the 1900s would be the "Age of Contrasts." The decade witnessed a widening gap between urban and rural, black and white, and rich and poor. A battle existed between the overt optimism brought on by technology, industry, and power and the realities of everyday life for most Americans.

The carnage and agony of the Civil War still haunted people, and racial brutality was a daily reminder of the conflict. Immigrants poured into the country by the millions, and people who had been content to stay on the family farm a generation earlier flocked to the cities in search of a steady income and a better quality of life. City leaders were unprepared for the strain on infrastructure networks, and the worst sections in many cities became ghettos filled with filth and despair.

Swarming with overcrowded streets, factories, and tenements, American cities in the 1900s turned gritty. Diligent efforts made by local officials could not stem the influx of people nor keep up with the infrastructure demands placed on the swelling cities. For example, New York City grew 500 percent between 1860 and 1900, from a population of 750,000 to more than 3.5 million. Chicago topped the 2 million mark.

In these frenzied and chaotic times, American writers asserted themselves as interpreters of the changes taking place before their eyes. Because large segments of the public yearned for literary work in magazines, journals, and newspapers, they had no shortage of outlets to explore new ideas and theories.

William Dean Howells, largely ignored by today's scholars, was the era's unofficial dean of letters and led the "realist" school. This loose association of writers explored life and morality in a culture driven by big business and corporations. Realist authors focused on concrete facts and turned away from portraying genteel society, romantic excess, and utopian idealism—notions that dominated the literary scene prior to 1900. Howells and Henry James actively campaigned for the realist cause, and their works were widely read by the general public and studied by scholars.

Realism in America picked up steam at the turn of the century when society seemed threatened to some degree by the changes taking place—technological advances, never-ending streams of immigrants, and a growing reliance on urban life at the expense of the nation's farmers. The attempt to understand the rapidly changing nation proved to be a fertile ground for writers like Mark Twain, Henry James, and Howells. Realism, however, meant different things to each author. For James, realist fiction explored the inside of characters' minds, a stream of consciousness effect that attempted to reconcile a person's interaction with the outside world and one's inner sensibilities. Twain, on the other hand, concentrated on the use of authentic dialect and shunned the genteel.[3]

Realists tried to probe beneath the surface, essentially starting with facts, then using literary imagination and creativity. Realism, which took hold gradually after the horrors of the Civil War, served as a backlash against the Victorian romanticism popular throughout the nineteenth century. James and Howells, however, did not want their work to venture into violence, death, or extreme situations.

Naturalist writers, such as Frank Norris, Theodore Dreiser, and Jack London, took realism a step further by burrowing down deep into the lives of everyday people and examining characters as victims of society's unchallengeable forces, such as capitalism, poverty, and violence. For naturalists, the world was filled with immorality that distorted everyday life and destroyed republican idealism. They revealed a world that was cruel and indifferent to the plight of the downtrodden.[4]

The biggest difference between the realists and the naturalists was that naturalists were willing to expose the terrible things that happened in society when people are confronted with forces beyond their control.

William Dean Howells established his reputation as an influential editor of the *Atlantic Monthly.* In the 1900s, he served as editor of *Harper's Monthly,* where he wrote a column called "The Editor's Easy Chair." From this pulpit, Howells championed realism and earned the title of "Father of American Realism." He advocated fiction that incorporated psychology, sociology, and accurate depictions of everyday life. Howells authored more than 100 books, concentrating on the lives of characters from the upper middle class.

Howells's changing idealism acted as a philosophical bridge between the post-Civil War generation and those who came of age in the early twentieth century. At the same time that Howells served as a pillar of the literary establishment and urbane society, he also championed socialism, the labor movement, and women's rights. He marched in support of women's rights and took part in the creation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

The other two reigning literary giants in the 1900s were Mark Twain and Henry James. Both authors adopted realism and actively served as mentors, critics, and friends to the next wave of writers following in their wake.

Although Twain is best known for his works published prior to 1900, he still cast a wide shadow over the new century. In his last decade (Twain died in 1910), he moved almost completely into promoting and selling himself and capitalizing on his reputation.

Some of Henry James's novels of the 1900s were considered among his greatest works—*The Wings of the Dove* (1902), *The Ambassadors* (1903), and *The Golden Bowl* (1904)—but he felt alienated from society and his audience. An expatriate living in London, James set foot in America only once during the decade, on a book tour in 1904 and 1905. He later published his diary from the trip as *The American Scene* in 1907. The book stands as a vivid portrait of a writer who no longer understands the changes taking place around him—either the money culture enveloping the nation or the mass immigration propelling city growth. Twentieth-century America, in James's mind, was overrun with immigrants and controlled by monopolistic corporations pushing consumption onto "the wage-earners."[5]

Frank Norris

American realism found its champion in Frank Norris, who grew up in the upper-middle class in San Francisco. Norris wished to portray life as it actually was, without the literary pretensions employed by the romantics.

After enrolling at the University of California at Berkeley and attending writing classes at Harvard, Norris joined the staff of *McClure's Magazine* in New York City. He arranged a meeting with Howells, who became a mentor to the young man.

Over the next several years, Norris wrote overtly masculine novels filled with brutish characters, including *McTeague* (1899), *Blix* (1899), and *A Man's Woman* (1900). With the publication of *McTeague,* the story of a brutal, self-taught San Francisco dentist, Norris became a full-time author and was regarded as one of the top writers of his generation.

Norris planned a trilogy, which he planned to call the "Trilogy of Wheat" and hoped would be the great American novel. The books followed the life cycle of wheat: growth in California, sale in Chicago markets, and distribution worldwide via railroad and steamship. Norris believed a novel should have a purpose, which he equated with telling the truth. With moral support from Howells, and bolstered by the sales of *McTeague* and his other early books, Norris planned a modern epic that would encompass contemporary issues. In preparation, Norris spent four months in San Francisco and the San Joaquin Valley conducting field research and collecting interviews. He decided to base the novel on the bloody battle between wheat ranchers in San Joaquin and a sheriff's posse representing the Southern Pacific Railroad. The encounter at Mussel Slough left eight men dead and forced other ranchers off their land.

After returning to New York, Norris worked at a feverish pace. By some accounts, he wrote the book in one long burst in December 1900. *The Octopus,* published in 1901, tells the story of Magnus Derrick, a wealthy rancher who tries to stand up to the power of the railroad. He tries to save the valley, but he is predestined to fail—a great man felled by the forces of evil represented by the steel tentacles of the railroad spreading across the

land. While the story is dramatic, Norris introduced many of the problems plaguing farmers: foreign competition, high freight rates, railroad regulation, and worker unrest. *The Octopus,* in the spirit of the period's muckraking books, examines the dark side of capitalism.

The book cemented Norris's reputation. Howells and Jack London praised the book. Unfortunately, Norris died before completing his trilogy of wheat. He finished the next book in the series, *The Pit,* but died in San Francisco of a perforated appendix on October 25, 1902. His work expanded the definition of American realism and served as a model for a generation of writers who followed.

In an ironic twist of fate, Norris discovered his successor two years before his death while working as a reader for publishing company Doubleday, Page and Company. He received an unsolicited manuscript from Theodore Dreiser, a journalist and budding novelist. Norris claimed *Sister Carrie* (1900) was the best novel he had ever read and urged its publication, which led to a contract being offered.

Theodore Dreiser

Born into a large, poor Catholic family in Terre Haute, Indiana, in 1871, Dreiser experienced poverty on a daily basis. Prior to Theodore's birth, his father had built a thriving wool factory business, but he had no insurance and lost everything when a fire destroyed the mill. The family then bounced around various Midwestern cities searching for work. Tired of constantly moving, Dreiser left home at 16. He lived in Chicago for a time and spent a year at Indiana University. After leaving school, Dreiser held a series of menial jobs, but later returned to Chicago.

In 1892, Chicago's *Daily Globe* hired Dreiser as a reporter. In Chicago, then later at papers in Pittsburgh, Cleveland, St. Louis, Toledo, and New York City, Dreiser witnessed firsthand the brutalities that befell beggars, alcoholics, prostitutes, and the lowest members of the working poor.

Dreiser first tried writing short stories and published the first four he completed. A friend urged him to write a study of the hard, harsh realities that made up life in the city. Fulfilling that challenge with *Sister Carrie,* Dreiser became the first American writer to fully explore the landscape of city life in fiction.

Sister Carrie chronicles urban struggle in the early twentieth century and the Darwinian ascent of Carrie Meeber, an ordinary girl who leaves Middle America to seek fame and fortune in Chicago. Her fascination with the city mirrored Dreiser's own, and he pulled pieces of the story from the experiences of his own sister, Emma, who had run away with a bartender years earlier. Tiring of factory life, where she first works, Carrie becomes the mistress of two men and manipulates each of them to her advantage. She eventually finds stardom as an actress on the Broadway stage. The tragic figure is the family man and manager of a respectable bar, George Hurstwood, who becomes a shell of his former self through his relationship with Carrie, and finally commits suicide in a cheap hotel. Dreiser's message appears to be that the relentless pursuit of money is a fool's quest and leads to tragedy; although Carrie does well for herself financially, she is not happy.

Even with Frank Norris's approval, publisher Frank Doubleday requested major revisions, deeming the book too scandalous for the reading public. Unwilling to change the book, Dreiser forced Doubleday to honor its contract by threatening a lawsuit for breach of contract. In response, the publisher printed 1,000 copies but did not promote or advertise *Sister Carrie.* Without the backing of his publishing house, Dreiser's book sold less than 500 copies.

The initial failure of *Sister Carrie,* coupled with several harsh reviews, drove Dreiser to a nervous breakdown. In 1903, he suffered from depression, insomnia, constipation, and headaches, and was unable to write. Doctors diagnosed Dreiser as a "neurasthenic," a debilitating nervous disorder thought to disturb the affluent who could not cope with the cultural, social, and economic changes characterizing the age. In an attempt to cure Dreiser, doctors submitted him to a rigorous set of exercises, followed by various drugs, diets, and homeopathy.[6]

Dreiser's brother Paul, a successful songwriter and composer, sent him to a sanitarium in White Plains, New York. Dreiser rebounded and accepted a position as an editor at Butterick's, a

company that published magazines to promote dress patterns. Life as an editor afforded Dreiser the wealth and affluence he craved. In 1907, Dreiser bought one-third of a new publishing company, B. W. Dodge, and reissued *Sister Carrie* himself. The book sold more than 4,500 copies in 1907 and more than 10,000 the following year. The book received rave reviews and vaulted the author to the top of the literary mountain.

The power of *Sister Carrie* lies in Dreiser's portrait of urban life filled with sketches of the Chicago shoe factory, various saloons and hotels, and other streetscapes. Dreiser made the consumer culture gripping the nation a focal point of the book. He also recognized the influence of popular culture on the working class and how entertainment influenced their lives.

Dreiser's bottom-up look at contemporary society shocked upper and middle-class readers, but at the same time alerted them to another world.

THE READING PUBLIC

History, biography, and poetry did sell well during the 1900s, but fiction was the cornerstone of the industry. The romantic novel remained the most popular form of fiction after the Civil War and continued to hold the title.

Eager to capitalize on the market, publishing houses pumped romances out in massive quantities using the distribution systems built in the last years of the previous century. Improvements in print technology and paper production also aided the publishers. As the decade progressed, many serious authors found their way onto the bestseller lists, including Jack London and Edith Wharton. The mainstays, however, were writers who wrote about love, heroism, and the nostalgic past.

In the summer of 1901, Paul Leicester Ford sold 275,000 copies of *Janice Meredith* (1899), while Johnston's *To Have and to Hold* numbered 285,000. Even more impressive, Winston Churchill (not related to the British statesman) concentrated on historical fiction and sold more than 700,000 copies of *Richard Carvel* (1899) and *The Crisis* (1901), the romantic story of a fiery Southern heroine and a solemn Yankee hero. Other authors produced works that sold well for years, including Alice Hegen Rice's *Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch* and John Fox Jr.'s *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* (1903). Edward Westcott's *David Harum,* published posthumously in 1898, a tale of a shrewd, heroic country banker, had sold an amazing 1.2 million copies by 1909 and was made into a movie in both 1915 and 1934, the latter starring Will Rogers.

One of the most prolific novelists of the period was Francis Marion Crawford, who produced more than 45 novels between 1882 and 1909. He wrote formulaic, though historically accurate, dramas, which gave readers a glimpse of life in India, Germany, Turkey, and other exotic locales. The public gobbled up his tales, whose characters ranged from New York debutantes to middle-class Romans.

Book publishing itself turned from a genteel profession prior to 1900 to one driven by profits, despite the outcry from many honorable older publishers who equated their professions with teaching and the ministry. Publishers feared meeting the fate of Harper's and Appleton, two of the country's oldest and most respected houses, which had to be saved from bankruptcy in 1900 by Wall Street financiers. The infusion of business-minded professionals changed the industry, enabling it to adopt new ideas, including marketing, globalization, and the widespread use of innovative technologies. In 1900, more than 600 publishers combined to produce in excess of 7,000 new books; the number reached a record in 1907 of 9,620.

The importance of marketing and sales increased dramatically. With more and more companies vying for advertising space in magazines, ad rates shot up, and estimates revealed that even small publishers spent upward of $50,000 a year on advertising. The 1900s began a trend in the book industry that continues to this day—high advertising and marketing costs cut deeply into the profits, even on best sellers.[7]

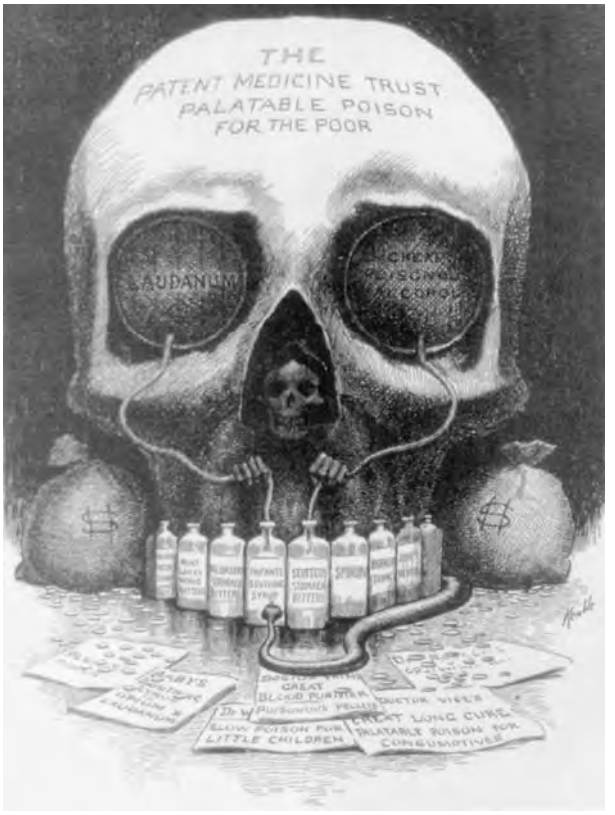
MUCKRAKERS

At the turn of the century, America entered a reform-minded period with politicians, reporters, and civic activists spearheading the charge. Driven by society's ills and a desire to expose the seedy underbelly of the new age, a group of

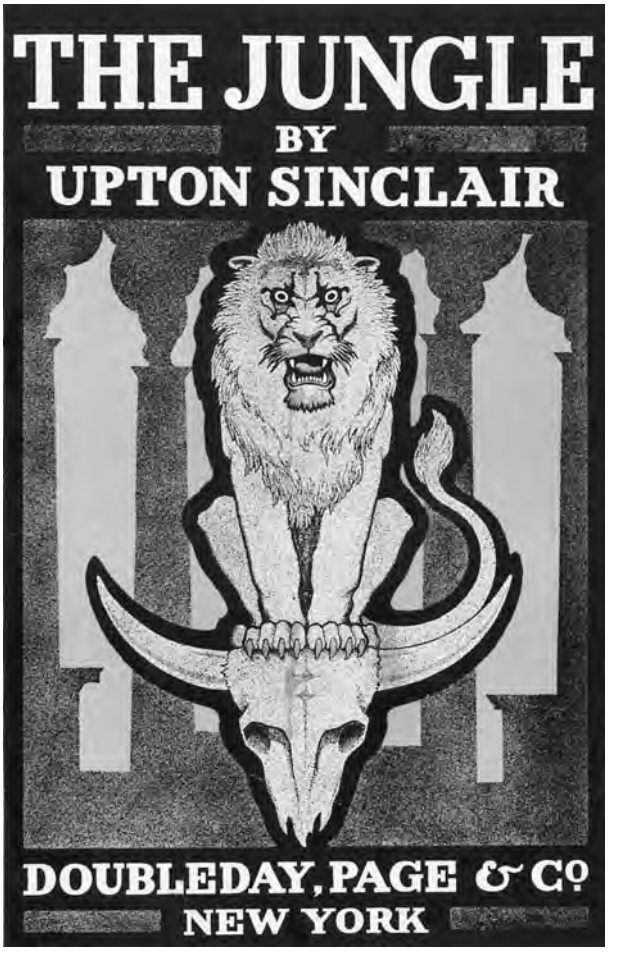
enterprising writers began to poke into government and corporate corruption. President Roosevelt derisively labeled them "muckrakers," after a character in John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678) who slandered those engaged in public work. While the president thought they went overboard and focused on the sensational, middle-class readers clamored for more. In fact, the muckrakers directly influenced the work of politicians and subsequent legislative efforts.

Like the realist fiction writers of the era, the muckrakers reacted to the changes sweeping the nation, focusing primarily on injustices in the corporate world and government. Investigative journalism came of age in the early 1900s, but it had its roots in the work done after the Civil War. The muckrakers grabbed the spotlight when technology made magazines less expensive to publish and national illiteracy rates dropped. These influences, combined with the progressive political and social movement, made the first decade of the new century ripe for the muckrakers.

Magazines and investigative journalists fed off one another in the Progressive Era. The muckrakers fueled the growth of magazines, and at the same time were given a platform on which to present their work. Magazine prices gradually dropped to ten cents a month and a dollar for a year's subscription, which allowed the pioneering *McClure's* to jump from just over 100,000 in circulation in early 1895 to half a million in 1907.[8] Other magazines that grew through the publication of muckraking articles included *Collier's, Cosmopolitan, Everybody's,* the *Independent, Success,*



An example of muckraking journalism of the early 1900s. This cover of *Colliers* magazine, June 3, 1905, shows a cartoon by Kemble: "Death's Laboratory—The patent medicine trust," illustrating an article on problems with the phony medicines sold in such abundance during the period. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.



A poster advertising *The Jungle* by Upton Sinclair, showing a lion standing on the skull of a steer, 1906. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

and the *American Magazine.* The January 1903 issue of *McClure's* ushered in the muckraking movement when it published an article on municipal graft written by Lincoln Steffens, a chapter from Ida Tarbell's history of Standard Oil, and an essay written by Ray Stannard Baker.

The muckraking movement ran virtually parallel to Roosevelt's presidency. Although he disliked the sensationalistic tactics employed by some writers, he respected their work. The president knew the writers and editors at the journals and sometimes invited them to White House luncheons. Many muckrakers, including Tarbell, Steffens, Baker, and Upton Sinclair became quite famous in their own right.

UPTON SINCLAIR, *THE JUNGLE,* AND THE 1906 PURE FOOD AND DRUG ACT

Upton Sinclair's novel, *The Jungle* (1906), is quite possibly the saddest book ever written. The novel follows the plight of a Lithuanian immigrant family trying to make it in America in the early twentieth century. The Rudkus family endures unimaginable tragedy and suffering on every page due to the manipulation of con men, brutal industry foremen, and the generally horrible conditions of life for immigrants in America during the early 1900s. Sinclair, a socialist writer, knew exactly what he was doing with this book. He stated, in essence, that he was there to write the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of the labor movement. Indeed, his novel did effect social change in that it exposed the gross and inhumane practices of such industries as the meat packing plants. Early on, managers at these plants would think nothing of mixing in a man's severed arm with a vat of diseased cow. What evolved from *The Jungle* and other texts was the Food and Drug Act of 1906, six months after the book was published, which called for regular inspections and regulations of all meat products. Literary exposés that led to legislation were nothing new, as Sinclair pointed out. Abraham Lincoln referred to Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* as "the little lady who started the big war." Of course, he was referring to the Civil War, which was in part fought for the abolition of slavery, a subject addressed in Stowe's novel.

VOICES NOT OFTEN HEARD: WOMEN AND BLACKS

While the years following 1900 were filled with optimism and hope for many individuals and groups, these years offered little optimism for blacks in the United States. Racial divisions that plagued the nation since its founding continued unabated.

Blacks and other non-Anglo citizens were denied their basic freedoms through violent intimidation, legal wrangling, and segregation. This volatile environment led to 214 blacks being lynched in 1900 and 1901, and an average of 100 a year through World War I.[9] The *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) case before the Supreme Court made segregation constitutionally legal and solidified the second-class status of African Americans. The court case upheld the idea of "separate but equal," which made discrimination legal if facilities and accommodations for whites and blacks were equal. Factories and shop floors were more open to immigrants than they were to blacks.

In this environment of fear, intimidation, and legal manipulation to keep blacks disenfranchised, African-American writers fought to have their voices heard. Even in the South, where local authors explored the distinct flavor of the region, black authors had little impact in comparison with their white counterparts. The reading public looked to white writers, such as Joel Chandler Harris (1848–1908), to interpret the rural South and the black culture. Harris published the best-selling Uncle Remus stories, written in African-American dialect and based on folk characters.

For the most part, women authors found it difficult to publish, especially writers of serious literature. Publishers and critics, who were mostly male, marginalized many top female writers or ignored them altogether. Immigrant and black female writers found it even tougher. Publishing houses also played a role in marginalizing women and blacks by not printing books that wouldn't garner a large audience. Often, as in the case of critically acclaimed African American author Charles Waddell Chesnutt, the few blacks and women who did get published only had a couple of chances to prove they could sell, or they would get dropped.

Some women writers, however, were able to find an outlet by producing popular fiction, mainly

romance or historical romance works. Their success may be linked to the political attention women gained from the suffragette Susan B. Anthony before her death in 1906, and from social worker Jane Addams. In addition, the seemingly more open-minded stance of the Progressives might have also helped women writers gain some measure of acceptance.

Despite the rampant racism and sexism of the publishing industry in the 1900s, several outstanding female and African American writers were able to emerge, most notably Edith Wharton, Booker T. Washington, and W.E.B. Du Bois. Unfortunately, the works of countless other female and black writers were suppressed in the first decade of the twentieth century and have faded into oblivion.

Edith Wharton

Edith Wharton (1862–1937) emerged from an affluent family that tried to squelch her literary aspirations. At the time, many believed education to be a burden for upper-class women, ultimately weakening their constitution. After her marriage to Teddy Wharton, a wealthy Bostonian 13 years her senior, Wharton suffered from severe neurasthenia and did not recover until 1900. She later told a friend that for 12 years she experienced intense nausea and constant fatigue.

Wharton's first book, *The Decoration of Houses* (1897), written with architect Ogden Codman, examined household design. The empowerment she felt after the first book propelled Wharton toward her first book of fiction, published two years later, a collection of short stories called *The Greater Inclination.* Although well into her 30s, when most women of her class were tending to children and running the day-to-day affairs of their estates, Wharton embarked on a career as a novelist and writer. After her mother's death in 1901, the Whartons moved to Lenox, Massachusetts, where she built a mansion called "the Mount." Wharton designed the house to allow her the privacy to write without interruption.

Wharton produced nearly a book a year throughout the 1900s. In addition, she wrote short stories, travel accounts, and poems. Wharton set her first novel, a historical romance called *The Valley of Decision* (1902) in eighteenth-century Italy. Though the book showed talent and earned praise from noted novelist Henry James, he urged her to write about the world around her, especially the high society of old New York. She followed his advice and wrote *The House of Mirth* (1905), which established her as a bestselling author and a respected member of the literary class.

The House of Mirth tells the story of Lily Bart, a woman of New York high society at the turn of the century. Trapped by her class, and expected to marry a man of status, she longs for escape. The satirical elements of the novel are scathing, fully illuminating what Wharton regarded as a vacuous world occupied by the rich. Longing to be free, Lily is pulled back by the trappings of her social class. Ultimately, she overdoses on sleeping medication—the only freedom she had power to grasp.

The House of Mirth established Wharton as a literary celebrity and the book broke sales records at the time, staying at the top of the best seller list for several months. It was released in October 1905, and by Christmas, 140,000 copies were in print.[10] In 1906, Wharton earned $27,000 from the royalties of *The House of Mirth* (more than $250,000 in today's dollars). Fellow authors applauded Wharton, including Henry James, Hamlin Garland, and William Dean Howells. Reviewers and critics also universally praised the work. Toward the end of her life, Wharton's critics charged her with being out of touch with contemporary America and not understanding the working class.

In her own life, Wharton defied the picture she painted of New York society. After years of a loveless marriage, she moved to Paris in 1911, divorced in 1913, and lived out a rich intellectual life. Wharton continued to publish and two of her later books are considered classics: *Ethan Frome* (1911) and *The Age of Innocence* (1920).

The Age of Innocence won the Pulitzer Prize in 1921. Two years later, Yale awarded Wharton an honorary doctorate, making her the first woman to receive such an honor from any American university.

Booker T. Washington

One of the first widely accepted black writers in the new century was Booker T. Washington (1856–1915). His autobiography, *Up from Slavery*

(1901), describes a life of overcoming enormous odds to achieve a semblance of the American Dream. As a child, Washington lived in a one-room shack with a dirt floor, and his stepfather forbade him to learn to read or write. Instead of retreating to a life of abject poverty, his early experiences pushed Washington to emphasize education and learning. Washington rose to become president of Tuskegee Institute and advised presidents and other leaders regarding race relations.

After Washington joined President Roosevelt for lunch at the White House in October 1901, a firestorm of protest erupted against both men. Ironically, neither Roosevelt nor Washington planned the meeting to make a point about racism. The intellectual Roosevelt simply wanted to meet with the black leader to discuss a wide-ranging set of issues. However, the public outcry over a simple lunch date showed how far the nation had to go to make any progress in regard to race issues.

W.E.B. Du Bois

Washington's approach to improving the lives of blacks through vocational training drew criticism from other black leaders, most prominently W.E.B. Du Bois (1868–1963). In Du Bois's mind, Washington supported a system that fundamentally denied African Americans their basic rights. Instead Du Bois favored blacks organizing their own businesses to achieve economic independence. He criticized Washington in an essay in his book *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903).

In contrast to Washington, Du Bois grew up in a middle-class family in Massachusetts and became the first black to earn a Ph.D. from Harvard University. Du Bois did not believe in civil rights as defined by other leaders. He urged Southern blacks to move north. After a bloody race riot in Springfield, Illinois, Du Bois and his followers held conferences at Harpers Ferry and Niagara Falls, which eventually led to the creation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Du Bois served as the first editor of the NAACP journal, the *Crisis.*

Other Black Writers

Black writers asserted themselves as far as possible in a white-dominated publishing system. Poet Paul Laurence Dunbar (1872–1906) and novelist Charles W. Chesnutt (1858–1932) both gained fame during the 1900s. Booker T. Washington dubbed Dunbar, a native of Dayton, Ohio, as the "Poet Laureate of the Negro Race." Although talented writers, neither Dunbar nor Chesnutt enjoyed the fame or attention accorded their white contemporaries. Dunbar faced financial difficulties his entire life and eventually worked in the Reading Room of the Library of Congress. Chesnutt settled down in Cleveland, Ohio, and found success as a lawyer and legal stenographer.

While financial success eluded Dunbar most of his life, he became one of America's most popular poets during the 1900s and achieved international fame. Dunbar used black dialect and standard English in his poetry. He began publishing his verse in 1895, with *Majors and Minors.* With his first book, Dunbar grabbed the attention of William Dean Howells. The glowing review Howells gave Dunbar's dialectic poems, however, hindered the young man as he tried to break away from the genre. American literary critics accepted black poets only when they employed the dialectic of ex-slaves. To gain acceptance, Dunbar portrayed them as contented and free of the ills associated with racism, at least in part to ease white America's guilty conscience. A victim of tuberculosis, Dunbar died in 1906, cutting short a promising career. In addition to his volumes of poetry, he published four novels and four collections of short stories.

Born in Cleveland, Ohio, Chesnutt spent most of his life until age 25 in Fayetteville, North Carolina. Self-taught through rigorous studies, he served as a teacher and administrator in schools in North and South Carolina until moving north in the 1880s. Eventually, he moved to Cleveland. Chesnutt began writing short stories, many of which were published in newspapers. In 1887, one was published in the *Atlantic Monthly,* the first time a black writer's work was published in the magazine. His first two short story collections, both published in 1899, *The Conjure Woman* and *The Wife of His Youth,* explore the grim world of slavery. Chesnutt confronted issues of racial prejudice, including the actions of middle-class blacks in Cleveland, which he renamed "Groveland." As an African American writer in the 1900s, Chesnutt used irony to make points about

racial stereotypes, and the short story served as his primary weapon.

Chesnutt published three novels during the 1900s: *The House Behind the Cedars* (1900), *The Marrow of Tradition* (1901), and *The Colonel's Dream* (1905). Collectively, these works examined interracial love, cooperation, and harmony. In Chesnutt's last novel, a Southern aristocrat tries to overcome the slave culture, but despite his efforts, he is driven out of the region.

Racist Writers

Despite the efforts of Washington and Du Bois, blacks continued to fight against stereotypes and racism daily. The new century brought hope and optimism, but it did not deliver tolerance or harmony. White supremacists attacked blacks and used pseudoscientific methodologies, such as skull measurement, terminology, and supposed expert opinion, to support their position that blacks were physically and mentally inferior. William P. Calhoun's *The Caucasian and the Negro* (1902) and William Pickett's *Negro Problem* (1909), both racist works, attempted to justify the position of white supremacy. Whites, when they included black characters in fiction, most often portrayed blacks as savages or simpletons. These kinds of books flourished in the North and South.

Thomas Dixon Jr., a former Baptist minister wrote three racist books that were commercially successful: *The Leopard's Spots* (1902), *The Clansman* (1905), and *The Traitor* (1907). Dixon celebrated the racial violence of the Ku Klux Klan, lamented that the South had lost the Civil War, and criticized Reconstruction. Despite the nation's progressive political attitude, Dixon's works sold well, even prompting filmmaker D. W. Griffith to use *The Clansman* as the outline for his legendary film *The Birth of a Nation* in 1915.

MAGAZINES

At the end of the nineteenth century, technological improvements had lowered the prices of magazines and newspapers, making them affordable to a wider audience. The introduction of paper made from wood pulp, rather than rags, dropped costs dramatically, as did the use of photoengraving. The general expansion of the nation's school system fed new readers into the circulation cycle. School enrollment more than doubled from 7 million in 1860 to 15.5 million in 1900. Illiteracy dropped from 20 percent in 1870 to about 11 percent at the beginning of the new century.[11]

At the same time that reading became more commonplace, American businesses produced an array of consumer goods that needed publicity. A new style of magazine emerged that served as a vehicle for gaudy advertisements; half the space was devoted to ads. The combination of technological advances and money acquired through ad sales dropped the price of the general circulation magazines, in turn increasing circulation.

Women's magazines served an important role in the 1900s. They introduced American households to the growing consumer culture, while delivering domestic advice. The *Ladies' Home Journal,* under editor Edward Bok, advised women on everything from marriage and hygiene to architecture and interior decorating. The magazine also introduced readers to fiction written by Twain, Howells, and Jewett. *Good Housekeeping* set up a research institute in 1900 to test every product mentioned in its pages. The magazine introduced the Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval in 1909. Other magazines, imitating the pioneering work of *Good Housekeeping,* spread awareness of food quality nationwide.

As circulation figures rose at the *Journal,* so did Bok's influence. He banned suggestive advertising copy and all references to alcohol and tobacco. Although a conservative, Bok took a progressive stand on sex education. In a public battle, Bok joined with the Woman's Christian Temperance Union to oppose patent medicines, which contained high doses of alcohol and narcotic drugs. In 1904, Bok began printing the contents of the most popular patent medicines. He urged the estimated 80 million users to boycott the dangerous drugs. The $59 million industry fought back when Bok printed incorrect information about Doctor Pierce's Favorite Prescription and forced him to print a retraction and pay damages. Bok's advocacy helped popularize the legislation that eventually passed through Congress as the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906.[12] (See Food of the 1900s.)

Publishers found an eager audience among children. Two publications stood out: the monthly

St. Nicholas (founded in 1873) and the weekly *Youth's Companion* (founded in 1827). *St. Nicholas* featured the work of Twain and L. Frank Baum, author of *The Wizard of Oz*. *Youth's Companion* had a circulation above 500,000 until 1907, when numerous changes were made and the magazine went into decline. Youth readers, especially boys, gravitated toward another type of magazine, called the dime novel, which were actually long short stories bound into five or ten-cent magazines.

The titles of these magazines were written to attract young male readers. They ranged from *Pluck and Luck: Stories of Adventure* to *Might and Main: Stories of Boys Who Succeed*. The greatest hero of the age was Frank Merriwell, created by George Patten (alias Burt L. Standish) for *Tip Top Weekly*. A star athlete and student at Fardale Academy and Yale University, Merriwell embodied the ideal traits in a young man. For 20 years, he outwitted urban bullies, Texas bandits, and even Chinese hooligans. Even though Patten had an estimated 125 million readers a week, he received only $150 per issue and died in poverty.



This poster was published in 1903 to promote Fred R. Hamlin's musical extravaganza "The Wizard of Oz," to capture the great interest in the book. The Library of Congress notes that the costume designs featured in the poster are different from the popular illustrations in the book, published in 1900. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

WORDS AND PHRASES

activism

bawl out

the berries (best, wonderful)

birds (women)

divvy (divine)

gratters/congratters (congratulations)

gummy (disgusting, terrible)

hard-boiled (heartless, strict)

muckraker

strenuous life (Roosevelt-promoted lifestyle consisting of outdoor activity, sports, and hard work)

Tin Pan Alley

Comics

As innovations in the color press improved during the 1890s, newspaper publishers added color supplements to their Sunday editions. Often, they reprinted color illustrations and art from various humor magazines. Comic strip artists realized the potential of the medium and were supported by publishers seeking a competitive advantage. The early comic artists mixed humor with social satire. Richard Felton Outcault, at one time a technical

NEW MAGAZINES

The Smart Set (1900)

Popular Mechanics (1902)

Redbook (1903)

Variety (1905)

artist for Thomas Edison, began publishing a one-frame comic called "Hogan's Alley" in 1895. The comic featured a poor urban neighborhood and centered on a jug-eared toddler, dubbed the Yellow Kid, who captured the public's heart. Outcault's Yellow Kid fed a merchandising bonanza for Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* and featured everything from Yellow Kid cigarettes to a Broadway musical.

Outcault eventually tired of the strip and grew frustrated at critics who declared that comic strips were crude. In 1902, Outcault created Buster Brown, an upper-class boy who terrorized everyone around him and created a constant wave of chaos. Each "Buster Brown" strip ended with a homily inspired by Ralph Waldo Emerson or Henry David Thoreau, explaining what Buster had learned in the course of his adventures. The success of his strips made Outcault wealthy, and he became caught in the battle between Pulitzer and his archenemy William Randolph Hearst, the owner of the *New York Journal*.

Entertainment

of the 1900s

In the 1900s, many families had excess leisure time and spending money for the first time. The billions of pages of Tin Pan Alley sheet music sold, and the plays, musicals, and concerts performed nationwide reflected an increasing demand for amusement. Later in the decade, a new form of entertainment, motion pictures or "flickering flicks," gained a large following.

The cult of celebrity propelled the public's desire to see theater—musicals, dramas, and comedies—in the early years of the new century. In New York City alone in 1900, there were 40 theaters, six vaudeville houses, and several stages specializing in entertainment for specific ethnic groups, such as the Yiddish theater. The emerging middle class put on their Sunday best and paid for the opportunity to cheer world-famous actor William Gillette as the methodical Sherlock Holmes, the legendary Sarah Bernhardt in Edmond Rostand's *L'Aiglon,* and perhaps the greatest actor of his day, Richard Mansfield, whose ego and tantrums matched his ability on stage in *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.*

Working-class individuals often preferred a less sophisticated form of entertainment—vaudeville and burlesque. Nearly every town in America had a vaudeville theater in the 1900s. But like saloons, racetracks, and betting houses, vaudeville performances were a place where rich and poor mixed. People across social classes also flocked (whether openly or secretly) to seedier forms of entertainment, such as "leg shows" and striptease acts.

Vaudeville houses in the biggest markets performed two shows a day to packed houses in glitzy theaters. In smaller cities and less glamorous locales, there might be as many as six shows a day. Theaters such as the Majestic in Chicago and the 27-house chain Orpheum Theatre, headquartered in Chicago with branches in Brooklyn and San Francisco, were first-run palaces in which families held reservations year after year for weekly performances. The popularity of vaudeville shows drew crowds away from more serious theater, but not as dramatically as movies soon would.

Theodore Roosevelt never realized the potential of film, although he was filmed on different occasions while he was president. When Henry Cabot Lodge suggested that Roosevelt use film in his upcoming campaign, the president sarcastically asked if he should do a dance for Thomas Edison's motion picture camera.

Movies came under fire in the 1900s from churches, reform groups, and social workers for loosening standards of morality. The fervor reached a peak in 1907 when New York City mayor George B. McClellan revoked the licenses of the city's 600 theaters after the clergy banded

together to dispute films they deemed immoral and the practice of showing movies on Sundays. In response, production companies banded together to form a self-regulated overseeing body, known as the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures (NBR), which placed restrictions on movies in hopes that it would end censorship at the local level.[1]

The NBR, in cooperation with local municipalities, ushered in an unprecedented period of growth for the movie industry. As a result, former vaudeville theaters were renovated and turned into grand palaces where families could see movies. Business interests quickly realized the money-making potential of the movie industry and set out to legitimize the business.

BROADWAY

In 1900, Broadway was awash in electric light and the "Great White Way" was the mecca of the theater world. Critics cited an interesting contrast—weak plots, uninspiring performances, and manipulated emotion against lavish production elements designed for mass appeal. Basically, Broadway suffered from an abundance of style, but little substance, despite the number of playgoers who turned out for the performances. For middle-class citizens, going to the theater was a formal affair. Spectators donned their best attire to take in the glitter and pomp of plays, musicals, comedies, and dramas. The conservative middle-class audiences wanted damsels in distress and cookie-cutter heroes and villains. The theater scene degenerated to the point that in 1902 the *New York Times* questioned whether the musical theater would soon be "dead."

George Cohan came to Broadway's rescue and revived the musical comedy almost single-handedly. Born into a vaudeville family, Cohan had been on the road since the age of eight. The Four Cohans became one of the nation's most popular vaudeville acts. By the time he reached his late teens, Cohan was writing and choreographing most of the act. He wrote his first two musicals in 1901, but both were box-office failures. Cohan refused to give up, but he needed a financial backer to move up to bigger theaters in New York.[2]

Cohan found his backer in fellow theater enthusiast Sam H. Harris. Together, the two produced *Little Johnny Jones* (1904), the story of American jockey Tod Sloan, who rode in the previous year's English Derby. Cohan played the part of Sloan (fictionalized as Johnny Jones) emphasizing his patriotism, which appealed greatly to audiences. Cohan sang, "I'm a Yankee Doodle Dandy/ A Yankee Doodle do or die/ A real live nephew of my Uncle Sam/ Born on the Fourth of July." Although the show ran nearly five hours, Cohan introduced speed and fluidity into the musical, so the performance contained action throughout. Cohan also pioneered the use of slang in theater. In his show, women were called "birds," and lines included a waiter asking a customer, "Shall I call you a hansom [taxicab], sir?" to which the customer replied, "Call me anything you like." Despite its groundbreaking aspects, critics panned the show, and it lasted only 52 performances. Cohan, however, took the musical on the road, always honing and editing. When he returned to Broadway a year later, the show enjoyed two long runs.[3]

Cohan's next musical, *Forty-five Minutes from Broadway,* opened on New Year's Day, 1906. The successful show included one of the decade's most enduring hits, "Mary's a Grand Old Name."

Like so many other business endeavors in the 1900s, a trust, known as the Theatrical Syndicate, controlled financial backing on Broadway. The three men controlled the trust: Charles Frohman, Marc Klaw, and Abraham Erlanger. The Syndicate worked because theater owners received star-studded shows and, in return, merely had to book the performances through trust contracts. Any theater owner who chose to work outside the Syndicate was forced to book second-and third-rate shows. Anyone who balked at the system got blacklisted, which could cost performers their careers.

The Theatrical Syndicate forced playwrights to author plays showcasing a certain actor or actress, effectively stifling creativity. On the financial side, the trust collected 5 to 10 percent of each theater's gross income and set terms for all its members. While some actors, playwrights, and theater owners got rich from the monopoly, many more were exploited by the system. Some actors, actresses,

and producers actively fought the trust, including Eugene O'Neill's father, James O'Neill, and producer-playwright David Belasco, one of the most popular producers in the United States in the period. Because actresses Minnie Fiske and Sarah Bernhardt took active stands against the Syndicate, they were forced to play in skating rinks and tent theaters during the height of the trust's power. A rival group, led by the Shubert brothers, began a monopoly of their own, and by 1910 the brothers had 1,200 theaters in their control nationwide.[4]

One of the most popular shows on Broadway during the decade was *The Merry Widow* (1907). While walking down the streets of New York before the musical even opened, one could hear people whistling the music of a Viennese operetta, since the lack of copyright law made it possible to sell the sheet music before the show ever opened. The success of the sheet music "The Merry Widow Waltz," at five cents a copy, propelled huge advance ticket sales to the show. Soon, 100 companies were performing the show around the world.



Sarah Bernhardt in the title role of the play "Theodora." Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

The musical won widespread acclaim, and its popularity led to a fashion craze of *Merry Widow* products—the *Merry Widow* hat (a huge monstrosity topped by a bird of paradise), corsets, shoes, candies, cigars, and gloves. The success of the musical also led to six years of Broadway shows dominated by Viennese operettas, including Oscar Straus's *A Waltz Dream* and *The Chocolate Soldier* and Ivan Caryll's *The Pink Lady*.[5]

Some playwrights produced plays on serious topics based on real-world experiences. These playwrights followed in the path of the muckrakers and such realist writers as Theodore Dreiser and Frank Norris, who were concerned with the seedier aspects of daily life in the United States. (See Books, Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics of the 1900s.) After reading Ida Tarbell's *History of the Standard Oil Company* (1904), Charles Klein wrote the play *The Lion and the Mouse* (1906). The play, which examines the monopolistic tendencies of big business, centers around a main character who closely resembles oil magnate John D. Rockefeller. It enjoyed a two-year run on Broadway. Rachel Crothers wrote, from a feminist point of view, *The Three of Us* (1906) and *A Man's World* (1909). Other playwrights examined the social issues of labor struggles, poverty, and women's abuse.[6]

No matter what the subject of the play or musical was, audiences went to see their favorite stars. Actresses Lillian Russell and Anna Held, for example, were as famous in their day as the era's sports stars and athletes. Others became famous for one role, such as Maude Adams, whose performance as Peter Pan captivated audiences. Anna Held, backed by her common-law husband, Florenz Ziegfeld, captured the public's imagination as a Parisian beauty and seductress. Ziegfeld, a master of publicity, used his influence to make Held

a huge star. He leaked stories to the press about Held's daily 40-gallon milk bath that supposedly preserved her creamy complexion, leading to an increase in milk sales across the country. The actress also persuaded Ziegfeld to put together a revue, which later evolved into *Ziegfeld's Follies*. In 1907, the *Follies* had a successful run on Broadway and then toured in Baltimore and Washington. For the year, the show made $120,000, which would translate into millions of dollars today.[7]

Florenz Ziegfeld's success made him a legendary figure in theater history. The basic inspiration for *Ziegfeld's Follies* came from a long-running Parisian revue that presented political and social commentary through skits, as well as other numbers that featured scantily clad women. When Ziegfeld Americanized the show, he added lavish production numbers, featured songs written by the nation's top composers, and organized a chorus of attractive women. Ziegfeld's show took the idea of minstrel theater, vaudeville, and cabaret and expanded them, while also adding an air of sophistication, ensuring that women would not be offended by the show.

The early success of the Follies in a small theater in New York led to the review being booked in the New Amsterdam, Broadway's largest and most attractive theater. Ziegfeld hired the best talent he could find, from set designers and technicians to musicians, writers, and actors. Ziegfeld's chorus girls had glamorous costumes, designed by the era's best fashion mavens. He also made sure that the lighting and stage productions showed the women in the best light possible.

Later editions of the Ziegfeld Follies in the 1910s and 1920s featured talent as diverse as W. C. Fields, Will Rogers, and Eddie Cantor, and had songs composed by Irving Berlin. Ziegfeld himself gained such notoriety and fame that his story was made into a movie, *The Great Ziegfeld* (1936), which won an Academy Award for Best Picture.

VAUDEVILLE AND BURLESQUE

Vaudeville in the United States was a mixed bag of ventriloquists, jugglers, animal acts, singers, short one-act plays, and other more bizarre acts. The level of skill displayed by these early artists varied greatly. Most vaudeville players spent their lives on the road and made little money. Vaudeville performers expected a great degree of crowd interaction—some of which included throwing rotten fruits and vegetables at hapless stage acts. The Cherry Sisters, dubbed "America's Worst Act," sang with a net between them and the audience to protect the sisters from projectiles. On the other end of the spectrum stood the Three Keatons, a comedy act in which six-year-old Buster Keaton thrilled the audience as "The Human Mop" and teased his real-life parents, who contributed acrobatics and constant banter.

Those who once went to dramas or comedies now turned to vaudeville for its variety of features. At the famous Orpheum Theatre in San Francisco, a ticket had to be ordered days in advance for vaudeville performances.[8]

Some observers hoped that vaudeville would rise above its pedestrian roots. In a 1905 article appearing in *Cosmopolitan,* writer and playwright Israel Zangwill argued that vaudeville should stage the comeback of the one-act play and lamented that audiences were too comfortable with the lighthearted fare.

Many of vaudeville's top acts were multitalented performers who could sing, act, juggle, tell jokes, and do just about anything else to get a reaction from an audience. One of the early stars was Leo Carrillo, from one of California's richest families, who told Chinese dialect stories. Another big star,

NOTABLE THEATER OF THE 1900s

Florodora, 1900 (505 perfs.)
The Lion and the Mouse, 1905 (586 perfs.)
A Society Circus, 1905 (596 perfs.)
The Man of the Hour, 1906 (479 perfs.)
The Red Mill, 1906 (274 perfs.)
The Rose of the Rancho, 1906 (480 perfs.)
The Merry Widow, 1907 (416 perfs.)
The Man from Home, 1908 (496 perfs.)
The Fortune Hunter, 1909 (345 perfs.)
A Trip to Japan, 1909 (447 perfs.)
The Music Master, 1904 (627 perfs.)

Julian Eltinge, spoofed the famous Gibson Girl in 1907 with a female impersonation he called the Simpson Girl. Some major theatrical stars, including Sarah Bernhardt and Ethel Barrymore, joined vaudeville troupes between seasons.[9]

Public relations whiz Willie Hammerstein, cousin of composer Oscar Hammerstein, often used freak or stunt acts in his theater on West 42nd Street in New York City. Freak acts did not mean that the people in the acts were freaks; they were individuals the audience wanted to see because of their fame or notoriety. Often infamous criminals, who lamented their illicit ways, were part of vaudeville shows. Author and public speaker Helen Keller was a "freak" act, as was Dr. Frederick Cook, who discussed his adventures in the North Pole controversy.[10]

Burlesque began as musical productions making fun of current events or famous plays, which was said to be "burlesquing." The women who appeared in burlesque wore revealing tights to titillate the male audience. Beautiful scenery, music, and comedy were also used to attract men to the shows. While most people associate burlesque with striptease, that aspect only dominated the shows during its later years. The early years certainly featured sexually aggressive women spoofing the Victorian image of the dainty, submissive female. These acts were balanced with comedy and musicals, often spoofing Shakespeare or other cultural icons.

The greatest burlesque star of the 1900s was Millie de Leon, who mimicked Eva Tanguay's trancelike movements but also made physical contact with the audience. Like all great vaudeville and burlesque actors, de Leon used negative publicity to further her career. When she was arrested in Brooklyn in 1903, the charges against her



A poster for the "Hurly-Burly Extravaganza and Refined Vaudeville," ca. 1900. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

NOTABLE ACTORS OF THE 1900s

Maude Adams, 1872–1953, stage actress

Ethel Barrymore, 1879–1959, stage actress

Sarah Bernhardt, 1824–1923, stage actress

Minnie Fiske, 1865–1932, realistic drama stage actress

William Gillette, 1853–1937, playwright and actor

Anna Held, 1872–1918, vaudeville performer

Richard Mansfield, 1854–1907, romantic actor

James O'Neill, 1845–1920, dramatic actor, father of Eugene O'Neill

Lillian Russell, 1861–1922, actress and singer

only spread her fame. She also spread rumors of alleged liaisons and affairs to keep the attention of audiences. She often took the stage without wearing tights, long before bare legs were acceptable for women in public.

By the mid-1900s, some promoters moved to make burlesque more respectable. In 1908, the Star and Garter opened in Chicago, offering "Clean Entertainment for Self-Respecting People," but burlesque remained scandalous and tawdry.[11]

Burlesque became a kind of minor league for vaudeville and musical comedy. Entertainers such as Sophie Tucker, Red Skelton, and W. C. Fields began their careers in burlesque, only to move up to vaudeville, radio, and movies in later years. In the 1920s, burlesque dropped many of its skits and comedy routines and focused on striptease, leading to burlesque's becoming more popular than vaudeville. Burlesque houses dominated Times Square in those days, until law enforcement cracked down on the striptease shows in the 1930s.

MOVIES

As early as 1894 and 1895, crude animated films were shown on screens in the United States. The first picture show in New York City took place at Koster and Bial's Music Hall on April 27, 1896. The early animations were difficult to see, but they fueled a great deal of curiosity.

The development of moving pictures was an outgrowth of advances in photography. By the turn of the century, millions of households had a stereoscope, a handheld device that made pictures look three dimensional. In 1901, the Underwood Company produced 25,000 stereo views a day and sold 300,000 stereoscopes. Stereo views were sold via catalogs, such as Sears, Roebuck and Company or door-to-door. The machines brought the events of the world to ordinary Americans. People collected stereo views of events ranging from the World's Fair to the flights of the Wright Brothers to the building of the Panama Canal.[12]

Meanwhile, George Eastman's handheld Kodak camera made it possible for anyone to take snapshots. In 1900, Eastman's chief designer, Frank Brownell, developed a cheap, easy-to-use camera made specifically for children—the "Brownie," which cost just one dollar. Kodak advertised the camera with illustrations of mythical creatures made popular by Canadian writer Palmer Cox in the children's magazine *St. Nicholas*. Kodak also set up camera clubs and sponsored photography contests to keep consumers interested in buying Kodak products.

Throughout the nineteenth century, inventors and artists searched for a way to represent motion, but it was not until Thomas Edison began working on film devices that the Kinetograph and Kinetoscope were born. After displaying these motion picture devices at the Chicago World's Fair, parlors were set up around the country featuring early motion pictures. Penny arcades allowed viewers to see short scenes of everyday life—a girl dancing or a man sneezing. The commercial prospects of Kinetoscopes developed as promoters realized they could make money if many people could watch a projected movie simultaneously.

The motion picture industry grew quickly, especially after Edison established the first studio in 1905, "Black Maria," a tarpaper-lined box that swung around to catch the sun for filming. Other groups raced to produce films, including the Vitagraph Company of Brooklyn, the Lubin Company of Philadelphia, and several firms in Chicago.

Early pictures varied from scenes of important cultural or political events, such as William McKinley's inauguration, or a simple prizefight

or a moving automobile. In 1903, Edison may have filmed the first commercial, an advertising piece for the Lackawanna Railroad, showing company mascot Phoebe Snow riding the "Road of Anthracite" in a long, white dress to show how clean railroad travel had become. One of the first films to use narrative was Edwin S. Porter's *The Great Train Robbery* (1903), an 11-minute tale of a train robbery and the capture of the thieves. Porter, an early innovator in camera work, filmed one scene in which a robber fires his gun directly at the camera. The audiences, tricked by the technique, screamed, and some spectators passed out in terror.[13]

Porter created more visually stunning films over the next several years. *The Dream of a Rarebit Fiend* (1906) uses the camera to let the audience see the world through the eyes of a drunken man. Another Porter motion picture, *The Kleptomaniac* (1905) examines the way in which a wealthy woman shoplifter is handled by the authorities versus the brutal way they treated a poor woman who had stolen a loaf of bread.

Porter was an early innovator, but D. W. Griffith was the master filmmaker of the 1900s, despite his racist three-hour epic *The Birth of a Nation* (1915). (See Entertainment of the 1910s.) Griffith's first film, *The Adventures of Dollie* (1908), told the story of a child kidnapped by gypsies who is saved after floating down the river in a barrel. During his stint with the production company Biograph, which lasted until 1913, Griffith directed approximately 450 films. He was the first director to use many of the techniques we take for granted today, including the close-up and distant shots, the pan shot, the fade-out, and sustained suspense.

Most films lasted 15 to 20 minutes, short enough for people to fit them into their daily lives, especially children after school. Some families spent Saturday afternoons going from theater to theater to take in all the different films. Most early nickelodeons were located close to working-class and immigrant neighborhoods, often close to trolley lines and busy shopping streets. To keep up with the demand, theater owners imported nearly half of their films from overseas. France is generally credited with having the leading film studios in the 1900s.[14]

A 1908 report in *Independent* estimated that within the previous two years, a motion picture theater had opened in every town and village in the country.[15] By 1910, there were approximately 10,000 movie theaters servicing an audience of more than 10 million a week.[16]

DANCE

Dancing in the United States prior to the 1900s was regimented and had a sense of restraint—a holdover from the nation's early Puritan settlers. Formal dance, which had come from Europe, was considered high culture. On the other end of the social scale, public dances, held since the 1880s, were considered vulgar and a sign of lower-class standing. Working-class families were not as rigid, and young children often danced in the streets during playtime.

Despite these attitudes, and preconceived notions about the evils of dancing, a dance craze broke out at the turn of the century, fueled by young adults in the working class. After a full day in the factories, these young people flocked to neighborhood halls and saloons or ballrooms and danced the night away in their finest dress clothes. Children in working-class families were more likely to dance at an early age, so by the time they hit their teenage years, dancing was common. A survey conducted in 1910 revealed that nine out of ten girls between the ages of 11 and 14 claimed they knew how to dance, compared with only about one-third of the boys. Dancing offered young adults a chance to mix with the opposite sex without parental interference. Dancing also gave people an avenue for expressing themselves in public.[17]

For blue-collar workers, especially women under 20 years of age, participation in the dance craze was part of the courting ritual. Attendance at the dances increased as a young girl matured, then dropped off significantly after finding a boyfriend, and for most women ceased altogether after marriage. In New York City, every ethnic group had their own dance halls, and in one district, there was a dance hall every two and a half blocks.

Dancing encompassed many aspects of life in the working classes. People attending dances

engaged in cultural and social dynamics that defined who they were. What dance steps groups favored, where they attended the events, how they interacted with one another, and what clothing styles they wore were important facets of their day-to-day lives.

As ragtime and Tin Pan Alley became more pervasive, the wild beat of the music ended much of the formal heritage of dance in America. Tin Pan Alley dictated which dance steps would become most popular, and new dances were invented for particular songs, leading to increased sales. Also, business interests took control of the public dance halls and the liquor being served. For example, 80 percent of the dance halls in the Lower East Side of New York City were adjacent to saloons. Hall owners made their profits from the liquor served, which led to a dance lasting anywhere from three to ten minutes, then an intermission lasting from 15 to 20 minutes, in which drinking was encouraged.

Hall owners also promoted social interaction to drive customers to their clubs. Some would give unescorted females discounted admission, while others let single women in free. As more and more large commercial dance halls opened, owners enticed patrons with bright lights, blaring music, and a carnival atmosphere. Middle-class reformers were outraged over the conduct of young people in the dance halls and warned against bawdy behavior, but most dancers were simply playing out the intricate social rituals to the best of their ability, given the staid nature of the day.

DANCE AS ART

Dance as an artistic outlet had been taught in the United States since the 1820s. Artistic dance was called Delsartianism after its creator, François Delsarte (1811–1871). Delsartianism focused on flexibility and natural movement, a graceful expression of the human form. Delsarte's ideas set off a dance craze in which young men recited poetry while prancing around gracefully. Females donned white robes and white face paint and held classical poses. Upper and middle-class Americans supported Delsartianism as a form of exercise.[18]

In the 1900s, Isadora Duncan (1878–1927) popularized Delsartianism and branched out to create her own unique form of dance, which audiences regarded as both scandalous and titillating. She shocked the staid audiences of the era, but at the same time she gave them a sense of liberation.

The San Francisco native enjoyed a classical education and was raised by an independent mother, both unusual during the waning years of the nineteenth century. Duncan's mother also encouraged her to express herself through dance. By her teenage years, Duncan had already focused her dance style on natural movements and graceful expressions of the human body. By the time she was 21 years old, Duncan had scandalized audiences by dancing with bare arms and legs. Some viewed her with disdain, but others recognized her artistry and embraced her as an avant-garde genius.[19]

Duncan spent most of her life in Europe and Russia. After touring Russia in the aftermath of the 1905 Russian Revolution, Duncan's views took a radical turn. She applied these thoughts to her dance, essentially liberating her body from the strict movements of traditional ballet. In 1921, while living in the Soviet Union, V. I. Lenin asked Duncan to create a school of dance in Moscow. Duncan used the school to promote art for the masses with political overtones. In 1922, on a trip to the United States, immigration officials detained Duncan because of her close ties to the Soviet Union. Newspapers quickly picked up the story, and headlines declared Duncan a Soviet provocateur. She was stripped of her citizenship and lived the rest of her life in France.[20]

Fashion

of the 1900s

In the 1900s, fashion and design melded together into one seemingly cohesive movement that swept through clothing styles, art, furniture, and architecture. In fashion, upper and middle-class men and women were still tied closely to European and Victorian styles from the 1890s. However, as industrialism sparked urban growth, fashion took on a utilitarian look that did not hinder work-related tasks. Young women working in factories or workshops could hardly wear frilly lace or don hats trimmed with flowers or fruit. Conversely, a proper "lady" would never leave the house without a tight corset or the right makeup, and an aristocratic man always wore a top hat and carried a walking stick.

Industrialism had another profound effect on fashion in the decade. As corporations mass-produced goods, they either fueled or created markets to purchase them, and advertisers pushed the message that the accumulation of goods equaled status. Searching for ways to get merchandise into the hands of consumers, companies like Sears, Roebuck and Company flooded the countryside with mail-order catalogs, while department stores and chain stores fed the machine in urban centers. Fashion took on a whole new meaning when women in small towns and villages could buy the same clothes that were available in cities. Industrialism brought democracy to fashion, although, like its political counterpart, those with the money held the power and ultimately influenced future styles. The rich looked overseas or to the finest boutiques for their inspiration; the middle class purchased imitations through department stores and catalogs.

Clothing served as a measure in the widening gap between the rich and poor. While urban immigrants and rural farmers struggled to keep clothing on the backs of their families, wealthy families regarded clothing as a status symbol, merely another commodity.

A great clothing industry rose up to provide men and women with the mass-produced and handmade clothes they desired. In the 1900s, women spent more than $1 billion a year on clothes and accessories, including more than $14 million on corsets alone. The 1905 Sears catalogue offered 150 styles of the new shirtwaist blouse, ranging from 39 cents for a plain shirt to $6.95 for a fancy taffeta version.

When the 1900s began, fashion hinged on smallness—tiny waists "clasped with two hands," shoes a size or two too small, and small hats.[1] As the decade advanced, fashion rules became less rigid, but most people still adhered to earlier styles. In fact, upper and middle-class men and women both changed clothes several times a day. They treated the evening dinner as a formal

FASHION TRENDS OF THE 1900s

Thanks to mass production and mail order catalogs, more Americans, particularly those who lived outside of urban areas, were able to take advantage of ready-made fashions. As in previous eras, strict rules determined what was appropriate based on activity and time of day. Clothes remained a status symbol for the wealthy, while factory workers wore functional clothing. Among the highlights:

Women: Gibson girl look—long skirts, layers of ruffles and petticoats over corsets, big hats, long hair, shirtwaists (blouse worn with long skirts)

Men: large, boxy three-piece suits buttoned high up were everyday dress; hats; clean shaven

occasion and each changed for dinner, even if they were dining at home alone.

Styles in the 1900s centered largely on padding—the woman in layers of ruffles and the man in large, boxy suits. Even casual events were governed by strict guidelines, such as linen or flannel trousers in the summer for men and the ever-present corset for women. Both sexes wore hats just about everywhere, whether at work, on vacation, or at formal functions. As many of the stringent fashion rules of the decade fell to the wayside, people experimented with looser styles and more functional clothing, which came to symbolize the American spirit.

THE GIBSON GIRL

The ideal woman in the United States from 1890 to World War I was not Theodore Roosevelt's teenage daughter, Alice (although her every move was followed by the press), a star of the fledgling movie industry, or even a real person. Instead, the image every female idolized was illustrator Charles Dana Gibson's "Gibson girl"—an elegant, graceful, romanticized female of the age. Women imitated the style and fashions of the Gibson girl; men tried to be like her dashing suitors. The power of Gibson's illustrations rested in the air of dignity he conveyed and the detachment he captured in the Gibson girl's eyes.

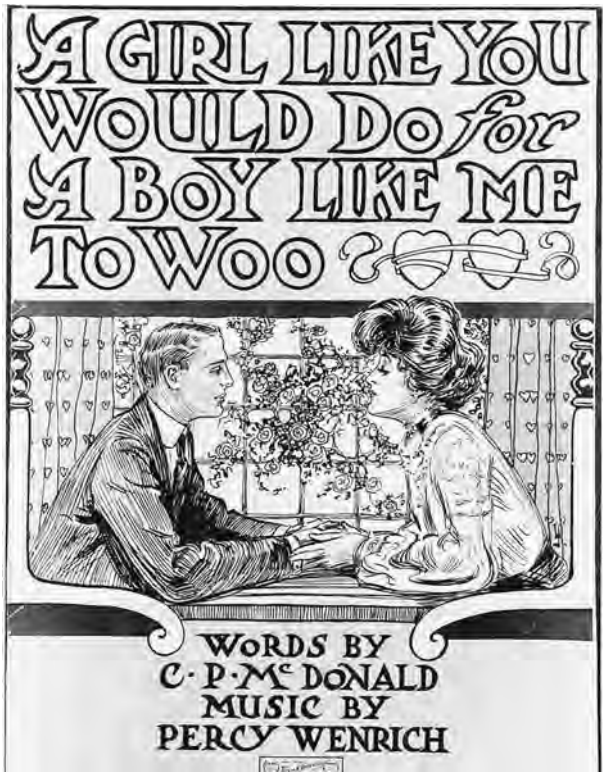
For society at large, the Gibson girl was the ideal "new woman." The new woman broke through the barriers that had plagued women in earlier times. Generally, she had a college education, supported herself, and did not marry young like her mother's generation. Gibson encapsulated all the intrigue of the new woman in his illustrations and even the fear many people experienced regarding women's empowerment. Conservative traditionalists lashed out against the new woman movement. They attributed many social ills, such as soaring divorce rates, to the new woman.

Gibson's popularity, however, never wavered. The Gibson girl played golf and tennis, rode bicycles, made men swoon, and dressed in a simpler style. Typically, she wore a long skirt and a blouse, or "shirtwaist" as they were known in the era. She helped widen the appeal of the blouse over the frilly layers of heavy petticoats normally worn by women.[2] Gibson licensed the image of his drawings, so one could find her adorning china, silverware, pillows, or even whisk broom holders. Her image could be found everywhere, from pinups on college campuses to the Alaskan Klondike. Gibson's male characters papered the walls of many female boarding schools. Many young men decorated their apartments with Gibson girl wallpaper, the height of chic for bachelor pads.[3]

Gibson's serialized pen-and-ink sketches of the new woman in *Life* magazine appealed to women across class lines. Women from working-class families aspired to be like the Gibson girl and achieve a certain level of independence, perhaps as a telephone operator or social worker. Women from wealthy families found inspiration to do something meaningful, which the Gibson girl aspired to do.

The men in Gibson's drawings are almost as telling as the Gibson girl herself. Men hover over her, and older women scorn her for grabbing the men's attention. Almost embarrassed to be the focal point, she presents an air of supreme indifference. One young man—a dark-haired, square-jawed fellow—is usually depicted. His sadness is palpable. He knows he will never win the girl's hand, but he cannot keep himself from being near her.

Alice Roosevelt was a close incarnation of a real-life Gibson girl. Spirited and boisterous



A Charles Dana Gibson picture used as a cover for sheet music. The young woman is an example of the typical Gibson girl look. Courtesy of the Oakland Public Library, Oakland, California.

like her father, Alice flaunted many of the notions about "proper" behavior. She smoked in public, danced until dawn at social gatherings, and even danced the hula in Hawaii, a nearly immoral act at the time. There were songs written for her ("Alice, Where Art Thou?"), newborns named after her, and she even had her own color (Alice blue).[4]

Alice's popularity stretched around the world. European magazines followed her every move and published her picture on the cover of magazines. When she married Ohio Congressman Nicholas Longworth, it was the event of the year and followed by millions. She truly held the title of "America's Princess" in the 1900s.

WORKING WOMAN FASHION

Most women who worked in the 1900s found employment in department stores, factories, and offices. As a group, they were young, primarily urban, and single. For example, in New York City, 80 percent of the 343,000 working women in 1900 were single, and one-third were between the ages of 16 and 20. These women had quite a different set of jobs from those who had worked just a decade earlier, who usually labored as domestic servants or worked in small sweatshops. For young working women, clothing allowed them to express themselves and push beyond the limitations of urban, working-class life.[5]

Dressing up gave working women the ability to present themselves in a guise that took them out of the realm of the factories or department store floors, whether they were parading in the streets or enjoying a night on the town with a group of friends. Clothing allowed one to assert one's identity, even if that meant bending the supposed "rules" of fashion by dressing like upper-class women and putting on airs of wealth. Some observers believed women dressed like their wealthier counterparts in order to marry into a higher social class. Although there is some truth to this notion, the way working-class women dressed and the implications it entailed went beyond looking for a rich husband.[6]

Working women separated their clothes into work clothes and Sunday clothes, their nicer articles. What women wore to work depended on the job. A waitress might wear a white apron and matching cap, but a seamstress would wear older clothes that would not be ruined by sweat or grime from the shop floor. Sunday clothes, however, played an important social role. Women engaged in social activities in the community on Sundays. Without an acceptable set of Sunday clothes, women did not feel they could participate in these identity-building events. When new immigrants arrived in the United States, they acquired a set of nice clothes to help assimilate them to American culture.[7]

Although lumped together into one large group by the outside world, working-class females differentiated themselves through fashion, speech patterns, levels of schooling, and other yardsticks. Ideas about social status played an important role in clothing decisions, touching upon a family's thoughts about fitting into American culture and individual niches within one's own neighborhood or city.

Some women gained an air of aristocracy from the Sunday clothes they wore at social gatherings. Women in New York bought cheap versions of the latest fashions from the clothing stores located on Grand Street. They also avidly read the fashion pages in the newspapers and saw upper-class women in department stores, and modeled their own dress on the basis of these encounters. The working class adopted other aspects of elite culture, such as calling other women "lady friends." They even used romance novels as a kind of guide to look inside the lives of women from the upper classes. The most important fashion development for women at the turn of the century was the shirtwaist, a simple blouse worn with a skirt. The shirtwaist, which allowed a full range of motion, did not restrict a worker's movement like cumbersome formal wear did, and it could be worn all day, a requirement for long hours at work. Both shirtwaist blouses and suits (usually called tailor-mades) gained momentum as a result of mass production. Companies produced both articles at prices workers could afford. The shirtwaist cost around $1.50; suits ranged from $10 to $20.[8]

WORKING-CLASS MEN

Working-class men wore sturdy, durable clothes that stood up against long hours and sweat-filled days. Mass production required men to work longer hours and toil at monotonous tasks, but it also made clothing less expensive. Other workers wore uniforms or clothing suited to their jobs. Railroad workers, construction crews, and those who worked primarily outdoors needed outerwear that kept them warm, but fit into their limited budgets.

Cheap materials, such as canvas, duck, corduroy, and leather were the primary materials used for most work clothes. Clothes made from these materials had two prerequisites: to keep workers warm and be roomy enough to permit the range of motion necessary to perform tasks. Often included in a workingman's uniform was a sheepskin vest, which provided another layer of protection against the elements.[9]

Workers in factories wore clothing that mirrored their counterparts in high society, except that the workers' clothes were obviously less expensive imitations. Photographs from the 1900s reveal workers on the shop floor wearing white, high-collared shirts and bow ties, vests, and hats, indicating the formal nature of the workplace. Even if the task at hand was not physical labor, men still had to have clothing that allowed them to labor at least 10 hours a day, six days a week.

Men who owned general stores or worked in the budding retail industry wore work aprons, which had developed over the years to feature various straps and pockets depending on one's occupation. Heavy-duty aprons had extra stitching and leather patches to increase durability. With the formality of clothing in a variety of professions, men donned aprons to protect their clothes against dirt and grime. They also used sleeve garters to keep extra fabric out of the way or cuff protectors to keep their white garments clean.[10]

WOMEN'S FASHION

Women who could afford to follow fashion looked to Paris and London for the latest styles. Women in the era donned corsets that produced S-shaped figures by pulling in the waist as tightly as possible and accentuating the bosom upward and the back end outward. Women looked as though their waists were pitched forward, while the rest of the body tilted backward.

Regardless of the pain of wearing them, corsets defined the look of affluent women in the 1900s. Meant to draw attention to the curve of the back, corsets used whalebone stays to force the body into this S-position. They were made from cotton or linen and worn over a vest of silky material, probably to absorb some of the chafing from the contraption. The corset laced in the back, which tied the body into the S-shape. Women added another layer with a corset cover, also made of fine material.

Women's dresses and petticoats were accentuated with lace, ribbon, or cord. The petticoats were stiff and worn over high-necked shirts that covered the entire neck area. Skirts were usually bell-shaped and had a slight train effect. Well-dressed women wore leather boots or suede shoes that fastened with buttons.

As the decade progressed, women's hats got larger and larger. By the end of the decade, hats



A young woman standing outside a savings bank, wearing a big feathered hat, who is raising her skirt to insert a $5 bill inside her gartered stocking, ca. 1908. (This would have been a risqué picture for this era.) Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

had gigantic brims featuring ornate trains of feathers that hung down to the middle of the back and sometimes included lace to cover the woman's face. In 1905, Sears offered 75 different types of ostrich feathers to adorn women's hats. Milliners used a wide variety of bird feathers to decorate hats, including egrets, orioles, pigeons, doves, and wrens. Precariously balanced on the head or tilted to one side, the hats required countless hatpins to keep them in place.

COSMETICS

The use of cosmetics grew over the course of the 1900s, but makeup did not play a large role in women's lives. As late as 1916, one magazine estimated that only one in five people used toiletries, and the average spending per capita reached just 50 cents per year. Magazines and mail-order catalog companies did not feel women should "buy their way to beauty," so they did not feature cosmetics as they did clothing, hairpins, and other beautifying products. Gradually, however, women's interest in makeup grew, bolstered by the department stores and chain stores that carried cosmetics.[11]

Despite the supposedly low number of women using makeup in the early 1900s, a growing number of women defied public opinion and began applying rouge and powder. The issue was contentious because up until that time, the only women who openly wore makeup were prostitutes and "sporting" women who frequented the dance halls, clubs, and cafes. The rise of urbanization, however, put more women out in public at night, and they began decorating their faces. Wealthy women followed the lead of French women who were using makeup regularly. Working women in urban centers wore makeup as an inexpensive means to distinguish themselves. However, until World War I, women simply did not have the freedom to wear makeup as they pleased. Societal norms excluded cosmetics, and women who wore makeup were treated as spectacles.

Although cosmetics took some time to catch on, the industry provided women with an opportunity to build their own businesses in the 1900s—one of the few entrepreneurial outlets available to them. Two famous African American entrepreneurs, Annie Turnbo and Sarah Breedlove, more commonly known as Madam C. J. Walker, built a thriving cosmetics businesses in the 1900s. Turnbo started her business in Illinois, but later relocated to St. Louis, which had a vibrant black community, before going national. The orphaned daughter of former slaves, Walker built a hair-care empire, eventually running national advertising campaigns and starting a mail-order business.

MEN'S FASHION

Men's fashion in the 1900s relied heavily on styles carried over from the Victorian era of the 1890s. Designers introduced innovative styles in the new century, but for the most part, men's clothes were dark and conservative. Men from

the upper classes adhered to fairly rigid standards and rules about how they should dress and act in public.

Everyday wear centered on the suit, almost always three piece and buttoned high up the chest. Suits were basically long and loose, resulting in a bulky appearance. An average sized man required five yards of cloth per suit. Narrow, high lapels accentuated the boxy look, which made men look as though their shoulders were being held back. Men carried heavy gold pocket watches in their vests. A watch fob, a gold chain draped in front of and across the vest, connected the pocket watch to the other vest pocket.

Men's trousers were also cut large around the hips and waist, most likely to account for the portly stature of most wealthy men in the previous decades. Girth was a symbol of wealth in the Victorian era. Many politicians, lawyers, and civic leaders were immense by today's standards. Pants, called "peg-top" slacks, were pleated and cut to taper in sharply at the bottom. By 1905, cuffs were standard on most trousers in America.[12]

If a man could afford only one suit, he bought a sack suit in dark blue serge, a smooth twill fabric. Named for the formless shape of the jacket, it came in three or four-button styles, single-breasted, with high, short lapels. By 1907, fashionable men wore sack suits of varying colors and adopted a more youthful look by having the suit shaped at the hips and waist. The paunch of the 1890s was being pushed aside by the vigorous, energetic twentieth-century man exemplified by Theodore Roosevelt.



Men posed wearing fall and winter business and theater fashions with overcoats and hats, against a backdrop of an interior view of the recently opened Library of Congress. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

The growing number of businessmen in the United States forced designers to make a suit more formal than the sack variety. For this look, the coat extended down to just above the knees, an adaptation of the English walking coat suit. The proper accessories, such as a high silk hat, leather gloves, and walking stick, emphasized the formality of the suit. Also known as the business frock suit, the style quickly gained acceptance in the banking world. The suit signaled a move toward suits that were less bulky and more in line with current trends emanating from Europe.[13]

Formal evening attire for men included the tailcoat, which unlike the everyday suit, fit snuggly against the body. The main feature of the coat, the tails, stretched below the knee. When attending the theater or dinner on the town, men wore stiff attached or unattached collars. One version of the collar, called the poke, had a slight curve in the front. The other style, the winged collar, came into fashion during the decade and is still the customary collar on men's tuxedo shirts today. Shirt studs were usually made of pearl, but they were spaced out on the shirtfront more than current styles. In addition to a heavy overcoat, formal wear called for high silk hats and a fashionable walking stick.

HAIRSTYLES

Women wore their hair long in the 1900s. As a matter of fact, to balance their gargantuan hats, women added artificial hair as padding. Critics of female hairpieces called them "rats" or "puffs."



A man and two women in typical bathing costumes at Daytona Beach, Florida, 1909. Courtesy of the Florida State Archives.

At formal occasions, women teased their hair into a pompadour, with the hair primped up on the side and a bun at the crown. As hats got bigger, women moved the bun from the top of the head to the back as an extra pin holder. Sometimes, women allowed tiny ringlets to hang down from the sides in front of their ears. Women used curling irons, waving irons, and other tools to style their hair in the 1900s. To keep it all in place, various hairpins, combs, and hairpieces were used.[14]

Men's hairstyles, whether on the face or on top of the head, went through many changes in the 1900s. Full beards were in style from the 1850s until 1901, but then they went out quickly. Mustaches were popular for most of the decade, spurred by Roosevelt's own walrus-like look, but many women disliked them. Many heroes of romantic novels wore long, blonde mustaches, which they stroked. The clean-shaven look served as an egalitarian symbol for men of all classes.

Hairstyles varied for men in the 1900s. Some wore their hair with a part on the side and a curled effect on top. Crew cuts were also popular, with short sides and varying lengths on the top. Sideburns were an option, especially on college campuses. Most men put some kind of tonic in their hair to accentuate their natural waves or to slick it back in order to add an air of sophistication.

Facial hair and hairstyles categorized the men in Charles Gibson's illustrations. The older men were portly, usually combing what little remaining hair they had over a bald spot, and they sported waxed mustaches with the ends curled up. Most of the younger dandies in Gibson's drawings, modeled after novelist, journalist, and adventurer Richard Harding Davis, were clean-shaven, with hair parted down the middle or on one side, slicked back to emphasize high cheekbones and square jaws.



A "Chanticleer" hat of bird feathers, ca. 1910. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Food of the 1900s

In the first decade of the twentieth century, new technology gave farmers the ability to grow more food with less manpower. Thus, the sons and daughters of the farm were freed to move to the cities and provide the brute force needed to staff the growing factories.

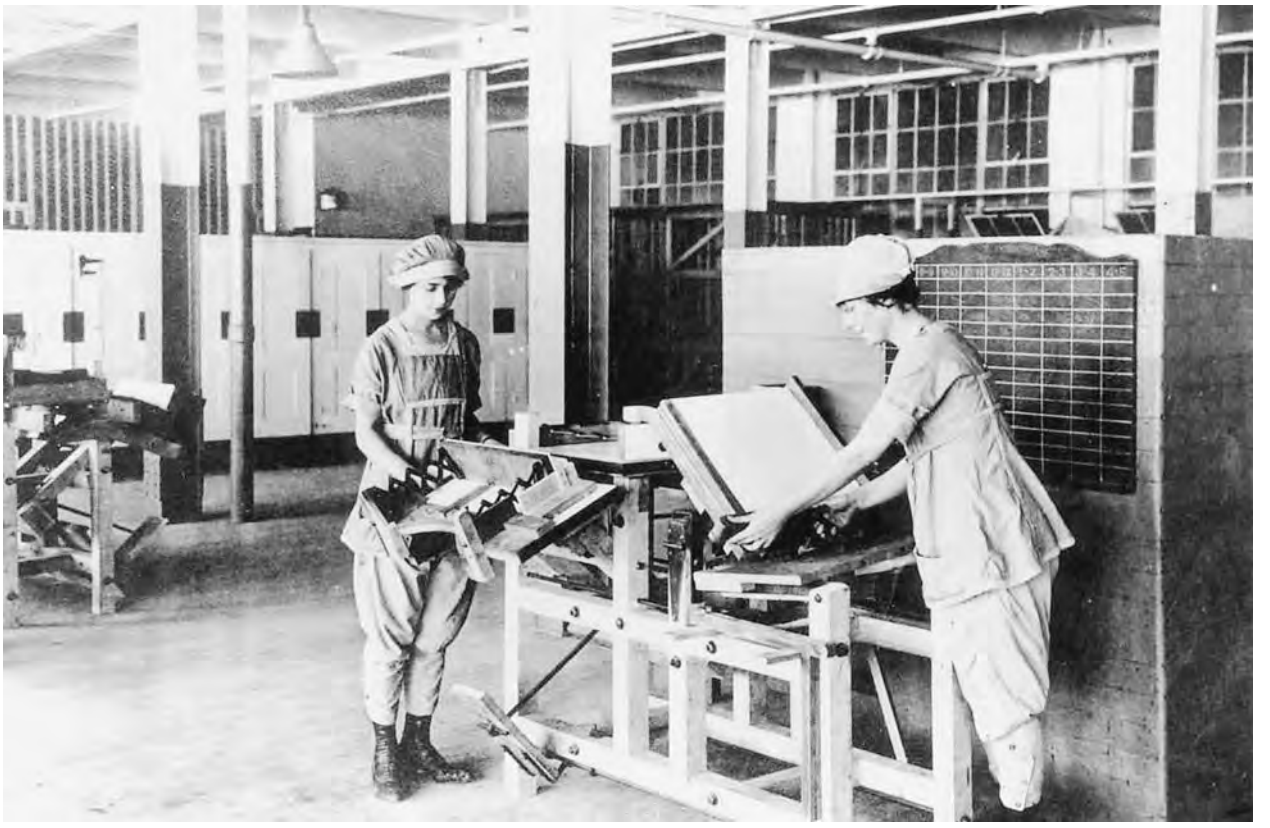
Although historically farm families had been nearly self-sufficient, advertisers and manufacturers included them in the equation as they established a national consumer culture, which was based on purchasing mass-produced goods that decades earlier would have been either made by hand or done without. The Sears, Roebuck and Company mail-order catalog was a staple in the homes of America's farmers, reaching out to those unable to shop in the cities.

In addition to fueling consumer culture, the food industry played an important role in the development of the modern corporation. The first successful large-scale food producers processed perishable items. Meatpacking corporations, including Armour, Swift, Wilson, Morris, and Cudahy, were early examples of that national corporation and were followed closely by breweries, such as Anheuser Busch and Schlitz. Other leading food producers made cheap packaged goods using continuous-process machinery (Quaker Oats, Heinz, Borden's, Libby, and Coca-Cola).[1] Not only did these corporations establish business processes, but they also stimulated the budding advertising and public relations industries.

The health and safety standards used in the manufacturing process came to light in author Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* (1906), which examined the horrendous conditions in Chicago's meatpacking industry. He described the unsanitary methods used to make sausage and even insinuated that workers had fallen into the vats and become part of the product. Most food producers used some form of additives to enhance the flavor, smell, or coloring of products. Many additives turned out to be harmful, such as acids used to mask spoiled beef or hallucinogenic drugs added to headache remedies.

When congressional members first introduced pure food legislation, the food trusts used their collective lobbying skills and money to thwart any such attempts. It took a polemic tract like *The Jungle* and the subsequent full support of President Theodore Roosevelt to best the combined efforts of the food producers. In the end, the public outcry against unhealthy production methods and chemical additions led to legislation being passed.

Although legislators passed pure food and drug laws in 1906, food producers did not comply with the new regulations overnight.



Two women sugar factory workers in Crockett, California (1905). Courtesy of the Contra Costa County Historical Society.

DIET AND INCOME

Studies of nutritional habits of working-class families in the 1900s have shown that variations in diet hinged on income. For most families, meals consisted of a handful of staples, such as large loaves of bread, stewed meats, potatoes, onions, cabbage, and condiments, like pickles. In the summer months, an abundance of fresh fruits and vegetables added diversity. Sociologists, nutritionists, and social workers in the 1900s studied dietary challenges from the perspective of immigrant status, usually delineating between native-born and non-native immigrants. They often overlooked the basic consideration of income and how that primary factor played into a family's ideas regarding food preparation and nutrition. Most nutritional experts felt that a remedy was to teach immigrants to "Americanize" their diets, when, in fact, giving them access to steady jobs that paid well would have eliminated their food-related problems.[2]

Changing the eating habits of immigrant families developed into something of a crusade in the 1900s. Immigrants were discouraged from eating spicy, mixed foods by home economists and social workers. Nutritionists believed that any diet that mixed foods together was inferior, since they thought that more nutrients were expelled in the preparation.[3]

Corporations undertook programs to force their foreign workers to adopt the habits of this nation. International Harvester, for instance, set up a program in its Midwestern plants that featured a "model workingman's home" to teach wives how to cook American style.[4]

These corporate initiatives continued up to World War II. Many companies, including the most famous attempt, Ford's Sociological Department, established divisions directly responsible for encouraging non-native workers to adopt an American way of life. Eventually, in striving for a middle-class lifestyle, many immigrants did

become Americanized, but if there was one tie they kept to their homelands, it usually involved food.

The status of the United States as the world's leading agricultural producer helped families survive tough economic times. In the 1900s, industrialism pushed well beyond the country's steel mills and heavy manufacturing plants. Food production played an important role in establishing the United States as the world's exporter. Factories continued to manufacture foodstuffs in recessions, and the growth of the industry forced companies to find outlets, whether that meant cutting back prices or finding other alternatives.

THE FARM BECOMES A CORPORATION

In the decades leading up to the twentieth century, farming in the United States changed dramatically as a result of technological innovations. As railroads spidered across the West, settlers poured into the fertile lands and began cultivating wheat on the plains. Advances in harvesting and planting allowed farmers to increase their levels of production vastly.

The mechanization occurring on the farms and in the distribution process hurt many farmers. They had to buy new machinery and land continually to keep up with their competitors while the prices for their crops dropped. Large-scale production, freight costs, and machinery prices forced many farmers into tenant farming, especially in the South and Midwest. Laborers who did not own the land they tilled did 35 percent of all farming in the United States in 1900. Urban dwellers, however, benefited—they had a greater variety of fresher vegetables, fruits, and meats to choose from at affordable prices.

To feed the industrial machine, agrarians had to embrace the ideas of conglomeration and incorporation.[5] Commercial farmers entered into a period of unmatched prosperity in the 1900s. Industrialism and the subsequent transformation of farming into big business ushered in a new era for farmers, but countless small farmers were barely surviving.

As a result of the mechanization and organization of farmers, many became specialists. They produced one crop, often specific to the particular region they farmed. This ultimately increased the divide between wealthy farmers (who had adopted the ideas of big business) and those who were left to their own devices. After 1900, big business, upset by the antibusiness rhetoric coming from the nation's farmers, actively courted farmers into an alliance that ultimately benefited both parties. Business interests, such as bankers, merchants, and the railroads, among others, had a large stake in the success of farmers, so it was only natural to invite an alliance among businessmen and farmers.

THE PURE FOOD AND DRUG ACT

Most people associate the drive for healthy, unadulterated food in the early twentieth century with the muckraking work of socialist author Upton Sinclair and his best-selling novel *The Jungle* (1906), but discerning citizens and watch groups lamented the state of American food production long before Sinclair's novel. The main critic of tainted food was Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, the chief chemist of the Department of Agriculture (1883–1912), who waged public skirmishes against large corporations and business enterprises.

In April 1900, Senator William E. Mason from Illinois wrote a long article in the *North American Review* lamenting the amount of food adulteration in the United States. Senator Mason placed the blame on the growing corporations. He pointed to a Congressional investigation into the flour industry, which revealed "very dangerous and absolutely insoluble substances were being used to adulterate flour."[6] In fact, the flour producers who were not using additives pushed for the inquiry because the offending companies tarnished the reputation of the entire industry, especially in the growing overseas market. American flour manufacturers could ill afford to have Europeans doubting the quality of their products.

Senator Mason called for national legislation that would prevent unhealthy materials from finding their way into the nation's food supply. He openly distinguished between additives, such as water, that diminished the health value of the product, versus adulterations that harmed consumers. Mason felt that consumers should be aware of every ingredient in the foods they buy,

and manufacturers should be required to provide this information.[7]

Calling for the continuation of the pure food activism sweeping the nation, which led to a series of pure food congresses and investigations into additives, Mason touted the benefits of good-faith labeling. By encouraging the "honest manufacturer" and protecting them from dishonest competition, Congress would in turn offer protection to consumers, who would know what ingredients they were ingesting. Furthermore, Mason declared, the nation would establish a reputation for high standards regarding food products, which would increase the demand for American goods all over the world.

Practically every food manufactured in the 1900s contained some kind of chemical additive that was potentially harmful to consumers. Butcher shops used "Freezem" or "Preservaline" to deal with spoiled meat; ketchups, canned vegetables, chocolates, and skim milk all contained some kind of additive—sulphite, benzoate, and boric acid, among others. Food producers used science to mask unhealthy additives and preservatives, which contributed to noxious diets for many people.

While activists rallied against unhealthy products, politicians were less willing to fight the food companies. One of the first rallying points occurred when Edward Bok, editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal,* took up the fight against patent medicines. Bok waged the battle in the magazine, which had more than one million readers in the 1900s, but came up against an industry that had more than $59 million in sales in 1900. Although Bok proved many patent medicines contained opium, cocaine, alcohol, morphine, and other hallucinogenic drugs, his efforts did not produce the national legislation he hoped to see.

As early as 1898, farmers and chemists came together to fight unhealthy standards. They formed the National Association of State Drug and Food Departments. The group lobbied for stiffer regulations regarding food production and uniform food and drug laws across all states, so that farmers could meet one standard. Farmers who produced wholesome foods quickly realized that they were being hurt in the marketplace by doing so.

Wiley, the pure food movement's greatest activist, pursued the large corporations relentlessly during the 1900s. Taking the skirmish to the streets in 1903, Wiley fed volunteers foods to see if they were damaging. Dubbed the "poison squad," Wiley's experimentation drew others into the pure food movement, including many middle-class women. His fight eventually included working closely with certain food companies. Wiley got the publicity and funds he needed to drive the effort, while the companies, most notably Pittsburgh's Heinz, had their names associated with untainted food.

The many constituencies fighting for unadulterated food (doctors, chemists, women's groups, farmers, and so on) organized into a cohesive whole at the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis. The activists took popular foods that were dyed to hide impurities and extracted the dye from the food. Then they used the coloring to dye pieces of silk and wool. This visual display got the fair's hundreds of thousands of attendees talking about the duplicity taking place among food corporations. The pure food exhibit at the World's Fair caused a national scandal, but big business still thwarted national legislation by outspending and outsmarting the activists. It took an even more pervasive event to get people incensed enough to act: the publication of *The Jungle* in 1906.[8]

Sinclair wanted *The Jungle* to open America's eyes to the evils of capitalism and big business. His grotesque depiction of the meatpacking industry—rancid by-products, acids, additives, and dead workers going into sausage-making vats—turned people's stomachs and created an outrage that could no longer be suppressed.

Outraged by the descriptions of the meatpacking industry, Roosevelt assigned Agriculture Secretary James Wilson, as well as Attorney General William Moody, to investigate the problem. Roosevelt realized that the dastardly conditions described in Sinclair's book made government look bad, especially his own administration.

The task force Roosevelt assembled learned that meatpackers were illegally using government inspection labels because the only real inspection occurred on the killing floors, not at any other stage of preparation. The commissioners reported back to Roosevelt, publishing a report explaining,

"We saw meat shoveled from filthy wooden floors, piled on tables rarely washed, pushed from room to room in rotten box carts, in all of which processes it was in the way of gathering dirt, splinters, floor filth, and the expectoration of tuberculous and other diseased workers."[9]

Roosevelt used this report to convince legislators and the public that the time had come for national legislation. After the president released the full report, no one questioned the need for regulation. With Roosevelt's full backing, various leaders in Congress introduced a series of bills that dealt with pure food and drugs, meat inspection, and labeling. Senator Albert J. Beveridge passed the first legislation in May 1906, which required government inspectors at every point in meat production, not just on the killing floors. Public uproar over the government report reached a crescendo. The Pure Food and Drug Act passed a month later by a vote of 240–17. The dissenters were Democrats who did not oppose the bill but protested under the belief that food regulation should be handled by state governments.[10]

Roosevelt's willingness to throw his weight behind pure food legislation served as a turning point. The president could clearly identify the villains and victims in the fight, and he used his public power to circumvent the collective money and influence of the beef trusts. One powerful foe, Congressman James W. Wadsworth of New York, supported by the food corporations, introduced weakened legislation, and then fought the president as he pushed amendments to it. His battle against Roosevelt ultimately cost him his seat in Congress, which he had held since 1881.

FOOD HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE 1900s

1902 Campbell's Soups expands its product line to 21 varieties—and stays at this number for the next 30 years.

1902 National Biscuit Company (later Nabisco) introduces Barnum's Animals—animal-shaped cookies in a box designed to look like a cage. The string attached to the box is intended to make it easy to hang on a Christmas tree. Showman extraordinaire P. T. Barnum has no connection to the product and receives no remuneration for the use of his name.

1902 In Philadelphia (followed soon in New York), Horn & Hardart opens the first automat, a machine-vended, self-service eatery promising a dining experience that is "Quick as a Click." For a couple of coins, customers can open various compartments and extract freshly prepared hot food and coffee.

1904 Campbell's Soups introduces Pork and Beans—specifically created to make use of worker downtime while soups are simmering.

1905 Neapolitan immigrant Gennaro Lombardi is credited with introducing the pizza in America when he opens a pizzeria on Spring Street in New York City, although pizza doesn't gain wide acceptance until the 1950s.

1905 Royal Crown Cola Company founded

1906 Kellogg's Corn Flakes invented

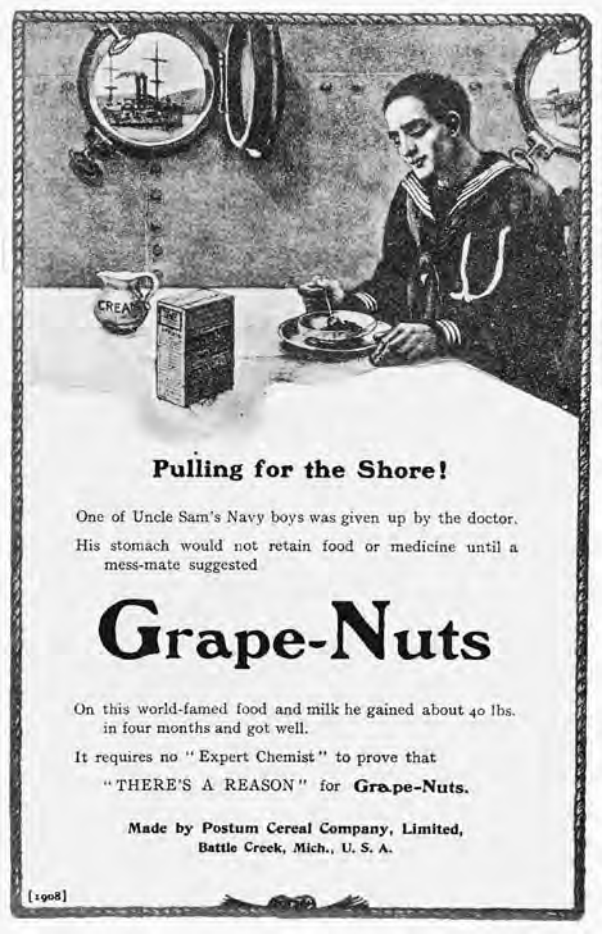
1908 James L. Kraft establishes a wholesale cheese business in Chicago.

1908 The Sunshine Biscuit Company launches its Hydrox chocolate wafer sandwich cookie, believing that a name that combines "hydrogen" and "oxygen" will have mass public appeal because it sounds "pure."

1909 Continuing a trend for cookbooks published by magazines, newspaper, and other media, *Good Housekeeping* magazine releases *The Good Housekeeping Woman's Home Cook Book*. Recipes include Compote of Marshmallows, Wigwam Pudding, and Picked-up Cod Fish.

CHANGING DIETS

With a national dialogue regarding the consumption of healthy foods taking place in the 1900s, Americans adopted a simpler diet, based less on the heavy fare consumed in earlier decades. In fact, advertisers played on the consumers' desire for "pure" foods by stressing a brand's healthiness in national advertising campaigns in magazines and newspapers. The most notable example of this phenomenon occurred among breakfast foods. Breakfast food companies, such as Kellogg with Corn Flakes and Post with Grape-Nuts and Toasties, convinced consumers that they should substitute traditional meat-oriented breakfasts with highly processed grains.



Reproduction of 1908 ad sponsored by Postum Cereal Company, Limited, showing sailor on ship seated at table eating Grape-Nuts cereal. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

After many years of testing and failure, William K. Kellogg and his brother—Battle Creek, Michigan, sanatorium director Dr. John Harvey Kellogg—invented Corn Flakes as a vegetarian health food. Each later claimed to be the brains behind the creation. In turn, Battle Creek became the world capital of the Adventists, under the fiery leadership of Ellen Gould Harmon White. John Harvey Kellogg transformed the Battle Creek sanatorium into a thriving health resort catering to the nation's elite. Linking Corn Flakes with the hospital gave the cereal the kind of health food tie it needed to gain acceptance among a wider audience. Though the Kelloggs later broke with the mercurial White, the result of their experimentation turned the Michigan city into the world's breakfast cereal capital.[11]

The Kellogg sanatorium transformed into a hodge-podge of eccentrics, each pushing some wildly fantastic cure for a variety of ailments. Despite the circus-like atmosphere at the Kellogg retreat and the rich patrons flocking through its gates, Corn Flakes found success among middle-class consumers who linked the product with good health. Dr. Kellogg managed to stay above the fray despite the presence of the lesser healers and spiritualists, gaining an international reputation as a surgeon and medical guru.

One of Kellogg's ex-patients, St. Louis real estate magnate and food inventor Charles W. Post, began his own company and sold Grape-Nuts, clearly modeled after Kellogg's Corn Flakes. By establishing the Post Company near Kellogg's, Post gained from the connection to the sanatorium. The success of the two companies led to more firms establishing operations in Battle Creek. At one point there were 44 breakfast food companies and six companies making health drinks.[12]

The packaged breakfast foods gained wide acceptance because of middle America's concern about bacteria. Since the food came in a sealed container, the public assumed it was safe. Post marketed Postum cereal as "brain food" and claimed it cured malaria and loose teeth, among other things. Other cereals claimed to make red blood, cure blindness, and alleviate an inflamed appendix.[13] Even though breakfast food manufacturers came under fire for spouting such

nonsense, as a whole they completely altered Americans' breakfast food.

William K. Kellogg, who took over the business aspects of the Kellogg company, realized that by using repetitive advertising and targeting children, he would be able to revolutionize the breakfast table. He pictured children on packaging, especially the instantly recognizable "Sweetheart of the Corn," a young girl who beamed up at the consumer with a bright smile while clutching a corn stock. Kellogg promoted the product by offering children prizes for collecting box tops, giving away free samples, and sponsoring corn shows in counties around the nation.

FOOD INNOVATIONS

With the rise of advertising and marketing to promote products and the public's increasing level of disposable income, food companies responded by introducing innovative products that soon became staples in the national diet. In the years just prior to 1900, Campbell's began producing canned soup after figuring out how to condense the contents, thus making storage and shipping practical. The next year, Campbell's first magazine ad appeared in *Good Housekeeping,* and it introduced Campbell's Pork and Beans.[14]

The decade was successful for Jell-O. By 1906, sales neared the $1 million mark. The company introduced its first trademark in 1903, the Jell-O Girl, who starred in all advertising promotions. She was shown playing in her nursery with Jell-O packages rather than toys. Over the next four years, the original Jell-O Girl graced magazine ads, store displays, and many items used as sales premiums, including spoons, molds, and china dessert dishes. In 1908, artist Rose O'Neill, the creator of Kewpie dolls, modernized the Jell-O Girl and gave her a more grownup look. Jell-O jumped on the pure food bandwagon in 1904 by producing its first recipe book and stating its approval by food commissioners. Chocolate, cherry, and peach flavors were added by 1907.[15]

Although Heinz introduced ketchup in 1876, the product did not find its true calling until 1900, when New Haven, Connecticut diner owner Louis Lassen placed a beef patty between two pieces of toast, and the hamburger was born. In 1901, the first hot dogs were sold at the Polo Grounds in New York, although they were not called "hot dogs" until 1906, when an artist drew a dachshund inside a bun for the *New York Journal.* The Pepsi-Cola Company was founded in North Carolina in 1902, and the first soda fountain was set up at Philadelphia's Broad Street Pharmacy in 1905. In 1904, David Strickler of Strickler's Drug Store in Latrobe, Pennsylvania created the banana split. Two years later, the hot fudge sundae was invented at C. C. Brown's ice cream parlor in Hollywood, California.

The 1900s also witnessed the rise of the chocolate empire of Milton S. Hershey. A native Pennsylvanian, Hershey began his career as an apprentice to a candy maker in Lancaster. After moving out on his own, he tried opening shops in Philadelphia, Denver, Chicago, and New York, but they all failed. Hershey finally found success when an importer wanted to introduce his caramels to England. By 1894, Hershey had built a thriving candy business.[16]

Hershey's big breakthrough occurred at the World's Columbian Exposition when he saw a German chocolate-making machine and decided he would make his own. In 1900, he sold all his other interests, including the caramel factory and his general candy division, and put all his effort into making chocolate. In 1903, Hershey bought a large tract of land in Derry Township, and then built a town around the central factory, later renamed Hershey, Pennsylvania. The candy maker experimented with a variety of ingredients until he devised his own secret concoction. He then turned his attention to the planned community around the factory, which would house his workers and their families. He built different styles of affordable housing for the workers, and also established churches, schools, and other institutions.[17]

Music

of the 1900s

In the early years of the twentieth century, music ranked just slightly behind literature as the most popular art form in the United States. By 1900, most major cities had orchestras or would establish them in the next decade. American classical musicians were steeped in the musical traditions of Europe and most classical composers trained there, although some innovative renegades hungered for a truly "American" sound. In the attempt to define a national music, these composers searched for the country's roots and unique folklore, or looked to the alternative forms blossoming in Russia and France. In deciding what American folklore actually meant, these artists turned to the types of music deemed most primitive: the music of American Indians and blacks.

During the decade, cities and towns built concert halls, opera houses, and theaters. Middle and working-class tastes ran toward the music found in outdoor concerts, saloons, dance halls, and vaudeville houses. Churches also served as an important source of music. Church-related social gatherings, such as choir practice, provided congregation members with a way to express themselves musically and spread song into the community.

Music filled many American homes as members of the played the piano, banjo, guitar, and harmonica and sang together. The availability of sheet music (containing both classical and popular compositions) spurred on these performances. Throughout the 1900s, publishing companies specializing in sheet music, concentrated in New York City on Tin Pan Alley, catered to the constant demand for new popular pieces people could play in their homes.

ORCHESTRAL MUSIC

Serious music in the 1900s was dominated by foreign influences, particularly those of Germany. Many of the most popular and renowned native-born composers trained in either Germany or Austria, then returned to the United States. The roots of the Germanic influence stretched back to the mid-1850s, when prominent European musicians performed with the New York Philharmonic, Chicago Symphony, and Boston Symphony.

A small group of influential American composers formed a tight-knit group. Many of them studied together at various times in their careers. The group included John Knowles Paine, Frederick S. Converse, Horatio W. Parker, Henry K. Hadley, and Arthur Farwell. The most famous and popular composer of the period, however, was Edward MacDowell. As the decade passed, most of the

important composers linked themselves to large universities and budding music departments.

Paine (1839–1906) held the first chair of music at an American university when he won an appointment to Harvard in 1873. He also served as the college organist. An opera Paine composed, *The Pipe of Desire,* became the first American opera performed at the Metropolitan Opera House (1910). Parker became a professor of music at Yale in 1894, while working as the director of music at Boston's Trinity Church. Converse (1871–1940) joined Paine at Harvard and also taught at the New England Conservatory.

Edward MacDowell (1861–1908) was born in New York City and studied piano and composition in Paris and Frankfurt. In 1895, he became Columbia University's first professor of music. He taught at Columbia for the next nine years, until 1904, when he became embroiled in a public dispute with university officials and retired. MacDowell's composing also came to an end that year as a result of declining health, aggravated by a horse-cab accident, a growing problem confronting urban residents in the 1900s.

MacDowell composed works that expressed his vision of an idealistic life that could be inspirational. He believed that music should bring out the spiritual aspect of life and make people want to aspire to achieve great things. When composing, MacDowell worked tirelessly, both day and night, revising what he had previously written.

MacDowell's reputation, in part, rested on his prolific publishing output. He wrote symphonies, piano concertos, sonatas, and many other pieces, primarily for the piano. An avowed romanticist, MacDowell explored landscapes, seascapes, and medieval romance in his compositions. Among his works were a symphonic poem (*Lancelot and Elaine*), a suite for orchestra (*Les Orientales*), and childhood memories ("From Uncle Remus," *Woodland Sketches*).[1]

Arthur Farwell (1872–1952), a student of MacDowell, served as an early pioneer in establishing an American sound. He looked to Native American music, primarily Omaha tribal dances and songs. In 1901 Farwell established the Wa-Wan Press to encourage others to explore nontraditional forms of expression and give them a forum for publication.

Farwell demanded that music education break free from German domination and that common people be given educational opportunities. Headquartered in Newton Centre, Massachusetts, the Wa-Wan Press scraped by on minimal funding and few profits, but gave younger artists a place to publish, mostly short piano pieces. In 1903, Farwell went on a combined concert/lecture tour to keep Wa-Wan afloat. Two years later, he established the American Music Society in Boston and opened centers in other cities across the nation. At the end of the decade, Farwell moved to New York City. He worked as a music critic, supervisor of the city's park concerts, and director of a music school settlement.[2]

Farwell concentrated on Native American music because he thought that they were connected to a universal creative spirit. The simplicity and spontaneity of Native American song, in Farwell's eyes, was a soothing contrast to the chaotic, money-driven music he thought was taking over the nation. Farwell also produced songs that contained African American spirituals and songs that combined the two, such as *Folk Songs of the West and South* (1905).[3] In 1914, Farwell sold the business to G. Schirmer. At that time, Wa-Wan published works by 37 composers, many specializing in Native American and black music.

Henry F. B. Gilbert (1868–1928) also championed the use of black music. He composed the operas *Comedy Overtures on Negro Themes* (1905) and *The Dance in Place Congo* (1906). Gilbert never undertook the formal musical training of his contemporaries, although he was a skilled violinist, but did study composition. His single goal was to make music that was strictly American and non-European.

Poor health forced Gilbert to work part-time on his musical career, but he helped Farwell run the Wa-Wan Press, which published six of his piano pieces and more than a dozen of his songs. Gilbert drew inspiration from popular authors, such as Mark Twain, Walt Whitman, Henry Thoreau, and Edgar Allen Poe. He also favored the use of humor in music.[4] Gilbert advocated a different point of view as a pioneer of American music. His

music did not pander to the high society, but reveled in the minutia of everyday life.

ORCHESTRAS

The first important orchestra founded in the new century was the Philadelphia Orchestra. It was formed from two competing musical groups in the city—the Philadelphia Symphony Society and a smaller ensemble of professional musicians, the Thunder Orchestra. Fritz Scheel, a German active in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco since his arrival in the United States in 1893, served as the conductor. The group's first concert took place on November 16, 1900.

Backers found Scheel and the musicians so impressive that they set up a fund of $15,000 to fund the group. After a successful first season, the Philadelphia Orchestra Association formed, and the orchestra began touring nearby Pennsylvania towns. By the third season, the company had gained a great reputation, which led to performing concerts in Baltimore, Washington, D.C., and New York City.

The Boston Symphony opened a new concert hall in October 1900. From 1898 to 1906, Wilhelm Gericke conducted. Karl Muck, an outstanding musician and conducting genius, followed. Muck's first tour of duty with the symphony lasted only two years. In 1908, the German Kaiser Wilhelm demanded Muck return to Berlin's Royal Opera. In 1912, Muck returned to Boston where he continued his fine work with the symphony.

Boston operated as the ideological center of the musical world in the 1900s. Paine led a group of composers and musicians collectively known as the Second New England School; most were colleagues or students of Paine.

Collectively, the Second New England School, or the Boston Six, as they were also known, wished to produce indigenous American music, distinct from European composers. Members of the group, including John Knowles Paine, Horatio Parker, George Chadwick, Edward MacDowell, Amy Beach, and Arthur Foote, wrote the first substantial body of classical music in the United States. For example, Foote, who studied under Paine at Harvard, became widely known for chamber music, art songs, and music for choirs. His early prowess led many critics to consider him the "Dean of American Composers" in the 1900s and 1910s.

SINGERS HIT THE HIGH NOTE

Concerts most often featured famous singers rather than instrumentalists. Even the early phonograph companies, including Columbia Phonograph Company (1887) and Victor Talking Machine Company (1901), specialized in recording opera stars.

The proving ground for many singers was Maurice Grau's Academy of Music in New York City. Grau let his operatic stars pick their own music, their own roles, and even allowed them to tinker with the score. He paid Polish tenor Jean de Reszke the princely sum of $2,500 a performance during the 1900–1901 season, even though the accompanying musicians barely made a living wage.

The most famous opera singers in the 1900s were Italian tenor Enrico Caruso and American soprano Geraldine Farrar. Caruso made his first appearance at the Metropolitan Opera on November 23, 1903. It was the first of his more than 600 performances with the Met. During the 1905–1906 season, Caruso sang *Faust,* his first French opera in New York.

The New York opera season of 1905–1906 ended more than $100,000 in the black. In an ironic twist of fate, the 1906 San Francisco earthquake erased the profit. The Metropolitan Opera was playing there and the resulting fire razed the company's scenery and costumes. Replacing them ate up the budget, and all the advance ticket sales had to be refunded.

On November 26, the opening night of the New York 1906–1907 season, the Metropolitan welcomed a 24-year-old singer named Geraldine Farrar, making her American debut after five successful years in Europe, wowing crowds from Berlin to Monte Carlo. In short notice, the Melrose, Massachusetts, singer became the only opera star who could equal Caruso as a box office draw.

TIN PAN ALLEY

The focal point of popular music in the 1900s surfaced on a single block in New York City at

28th Street between Fifth Avenue and Broadway. In 1903, Monroe Rosenfeld, a songwriter and journalist, researching an article on popular music for the *New York Herald,* dubbed the area "Tin Pan Alley." According to legend, Rosenfeld visited the famous songwriter Harry von Tilzer in his office and heard the distinctive von Tilzer sound, a tinny piano with paper wrapped around the strings to produce the effect. Soon, the term represented not only that area, but the entire music industry in the United States.

The nation's most powerful music publishers set up shop to be close to the stars and stages of Broadway. The first firm on Tin Pan Alley was M. Witmark and Sons, which opened offices at 49 West 28th Street in 1893. Shortly thereafter, the street was lined with music publishing firms trying to cash in on the demand for sheet music nationwide. Next, Tin Pan Alley swelled with an influx of pianists, arrangers, composers, conductors, and lyricists.

As the demand for new songs increased, the publishing companies blatantly copied words or themes. Tin Pan Alley has been described as a musical assembly line, so it is appropriate that many songs were written specifically to exploit the latest American technological achievements, such as airplanes, automobiles, and telephones. If a particular word or name gained popularity, dozens of writers grabbed the idea and many competing versions were created.

Tin Pan Alley cut a wide swath through American life. Songs celebrated the innovations of the United States, such as automobiles in "In My Merry Oldsmobile." "Meet Me in St. Louis, Louis" directed the nation's attention to the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair. Music played an important role throughout the period, bonding people together (often immigrants from vastly different cultures) and playing upon their patriotic heartstrings.[5]

Fortunes were made on Tin Pan Alley as million dollar sales grew increasingly more frequent. Von Tilzer (1872–1946), perhaps the most famous musician, composer, and publisher on Tin Pan Alley, had great success with "A Bird in a Gilded Cage" (1900), which sold over 2 million copies. Von Tilzer later claimed to have published more than 2,000 songs in his career. By the end of the decade, "In the Shade of the Old Apple Tree" (1905) by Beth Whitson and Leo Friedman sold an astronomical 8 million copies. In all, nearly 100 songs sold more than a million copies of sheet music in the 1900s.[6]

The publishing companies used many strategies to get people to hear their songs. One avenue was to sell sheet music at department stores and five-and-dime shops. The publishing houses employed "pluggers" to give mini-performances, playing to the crowds who yearned to hear the latest music. The role of the plugger soon expanded to encompass duties similar to today's publicists and public relations specialists.

In addition to singing, pluggers exerted pressure on major stage stars to sing their songs. The ingenuity of a plugger pushed some songs to best-seller status. Mose Gumble prowled Coney Island, New York City amusement park and boardwalk, dance halls, ice cream parlors, and restaurants singing to the crowds. Some nights he even slept



Sheet music for "I Won't Be Home Until Late, Dear! (I've Some Real Pressing Business on Hand)," a racy song of the decade. Courtesy of the Oakland Public Library, Oakland, California.

on the beach to be there in the morning in an effort to persuade Coney Island singers to use his songs during that day's performances. In 1905, Gumble's efforts lifted Egbert Van Alstyne's "In the Shade of the Old Apple Tree" to one of the year's most popular songs.

When nickelodeons, a new kind of storefront theater showing films all day long, came into vogue, pluggers cajoled house pianists to play their songs, which served as the background for silent movies. Nickelodeons were a perfect venue for debuting songs since they featured fictional films, so the Tin Pan Alley hits became almost like soundtrack pieces. It was common to find pluggers singing songs prior to the beginning of the movie or during intermission. It was not unusual to find a plugger working up to eight theaters an evening and countless more on the weekend.[7]

THE KING OF RAGTIME

No craze swept the public's imagination in the 1900s more than ragtime, which first appeared on sheet music in 1893 in Fred S. Stone's "My Ragtime Baby." The term is most closely associated with Scott Joplin, who was known as the "King of Ragtime." In 1899, his piano piece "Maple Leaf Rag" became the first ragtime composition to hit best seller status. Joplin's success started a rage that swept the nation. Before long, ragtime tunes were played by piano bands and dance bands around the country and on player pianos, and enjoyed substantial sheet music sales.

Ragtime developed in the Mississippi Valley, the creation of mostly black pianists who lived and traveled through the region. Some scholars trace its origins to minstrel shows, while others believe that it developed from dance music and the Cakewalk, a burlesque dance performed primarily in Southern minstrel shows.

In its simplest form, ragtime is syncopated music that is often either high-spirited and danceable or slow and romantic. Ragtime's popularity in the seedy dance houses and saloons at the turn of the century fueled a national dance craze. While ragtime began as racy dance music, it slowly gained a measure of dignity. African American artists and composers used ragtime as a means of pushing into the music business.

Scott Joplin contributed more to the popularization of ragtime than any other single performer. Ironically, Joplin's contributions had almost been forgotten. When ragtime was "rediscovered" in 1974, following the success of the Paul Newman–Robert Redford film *The Sting,* Joplin's compositions again topped the charts. Modern filmmakers and contemporary historians can credit Scott Joplin with his accomplishments because he was able to leave a written record for musicians to reproduce. His ability to capture the African American vernacular tradition so ably, while relying on European notation and melodic methods, stands as one of the greatest achievements in the history of American popular music.

Joplin (1868–1917) was born in Texarkana, Texas. As did most blacks in the Reconstruction era, Joplin had a difficult childhood. His father, Jiles, was an ex-slave who worked on the railroad and later deserted the family.

Music played an important role in Joplin's early life. Reportedly, his father played the fiddle and his mother played the banjo, and he and his brothers were taught to sing along. The northeastern section of Texas called home by the Joplins was filled with people from the South who had brought their regional songs with them. Growing up in a biracial community also exposed Joplin to music from the white community, such as waltzes and polkas.[8]

Florence Joplin worked for a wealthy white attorney in Texarkana who allowed Scott to play the piano while his mother cleaned. The boy displayed an innate natural ability. Word spread quickly, and by the age of 11, he was receiving free lessons from a German teacher in sight reading and classical composition. His father managed to save enough money to buy a piano for the boy. Although Joplin's total immersion in music grew into a sore spot for Jiles, the youngster played at church gatherings and community events. He also played professionally, by himself and later with a local band.[9]

Joplin left Texas and toured the country as a professional musician. At the age of 24, he found himself in Chicago at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893. The world of the exposition was a far cry from the small towns Joplin had lived in since leaving Texarkana. Jackson Park exploded with light from the glittery electric lights, and the midway pulsed with thousands of visitors from all

over the world. The Columbian Exposition was the first time the young performer heard ragtime, with its roots in slave songs and complicated African cadences.

Joplin later moved to Sedalia, Missouri, where he took classes at the George R. Smith College for Negroes. While there, he taught piano and composition at the school. At night, Joplin played piano at the Maple Leaf Club, which he later immortalized in his most famous rag composition. In Sedalia, Joplin met John Stark, a music store owner, who served as his publisher. In 1900, the musician moved to St. Louis in an attempt to capitalize on his growing fame. The city was a mecca for black musicians, especially ragtime pianists.

Joplin's success in 1899 with "Maple Leaf Rag," which sold well for the next decade also helped, to some extent, to bridge the color barrier between the races.

Although Joplin wrote hit after hit in the 1900s, he still faced the limitations placed on black musicians. He wrote ballets, operas, and musicals during this period, but his publishers only wanted to see short, popular piano pieces. Though Joplin and Stark described his work as "classical ragtime" to separate it from other versions, in the end, Joplin could not move beyond ragtime.[10]

As a black man, Joplin achieved great wealth and fame. However, his color kept him from enjoying the success he deserved as a serious composer. Although ragtime is acknowledged as one of the first truly American forms of music and was all the rage in the 1900s, it also evoked images of slavery. The cover for Joplin's song "Original Rags" depicts an old hunched-over black man, smoking a corncob pipe in front of a ramshackle house with a mangy dog in the front yard. The cover of his song "The Easy Winner," however, cover shows sailboats, horse racing, and young whites playing football.

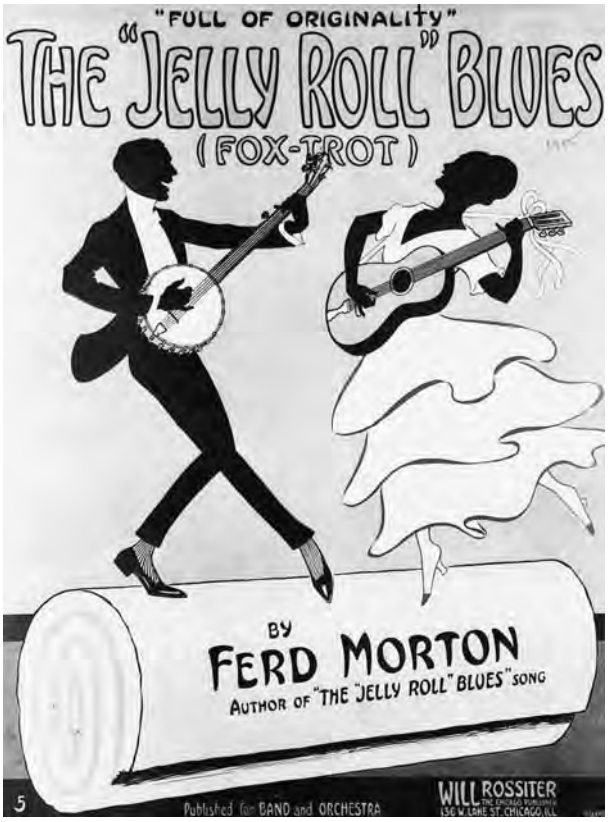


Ragtime music may have derived from minstrel shows, still popular at the beginning of the century. Here, a poster advertises William H. West's "Big Minstrel Jubilee," ca. 1900. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

JAZZ

The nation's preoccupation with ragtime, based on African American music, gave rise to another uniquely American music—jazz. Born in a section of New Orleans where blacks gathered on Sundays, jazz sprang to life from the horn of Charles "Buddy" Bolden (1871–1931), who played dance music for the crowds. Bolden and other Louisiana musicians heard the syncopated melodies of ragtime and gave them an up-tempo beat. The earliest jazz blended dance music, the blues, and ragtime into one musical whole.

Bolden grew up in a social setting that set the stage for jazz to come alive. As a boy, he



The cover of the music for "The Jelly Roll Blues" by Ferd (Jelly Roll) Morton. Courtesy of the Oakland Public Library, Oakland, California.

undoubtedly heard the brass bands that played in clubs around the black neighborhoods and heard the same groups at social gatherings, including the elaborate funeral marches played in the South. He would have also heard the field songs sung by plantation workers and the classical works played by educated Creoles. Bolden got his start playing in small string bands, which allowed him to experiment with bolder styles.[11]

By 1905, Bolden was famous around New Orleans for his swinging beat. Pianist Ferdinand "Jelly Roll" Morton, a young Creole who became an important figure on the jazz scene, remembered hearing the wail of Bolden's horn from all over the city, calling out the start of a dance in Lincoln Park. Bolden also had an impact on Louis Armstrong, who, as a young boy, listened to Bolden perform around New Orleans.

Bolden's success was short-lived. Even as his popularity peaked, he began experiencing severe mood swings and depression, which he tried to cure by drinking. In 1907, after experiencing fits of violence, Bolden was sent to a state mental institution, where he remained for the next 24 years.

Luckily, jazz survived Bolden's decline and did not go out of style. Other black horn players, notably Buddy Petit and Bunk Johnson, took up where Bolden left off. Bands around New Orleans set up shop on the back of horse-drawn wagons and played as they were pulled through the streets. Freddie Keppard, who formed the Olympia Orchestra in 1905, rose to prominence, playing both classical shows for high society gatherings and jazz at area dance clubs. Keppard later joined the Original Creole Orchestra, the first jazz band to play outside New Orleans, which traveled to San Francisco in 1913 and to Chicago a year later.[12]

HIT SONGS OF THE 1900s

"Strike Up the Band" (performed by Dan W. Quinn; written by Charles B. Ward and Andrew B. Sterling)—1900

"I Love You Truly" (written by Carrie Jacobs-Bond)—1901

"Arkansaw Traveler" (performed by Len Spencer)—1902

"The Entertainer" (written by Scott Joplin)—1902

"In the Good Old Summertime" (written by Ren Shields and George Evans)—1903

"Give My Regards to Broadway" (written by George M. Cohan)—1904

"Wait 'Til the Sun Shines, Nellie" (written by Andrew B. Sterling and Harry Von Tilzer)—1905

"You're a Grand Old Flag" (written by George M. Cohan)—1906

"Take Me Out to the Ball Game" (written by Jack Norworth and Albert Von Tilzer)—1908

"I Love My Wife, But Oh, You Kid" (written by Harry Armstrong and Billy Clark)—1909

Sports

and Leisure of the 1900s

In the 1900s, one man symbolized the athletic spirit of the nation—President Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt embodied what was then known as the "strenuous life," a phrase closely associated with him and also the title of a book of essays he published in 1900. For Roosevelt and, in turn, the nation, the strenuous life meant a dedication to outdoor activities and athletic endeavors on the one hand, but also to hard work and strife.

The president's outdoor exploits and active lifestyle were chronicled on the front pages of newspapers across the country. Roosevelt's feats did not seem contrived, but were manifestations of his true personality and the way in which he reared his own children. In his autobiography, Roosevelt discussed climbing steep cliffs with army officers and swimming in both Rock Creek and the Potomac River in early spring, with ice floating alongside.[1]

The nation eagerly bought into Roosevelt's call for a strenuous life. People had nostalgic feelings about rural life. The emphasis on outdoor living put them in touch with these seemingly gentler days. As a result, efforts were made in many cities to build parks and permanent green spaces for people to escape the density of their neighborhoods. As the automobile became more popular, people took day trips into the country, although this involved riding over rough country roads, leading to flat tires and other mechanical calamities.

The growth of the middle class in the 1900s led to greater wealth and an increase in leisure time for many. People had the time to attend football and baseball games, amusement parks, and horse races. In 1904, more than 22,000 spectators watched the annual Stanford–University of California at Berkeley football game on Thanksgiving Day. In 1910, attendance at major league baseball games reached 7.2 million, double the attendance in 1901. Newspapers also played an important role in turning fans into paying spectators. As the decade wore on, newspaper owners realized that they could significantly increase readership if they covered amateur and professional sporting events. The birth of the modern sportswriter can be seen in the 1900s, although a dedicated sports page would not become standard nationwide until the 1920s.

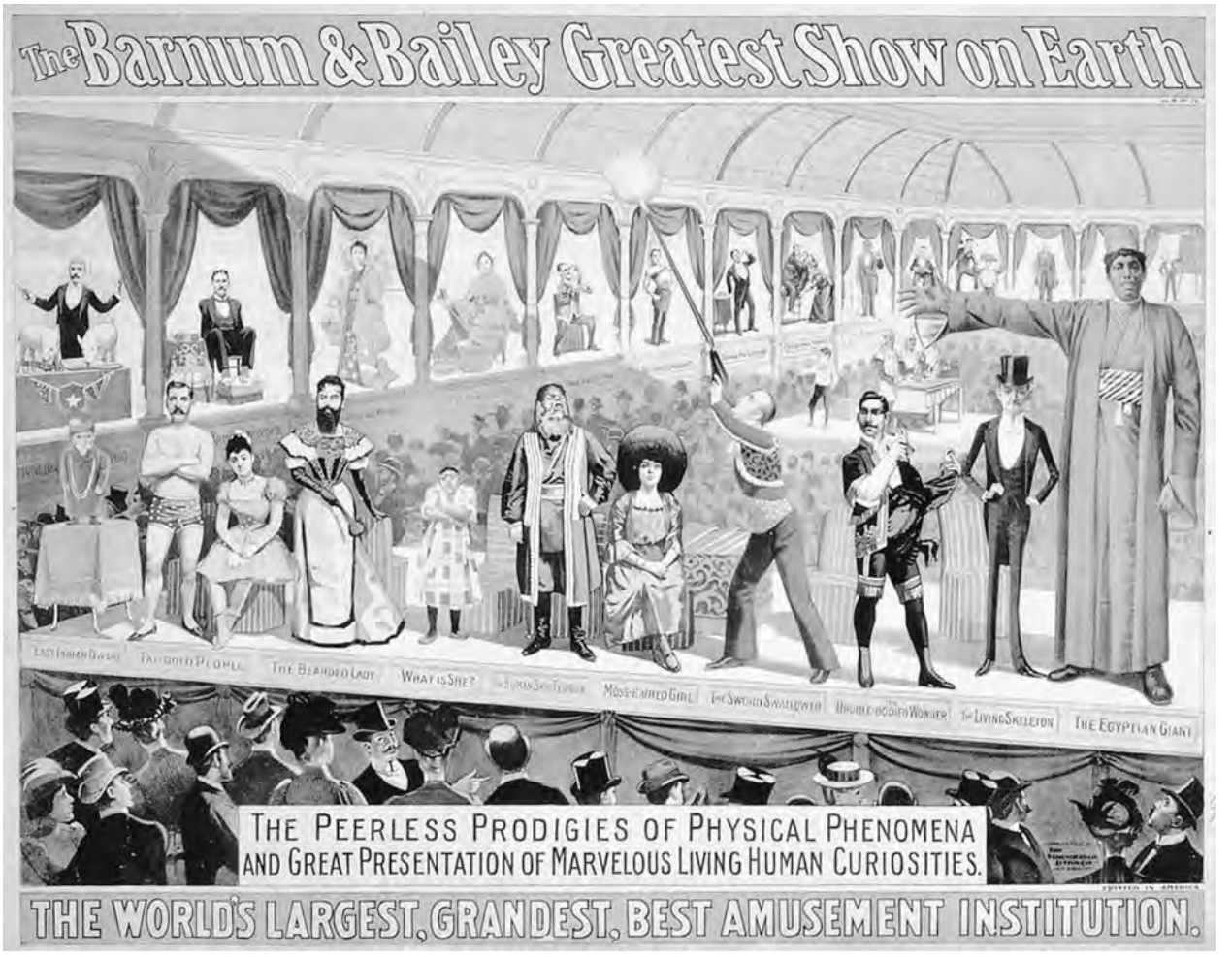
The rise of spectator sports had interesting consequences on the social order in the United States. Sporting events were a venue where rich and poor met and mingled, drawn by the common desire to see a favorite team or player. Saloons provided a space for upper and lower classes to interact, serving as both a male-dominated refuge and a place to wager on different contests. In the first two decades of the new century, saloons

reached the height of popularity. For example, in Chicago, more than half the city's population frequented one of the city's 7,600 saloons every day on the average. Another rift in the social scene occurred when various professional athletes attained great wealth and were propelled into the upper classes.[2]

Most sporting activities at the turn of the century were geared toward men, although the two sexes looked to find entertainment venues in which they could interact without strict societal formalities. Dance halls, amusement parks, vaudeville houses, and movie houses gave young people a place to relax and spend time together, away from the watchful eyes of parents and elders. Soon, most cities had one or two amusement parks, which included dance halls, exhibits, band pavilions, mechanical thrill rides, swimming and bathing areas, and even circuses. Folks in small towns and rural areas enjoyed traveling carnivals and circuses.[3]

Cities set aside park areas for families to gather for picnics and community socials. Traditional places of formal social interaction, including churches, the YMCA, and municipal buildings also remained popular. Church members gathered in the evening for "ten cent socials," a time for frolicking and fun, but also for a good cause. The proceeds were donated to charity or used to aid the poor.

Lodges and union-sponsored social gatherings served as the primary form of entertainment for



A poster for The Barnum & Bailey Circus, advertising "The greatest show on earth—the peerless prodigies of physical phenomena and great presentation of marvelous living human curiosities." Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

many families in the laboring classes. Men constituted the overwhelming majority of these groups, but women actively participated in some and benefited from the social aspects granted by their husbands' membership.

BASEBALL: THE NATIONAL PASTIME

Baseball was far and away the most popular sport in the 1900s. After both the American and National leagues began counting foul balls as strikes, pitchers dominated the game, leading the period to be called the "dead ball" era. The ball itself favored pitchers, since it had a rubber center and did not carry as far as today's cork-centered balls. Despite these balls and the prowess of great pitchers such as Cy Young, Christy Mathewson, Walter Johnson, and Grover Cleveland Alexander, many gifted hitters emerged. Perhaps the greatest hitter of all time, Tyrus Raymond "Ty" Cobb, set the record for highest career batting average (.367) from 1905 to 1928. Other feared hitters included Napoleon Lajoie and Honus Wagner, but it was not until Boston Red Sox George Herman "Babe" Ruth gave up pitching in 1919, was sold to the New York Yankees, and became the "Sultan of Swat" that people cheered long ball hitters.

Baseball clubs had formed in New York City as early as the 1840s and 1850s, including the New York Knickerbockers, under Alexander Cartwright, who established many of the rules of the game. The Cincinnati Red Stockings became the nation's first professional team in 1869, and seven years later the National League (NL) formed with eight teams. Baseball players were treated more like factory workers than superstars, with rigid restrictions on the players and limited movement between teams.

The National League dominated baseball before 1900, but faced financial challenges and had trouble finding enough qualified players and umpires. In an attempt to cut costs and deliver a better brand of baseball, the NL dropped six franchises and settled into an eight-team division in 1900. Cincinnati native and former sportswriter Byron Bancroft "Ban" Johnson, the president of the Western League, a secondary circuit operating primarily in midsized Midwestern cities, decided to challenge the NL. He adopted the name American League (AL) and moved quickly to scoop up the franchises dropped by the NL.[4]

Johnson and several big-name stars, including legendary managers John McGraw and Connie Mack, barnstormed the country to raise awareness of the new league and recruiting players. The AL signed more than 100 former NL players and two of the sport's biggest heroes and future Hall of Famers. First, pitcher Cy Young signed with the Boston club, then Napoleon Lajoie, a gifted hitter and infielder, joined Connie Mack's Philadelphia Athletics. The NL had a tight cap on salaries, which played into the hands of the AL owners. Both Young and Lajoie signed for $3,500, a princely sum in 1900.

The AL's first season in 1900 drew nearly 1.7 million fans, just 236,000 less than the senior circuit. Chicago won the championship behind player-manager Clark Griffith, an outstanding pitcher who won 24 games. In the NL, the Pittsburgh Pirates won the championship behind the hitting prowess of John "Honus" Wagner, one of the greatest players in baseball history.[5]

NL owners questioned the audacity of the new league in challenging their supremacy and resented the AL's poaching of their best players. Several court battles raged over players signing for more money to play in the AL, including a high-profile lawsuit involving Lajoie. A judge barred the star from the roster of the Philadelphia Athletics, but Johnson masterminded a trade to the Cleveland club, where Lajoie played for the rest of the decade. Both leagues quickly realized that if they continued stealing away each other's star players, it would hurt baseball as a whole.

The National Agreement of 1903 forced each side to accept the contracts of the other and formed a three-man National Commission to govern baseball as a whole. The agreement also set up the territorial boundaries of the minor league teams. In effect, the 1903 agreement took away the little bit of power players had over their own career moves. Players who were upset with their contracts had few options, since other teams could not sign them away. From 1903 to World War I, players attempted to exert some power by forming unions, but the efforts failed.

Arguably the best player of the 1900s was Georgia born Ty Cobb. In 1905, Cobb was a

minor league outfielder, but by 1907, he led the AL in batting average (.350), runs batted in, total bases, and stolen bases. From 1907 to 1919, Cobb averaged .378, and eclipsed the magical .400 mark in 1911 and 1912. By the end of his career, Cobb held 43 offensive records and set a career average record that probably will never be broken.

Cobb's fierceness on the field earned him few friends. He was sensitive about his Southern roots and the mysterious death of his father, who was killed by his mother when she thought he was an intruder in their home and shot him twice with a shotgun. Cobb also endured a great deal of hazing in his rookie season with the Detroit Tigers, a common practice in the big leagues, but difficult for the future star. Perhaps the greatest difference between Cobb and his fellow players was his intensity and will to power. Just over six feet tall and weighing approximately 175 pounds, he played far beyond his natural abilities on the basis of his competitiveness and internal fire.

Cobb captured Roosevelt's ideal of the strenuous life, playing the game with vigor and excelling beyond his natural abilities, but Cobb was also a racist and bully. He would climb into the stands and challenge fans physically. He carried a revolver off the field and used the gun to intimidate anyone who questioned his authority. His treatment of blacks unfortunately typified the racism of the day. On at least two separate occasions he hit black women, once kicking a hotel maid in the stomach. Although Ban Johnson fined him and attempted to discipline him, no one could control Cobb. One of the most famous men in America, he ate alone, traveled alone, and was despised by teammates and foes alike.

Ty Cobb and his fellow baseball players were among the nation's first celebrities, an entertainment class. Stadiums were built with dugouts to separate players from the fans. The press focused on the players and their exploits in an attempt to satiate the public's longing for the latest score or feature story about their favorite player.

The spectacle of baseball as the national pastime came together most strikingly in the World Series championships held between the AL and NL pennant winners. The first World Series in 1903, between the Pittsburgh Pirates and Boston Beaneaters (changed to the Red Sox the next year), was not officially sanctioned by either league. The animosity between the two leagues ran too deep at the time, resulting in no World Series the next year.

Led by Cy Young, the Boston team won the best of nine series in eight games. Young won two games for Boston, and Bill Dineen won three. Honus Wagner played poorly for Pittsburgh, batting only .222 and committing six errors. The first World Series vaulted the young American League and validated its place with the National League. Being the first championship of its kind in baseball, the game was followed primarily by the fans of the two cities, but it did draw over 100,000 spectators.[6]

Recognizing the moneymaking potential of the season-ending championship, the league presidents sanctioned the 1905 World Series, which pitted John McGraw's New York Giants against Connie Mack's Philadelphia Athletics. A pitching duel from the start, the series lasted five games with each team winning by shutout. Mathewson and Joe McGinnity blanked the Athletics to post four wins and clinch the series for New York. More important than the winning scores or the individual exploits of the players, the 1905 championship caught the imagination of the public.

WORLD SERIES

1903 Boston "Pilgrims" Red Sox (AL), 5 games; Pittsburgh Pirates (NL), 3 games

1904 No series

1905 New York Giants (NL), 4 games; Philadelphia Athletics (AL), 1 game

1906 Chicago White Sox (AL), 4 games; Chicago Cubs (NL), 2 games

1907 Chicago Cubs (NL), 4 games; Detroit Tigers (AL), 0 games

1908 Chicago Cubs (NL), 4 games; Detroit Tigers (AL), 1 game

1909 Pittsburgh Pirates (NL), 4 games; Detroit Tigers (AL), 3 games

BEISBOL: CUBA'S PASTIME

Baseball, the quintessential American sport, has almost as long a history in Cuba. American sailors are said to have played the game while docked in Havana in 1866, but for Cuban *beisbol* to take off, it needed encouragement from homegrown athletes and fans. In the mid-1800s, well-off Cuban families sent their sons to the United States for schooling. There, many of them learned the game.

By the early 1900s, baseball was flourishing in Cuba, and American players and soon entire teams came to the island for moneymaking exhibition games as soon as the U.S. baseball season ended. Starting in 1908, enthusiastic local fans flocked to the ballparks to see their own teams play—and more often than not beat—American major league clubs such as the Cincinnati Reds and the Detroit Tigers.

The foreign visitors noted that *beisbol* was everywhere one went in the island nation. Shop windows were filled with carefully displayed bats, balls, and gloves. In Havana, empty lots bustled with impromptu games, and in suburbs and rural areas, every hamlet had its own home team.

There was one stark contrast between Cuban and American baseball. The professional leagues in the U.S. were segregated—a strange concept to the racially mixed Cuban population. Cuban fans were equally welcoming to black American stars like Rube Walker and white players like Ty Cobb—although only light-skinned Cubans, like Mike Gonzalez of the Washington Senators, had any hope of playing for an American major-league team.

Over time, more and more white American ballplayers experienced racially mixed "winter ball" in Cuba, paving the way for integration. In 1947, when Jackie Robinson finally broke the color line for good, his debut with the Brooklyn Dodgers was preceded by the team's spring-training preseason in Cuba, where baseball never had a color.

FOOTBALL

In the 1900s, football was brutal—in 1905 alone, the *Chicago Tribune* reported the deaths of 18 football players and serious injuries to 159. Many colleges took measures to deal with the brutality. Columbia abolished football in 1905; Stanford and California suspended play. Charles Eliot, president of Harvard, wanted to eliminate football altogether. In October 1905, President Roosevelt, a football supporter and proponent of the game, put together a committee to find a way to abolish the violence.[7]

Roosevelt's football commission formed the American Football Rules Committee, which designed plays to open up the game and move away from the power plays and wedges that brought together unprotected players in bone crushing collisions. Two important rules were developed: moving the first-down markers from 5 to 10 yards, and the forward pass.[8]

Despite the injuries, college football dominated the sport in the 1900s and increasingly became a focal point of collegiate life. In the early part of the decade, the teams of the University of Michigan outclassed the rest of the nation. In 1901, Michigan dismantled the University of Buffalo 128–0. Over the season, the Michigan team totaled 501 points without giving up a single point. In an attempt to determine the best team in the nation, a group of sports organizers put together the first Rose Bowl in 1902, pitting Stanford against Michigan. Michigan won 49–0, discouraging the Westerners to the point that they did not hold another Rose Bowl contest until 1916.[9]

BOXING

The *Baltimore Sun* reported on April 2, 1901, that Elizabeth Moore, a 24-year-old woman, had been arrested the prior night for attending the lightweight boxing match between the great Joe Gans (the first African American to hold a championship title) and Martin Flaherty. The official charge against Moore was "masquerading in male attire," but her real crime was invading the male-dominated bastion represented by professional boxing matches. Boxing, barely legal itself at the turn of the century, was no place for women according to societal norms.[10]

Despite its viciousness, seedy elements, and illegality in many states, boxing gained immense popularity in the 1900s. Many prize fights were basically bare knuckle brawls held secretly in

saloons, gyms, or backwoods areas. Fans followed the sport closely and took great interest in the professional heavyweight division. Opponents of boxing, including Roosevelt, railed against the sport's gambling influences and outright brutality. At least four men died in 1901, although one can speculate that countless more died in illegal fights that were never reported. Even sanctioned boxing matches were vicious and often lasted 25 rounds or more.[11]

James J. Jeffries held the world heavyweight title at the start of the decade. He beat New Zealander Bob Fitzsimmons at the Coney Island Athletic Club in 1899 with an eleventh round knockout. Jeffries, six feet one inch in height and weighing 210 pounds, ruled the heavyweight division for the next four years. Jeffries, who defended his belt at every turn, voluntarily retired in 1905, at 30 years of age.

White boxers in the 1900s seemed to take a two pronged approach to competing with black contenders. On one hand, fight promoters and officials worked with the white champions and tried to deny blacks the chance to go for the title. At the same time, whites seemed to believe blacks were cowards and held the general belief that blacks were socially, physically, and mentally inferior. Interracial boxing matches took place in the 1900s and drew huge crowds because of the novelty. African American fighters, however, were discriminated against at nearly every turn.

Jack Johnson, a native of Galveston, Texas, would change white America's perception of black athletes in the 1900s. Johnson, who left school after the fifth grade, bounced from one menial job to another and traveled around the country. Settling in Dallas at the age of 16, Johnson worked at a carriage shop building horse-drawn buggies. His boss, Walter Lewis, was an ex-boxer and offered to teach the hulking Johnson to box. Johnson's first important fight was against noted heavyweight Joe Choynsky in 1901. Johnson was knocked out in the third round, and after the fight, both men were carted off to jail, as boxing was illegal in Texas at the time. For the next three weeks, the more experienced Choynsky gave Johnson boxing lessons.[12]

In 1903, Johnson beat "Denver" Ed Martin to win the Negro heavyweight championship. In 1903 and 1904, all Johnson's opponents were black, since the sport remained segregated. After beating Martin, Johnson gained the attention of the boxing world. In 1903, heavyweight champ Jeffries declared, "I will not fight a Negro! If Johnson wants to fight for the championship he will have to fight somebody besides me. If I am defeated, the championship will go to a white man, for I will not fight a colored man."[13] Since Jeffries would not fight him, Johnson began to question the champion's character publicly. Jeffries did not change his stance and chose to retire in 1905, claiming a lack of competition.

Johnson continued boxing and did not lose a fight in 1906 or 1907. He set his sights on the heavyweight championship, but the white titleholders continued holding to the color barrier. Johnson's most impressive victory during this time was a win over former champion Bob Fitzsimmons, the first time a black man beat a former titleholder. Johnson started chasing the new champion, Canadian Tommy Burns, all over the globe demanding a title shot. Newspapers jumped into the fray as well. Burns finally consented to a fight with Johnson. The fight date was set for December 26, 1908, with a total purse of $40,000; Burns would receive $35,000 and Johnson, only $5,000.[14]

Approximately 26,000 fans (including two women) watched Johnson—nearly six feet, two inches and 195 pounds—batter the heavyweight champion, who was six inches shorter and 15 pounds lighter. But it was not size that led to the pounding Burns took—it was Johnson's superior training and his desire to disprove the coward label that some had been pinning on blacks. Johnson knocked Burns down in the first round with a right uppercut, and by the eighth round Burns's eyes were swollen shut and he was bleeding from the mouth. Burns took more punishment through 14 rounds before the police called an end to the battle. Jack Johnson assumed the heavyweight championship of the world. Serving as ringside reporters were former champion John L. Sullivan and author Jack London. Immediately after the fight, London called out for Jim Jeffries to come out of retirement and defend the honor of whites. Soon, the cry for Jeffries as the "Great White Hope" took hold. Although retired for four

and a half years, the pressure and money were too much—Jeffries agreed to fight Johnson.[15]

On July 4, 1910, in Reno, Nevada, the two men came to the center of the ring to fight the battle of the ages. They did not like one another and agreed that there would be no traditional prefight handshake. By the thirteenth round, Johnson openly taunted Jeffries and laughed as he lunged after him. Two rounds later, Johnson repeatedly set Jeffries down to the canvas and then through the ropes. Jeffries's camp threw in the towel.

Johnson's victory set off a terrifying reaction against blacks across the nation. There were riots and fights in cities as diverse as Omaha, Philadelphia, Houston, New Orleans, and Macon, Georgia. In total, the carnage left 13 blacks dead and hundreds more injured. The public outcry against Johnson included banning films of the match and making it illegal to transport them across state lines.

Over the next several decades, Johnson faced prosecution by authorities in America, Europe, and Mexico. After trial for trumped-up charges for violating the Mann Act (transporting a person across state lines for immoral purposes) in 1912, Johnson was convicted on 11 counts, ranging from crimes against nature to prostitution and debauchery. He was sentenced to a year and a day in jail and fined $1,000. The case and trial caused another uproar, and white America even called on eminent black statesman Booker T. Washington to comment. Washington urged caution and suggested that Johnson act in nonthreatening ways. Black leaders feared violence and threats against the black middle class. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois both felt that Johnson hindered race progress, but African Americans used every Johnson victory in the ring as a reason to rejoice. He gave them a sense of pride few blacks had experienced before.

GOLF AND TENNIS

Golf and lawn tennis gained in popularity in the 1900s. In 1894, the Amateur Golf Association was formed to standardize the game, and changed its name to the United States Golf Association (USGA) a year later. The first U.S. Open golf tournament was held in 1895, and by 1900, more than 1,000 golf clubs dotted the countryside. The game received a shot in the arm when three time British Open champion Harry Vardon toured America in 1900.

As the decade wore on, middle-class enthusiasts began to play golf. Amateur champion Walter J. Travis helped popularize the game by winning the national championship in 1900, 1901, and 1903. The following year, Travis became the first foreign player to capture the British amateur title. A wiry, small man, born in Australia, but making his home in Texas, Travis did not even begin playing golf until he was 35 years old. By 1905, he had his own magazine, *American Golfer,* and published *Practical Golf,* a guide to the sport. Jerome D. Travers, one of the first great American players, won amateur titles in 1907 and 1908, then again in 1912 and 1913. He also wrote numerous articles and several books on the sport.[16]

In 1874, New York socialite Mary Ewing Outerbridge, who saw British officers play lawn tennis while she was on winter vacation in Bermuda, introduced the game to the United States. She purchased a tennis set abroad but had to surrender the equipment to customs officials who did not know what it was. She used her family's ties in the shipping industry to get the items into the country. She had a tennis court set up at the Staten Island Cricket and Baseball Club, which her brother ran.

Unlike in golf, tennis players from both sexes competed with and against one another. Tennis was a rich person's game. The United States Lawn Tennis Association (USLTA) organized in 1881, and by 1900, the sport had its first great superstar, William A. Larned, who won seven national singles titles (1901, 1902, 1907–1911). More important for popularizing tennis, however, was the International Lawn Tennis Challenge Cup tournament, better known as the Davis Cup, after Dwight F. Davis, who donated the silver cup given to the winning team. Tennis's top players, including Davis, the national college singles champion, decided that an international competition would bolster the game's acceptance. The competition was first held between the United States and Britain, and later Australia was added. The U.S. squad won in 1900 and 1902, but the British held the cup until 1906, when the Australians took over through 1912.

Women competed on the national and international tennis stage. Strong American players included Myrtle McAteer, Elisabeth H. Moore, and Marion Jones, who earned a bronze medal at the 1900 Olympic Games. May Sutton became the first American woman to win Wimbledon, in 1905, and reclaimed the title in 1907. Decked out in all white, long sleeves, and a knotted tie, Sutton may have caused the biggest stir by wearing a dress that rose two inches above her ankles at the 1905 Wimbledon matches.

REBIRTH OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES

The father of the modern Olympics, Pierre de Coubertin, a French aristocrat served as the first secretary general and later president (1896–1925) of the International Olympic Committee (IOC). Coubertin designed the Olympic symbol of the five interlocking rings to represent the five continents and the colors of their national flags. He viewed the Olympics as games that exalted both the athlete's individualism and the patriotism felt for one's homeland. On a visit to the United States in 1889, he met U.S. Civil Service Commissioner Theodore Roosevelt. Recognizing in each other a focus on the strenuous life, the men quickly became friends and remained so for the rest of their lives.[17]

Coubertin organized numerous sports associations and then set his sights on reviving the Olympic Games. Several attempts had been made to revive the games, the most recent in Sweden in 1834, but people regarded the idea of the Olympics as sacred. When Coubertin lobbied in the United States to gain the support of the nation's sports leaders, including the secretary of the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU), he was told the idea was impossible. With the backing of England, Coubertin organized an international conference in France, which eventually led to the formation of the IOC. Its organizer decided that Athens should host the first modern Olympic Games in 1896.

The first modern games were fairly low-key. Some ceremony and ritual (King George I of Greece opened the event, cannons were fired, and doves were released over the spectators) were included, but there was little frenzy. Approximately 300 athletes and 40,000 spectators attended the games. The games were marked by indifference across most of the world and caused little stir outside Greece. Many of the American fans there were sailors on shore leave from the cruiser *San Francisco.*

Olympic winners received an olive branch, a certificate, and a silver medal; second-place finishers got a laurel sprig and a copper medal. American James Connolly was the first athlete to win an Olympic event, in the triple jump, leaping just under 45 feet.

The second Olympic Games were held in Paris, coinciding with the World's Fair in 1900, despite the protests of the Greek government, which wanted to host the games every four years. Rather than sparking the interest of fair attendees, the Olympic Games were hardly noticed. Organizers staged the events over the five-month duration of the fair, which diluted any interest in the outcomes. [18]

At the 1900 games, all 24 first-place gold medals were won by athletes from American and English teams. Alvin Kraenzlein, a German American, won four gold medals at the 1900 games, and John Tewksbury won two gold and two silver medals. The Paris Olympics were the first to allow women to participate. Margaret Abbott of Chicago had been studying art and music in Paris, but she entered and won the women's golf event and became the first American female gold medalist. Her prize was an antique Saxon porcelain bowl mounted in chiseled gold.

Although the cry throughout the land in 1904 was "Meet Me in St. Louis" for the World's Fair, relatively few European athletes were willing to travel to the American hinterland for the third Olympic Games. For the most part, they had never even heard of St. Louis and thought they might suffer from Indian attacks if they were to attend. Of the 554 athletes, 432 were Americans—not a single French or English athlete competed. Small teams from Austria, Canada, Cuba, Germany, Greece, and several other nations made the transatlantic trip and trek to St. Louis.

Opening day brought 5,000 spectators to the new Olympic stadium. The U.S. team completely dominated the events from start to finish. At St. Louis, American organizers originated the custom of awarding gold, silver, and bronze medals. In the end, the United States won 70 gold, 75 silver, and 64 bronze medals. The next closest competitor was Cuba with 5 gold, 2 silver, and

3 bronze. The 1904 St. Louis Olympics, like the World's Fair itself, was an exercise in nationalism in which the United States publicly thumped its chest and proclaimed itself the world's strongest nation.

HOW OTHERS SEE US

The 1904 Olympics: A Comedy of Errors

In its breathless American press coverage, the Olympic Games of 1904 were "a meet probably unequaled in the sporting annals of this or any other country." But the Games, held in St. Louis, Missouri, were the least international of all time. Only 12 nations sent athletes to the competition; of the 641 who participated, fully 80 percent of them represented the United States. Overshadowed by the World's Fair that was also being held in St. Louis that summer, the games became a glorified U.S. national track meet. Few European athletes were willing to travel so deep into the American continent. And though the local organizers had promised to send a ship across the Atlantic to pick up any teams that wished to attend, it never materialized.

The first Olympics to be held in the New World, the games were a comedy of errors. Pierre de Coubertin, founder of the Olympic movement, boycotted St. Louis on hearing rumors of a long-range tobacco juice spitting competition. That event never materialized, but the roque contest (an American croquet variant) sounded almost as strange to European ears. During the swimming races, the raft being used as a starting line sank repeatedly. In the marathon, competitors included a Cuban who had hitchhiked to St. Louis and ran in street shoes, a long-sleeved shirt, and trousers cut with scissors at the knee, as well as two Zulus who were in town as part of the Fair's Boer War exhibit and happened to have a free afternoon.

It would be nearly three decades before Coubertin would allow the Olympic Games to get so far beyond his control—or to be held anywhere outside Europe. And it would take even longer for Americans to shed the image of parochial bumpkinism that was only solidified that summer.

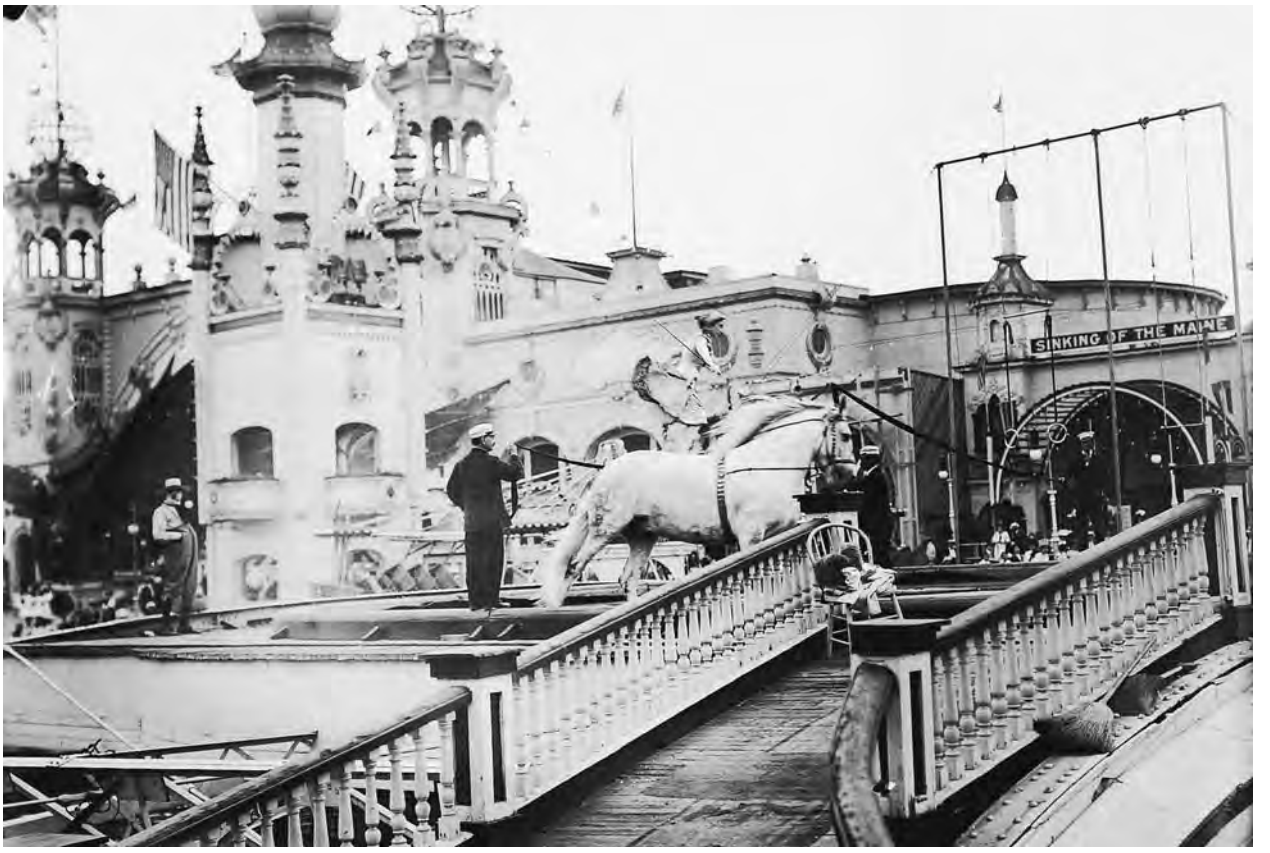
The IOC designated Rome as the host of the 1908 Olympic Games, but the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 1906, which claimed 2,000 lives, forced the event to be moved to London. London built a new 70,000-seat stadium for the Olympics and adopted strict guidelines regarding what constituted amateur status for the athletes. The 1908 games were marked by protest, particularly regarding the way in which English officials treated Irish athletes, who wanted to compete under their own flag as a separate nation. Much of the protest came from American participants of Irish descent. Shot put champion Ralph Rose refused to dip the flag to the English king as flag bearer for the United States, sending a shock through the Olympic community.

The United States again dominated the track-and-field events, winning 15 of 27 contests. The marathon caused great consternation. An Italian runner, Dorando Pietri, staggered into the Olympic stadium and fell to the ground four times on the final lap. As American Johnny Hayes closed in on him, British officials dragged Pietri across the finish line first. American officials protested, which launched accusations of poor sportsmanship. The IOC overturned the decision and awarded the victory to Hayes.[19]

FAIRS, EXPOSITIONS, AND CARNIVALS

Since the 1890s, many people had more free time to spend in leisure, despite long work weeks. The most popular forms of entertainment were often the simplest—family picnics and community socials. Families also turned to commercial recreation, often sponsored by one's employer or a large corporation. This move toward commercial amusement gave people freedoms they had rarely experienced in earlier times. At places like Coney Island or Sandusky, Ohio's Cedar Point, young people were able to mingle without heavy parental supervision.

County or state fairs, usually held annually, began as celebrations of the year's agricultural harvest and livestock production, but later became showcases for American technological might, highlighting consumer products and innovations. In 1910, the Great Granger's Annual Picnic Exhibition at Williams Grove,



An open-air circus at Coney Island, New York. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.



A bird's-eye view of Coney Island, New York, showing that it was quite an amusement park as long ago as 1908. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Pennsylvania showcased 37 different types of washing machines. Proving to be moneymaking ventures and extremely popular, state and county fairs took on the characteristics of cities. Organizers replaced the flimsy, hastily constructed wooden buildings and tents with permanent structures made from brick and steel. They built machinery halls, auditoriums, concession stands, and retail stores.[20]

Popular entertainment became a fixture at fairs. Horse racing, music bands, circuses, vaudeville shows, and amusement rides gained in popularity as rural folks strolled down the fair's midway. With the success of fixed location amusement parks, most notably Coney Island, mechanical thrill rides were set up at rural fairs, including Ferris wheels, hot-air balloon rides, and, later, airplane rides. After dark, fairs took on a different role, enabling rural men and women to experience nightlife, as electricity lit up the night sky.[21]

The most popular diversion in America in the 1900s, in terms of attendance and grandeur, was the World's Fair. The United States caught World's Fair fever during the spectacle of the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893. Aided by state and federal governments, Buffalo organized a Pan-American Exposition in 1901. The theme of the Buffalo fair was to demonstrate the progress of civilization on both American continents. Unfortunately, the exhibits and innovations at Buffalo were overshadowed by the assassination of President McKinley at the event.

Other states and cities held their own expositions, including the Lewis and Clark Exposition in Portland in 1905, Jamestown in 1907, the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Expo in Seattle in 1909, and two shows held in San Francisco and San Diego in 1915. Other cities holding expositions between the Chicago and St. Louis expositions were Atlanta, Nashville, Omaha, New Orleans, and Charleston.

The granddaddy of all expositions in the 1900s was the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition held in St. Louis. The St. Louis Fair featured miles of electric light and countless acres of art and culture, as well as anthropological exhibits portraying real-life Indians (American and Eastern), Africans, Filipinos, Syrians, and other tribes. On the surface, planners designed the exhibits to show fairgoers how other people lived in their native habitats, but there was also a great deal of jingoism in the display.

Travel

of the 1900s

Mass transportation and personal means of travel advanced greatly in the 1900s. What had once been far-fetched ideas like the automobile or airplane became realities, opening a world of travel to people.

Whether emboldened by the westward movement, driven by a higher level of disposable income generated during the era, or in search of work, an unprecedented amount of travel occurred in the 1900s. Although there were fewer than 200 miles of paved roads in the United States in 1900, railways linked the coasts, and thousands of towns sprang to life to service the railroads. Cities across America were lined by growing suburbs, most within walking distance of railroad or trolley lines. Commuters made the daily journey aboard these trains into the city and back again in the evening. Many cities began electrifying their trolley lines to apply the latest technological innovation to city travel. Ferries also transported commuters and goods.

VACATION

Like their counterparts in Europe, affluent Americans traveled in the summer. Most often summer vacations meant residing in a second home—exclusive cottages in Newport and Narragansett, Rhode Island, Palm Beach, Florida, and Santa Barbara, California. The favored form of transportation was aboard private railroad cars, which offered luxury and shielded the wealthy from the general population. Countless resorts and spas sprang up in popular travel destinations, including Florida, California, Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia. Middle and lower-class travelers were enticed by reduced rate tours to Niagara Falls, Atlantic City, and other points along the seaside or lakeshore and in the mountains.

Vacations became common for middle-class Americans in the 1900s. The New York Department of Labor conducted a study of 1,500 factories and found that 91 percent gave their office staffs paid vacations, although hourly workers did not receive the same benefits. With their newfound leisure time, many Americans traveled widely. Studies show that in the two decades before the outbreak of World War I, more than 200,000 vacationers went to Europe annually. Travel agencies serviced a growing clientele and arranged for passage to Europe aboard passenger ships and tours of the Continent (costs ranged from $400 to $600 per person).[1]

The dizzying pace of life in the 1900s led many people to search out spas and resorts for their vacations. Diagnosed with neurasthenia—a psychological plight that caused nervousness, paranoia, fatigue, rashes, and other physical ailments—some

of America's most influential artists, politicians, and business leaders sought vacations where they could relax and recover their health. People suffering from "American nervousness" ranged from writers Edith Wharton, Theodore Dreiser, and William and Henry James—and even President Theodore Roosevelt.[2] Under the watchful eye of doctors and therapists, these people were treated with hydropathy, a water therapy that made places like Hot Springs, Arkansas and French Lick, Indiana destinations for the mentally and physically exhausted.

Certain resort areas, especially ones on the ocean, became destinations for the rich and middle class alike. Atlantic City, New Jersey, offered gigantic piers bustling with music, vaudeville performances, theaters, and movie houses. The resort's seedier side featured lion tamers, snake charmers, and cheap trinket shops, as well as the flophouses and saloons.

Florida became a booming vacation site championed by Henry Morrison Flagler, a former partner of John D. Rockefeller. Flagler established a string of resort hotels on the eastern coast of Florida and linked them via a railroad. Flagler's tireless promotion of Florida as a vacation destination led to much of the state's future economic development.[3]

As a result of Theodore Roosevelt's call for leading an active life, many people vacationed in the mountains and open spaces. Roosevelt, perhaps the most conservation-minded president in American history, started a national park movement, which included Yellowstone, Yosemite, Grand Canyon, and Mount Rainier, among others. In 1903, Roosevelt traveled to Yosemite to publicize his vision of a national park and to meet Sierra Club founder and naturalist John Muir. Roosevelt was so eager to meet Muir that he called it "the bulliest day of my life."[4] Muir and Roosevelt believed that the national park system could offer city dwellers a way to fight the neurasthenic battle brought on by constant stress and wear from life in bustling cities.

In 1908, a group of millionaires ranked the most exclusive resorts in the United States. At the top of the list was Newport, Rhode Island, so exclusive that the report warned those just past the million dollar mark to beware—an entire fortune could be spent keeping up with the likes of Cornelius Vanderbilt, coal baron E. J. Berwind, and John Jacob Astor. The rich in Newport built "cottages," although the most unassuming cottages could have 30 rooms and cost $1 million to build. Vanderbilt's magnificent 70-room Renaissance fortress, named "The Breakers," cost $5 million to build. William K. Vanderbilt's "Marble House" was built for $2 million, but he spent more than four times that much decorating it, including marble imported from Africa and a ballroom paneled in gold.[5]

High society in Newport centered on entertaining in a lavish, flamboyant style. The women of Newport prided themselves on entertaining 100 or more guests in an evening at their palatial cottages. Some families built brightly illuminated midways in courtyards surrounding the mansions, containing shooting galleries, dancers and singers, and other forms of entertainment similar to those offered at amusement parks. In 1902, Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt hosted a lavish dinner party with the featured entertainment provided by the cast of the Broadway musical comedy *The Wild Rose*. She simply had the cast and scenery shipped to Newport for the performance.



The opulent Hotel Alcazar in St. Augustine, Florida, ca. 1905. This hotel was popular when people who could afford them took vacations to warm areas of the country and to hot springs to recover from "American nervousness." Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.



An interior view of plush railroad dining car filled with patrons, 1905. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

TRAVEL IN CONGESTED CITIES

The turn of the century witnessed a huge building spree in many congested cities. City planners and officials elected to build trolleys and street railway systems. Electric engines were more economical and faster than steam engines and better adapted to the crowded terminals. From 1902 to 1907, more than 2,000 miles of track a year were laid out in congested cities. Both New York and Chicago built elevated steam-driven lines before 1900; Boston followed with its own in 1901. However, steam engines were not as practical as electric lines. New York adopted electricity for its elevated lines in 1901.[6]

With the crushing influx of people, primarily immigrants, cities like Boston, New York, Chicago, and San Francisco had to introduce innovative means of public transportation. Electric trolley cars, like the ones still used in San Francisco, first spread from downtown areas into the suburbs, then began linking communities. In 1906, the New York Central railway began electric operations from Grand Central Station, and two years later, lines ran all the way to Stamford, Connecticut.[7]

From 1900 to 1914, railroads added more than 4,000 miles of track annually. The advent of electric trolley lines and the growing influence of the automobile harmed the railroad industry, and after 1907 railroad profits slipped markedly.[8]

The Jacksonville Metropolis automobile was used in a 1909 endurance race from Tampa to Jacksonville and back. The Tampa *Daily Times* sponsored the event to show Florida citizens the need for a statewide highway system.

THE AUTOMOBILE

In 1900, automobiles (or "horseless carriages") were delicate machines, given to sputtering oil, fire, and smoke on a regular basis. Cars were also expensive—toys of the rich who could afford the exhaustive upkeep and repairs. Repairs were common because automobiles were forced to inch along dirt roads, trails, and paths. Many who favored horse-drawn carriages got a good laugh at the expense of automobile owners, often seen stuck in a muddy ditch or nearly overturned by a rut in a dirt road. There were no roadside gas stations or tow trucks to help drivers, who had to rely on their own ingenuity or the help of others to push their cars to safety.

In 1900, at the first car show held in the United States in New York City, nearly all the contraptions were electric or steam, despite the limitations of both types. Electric cars had a limited range of motion, since they needed to be renewed at electric charging stations; steam cars required an owner to get a steam engineer's license, since they were perceived as being very dangerous.[9]

Early automobiles often lacked much of a body. Henry Ford's first car, preserved in Dearborn, Michigan, looked like a bicycle, with four reed-thin wheels and a carriage seat. Later in the decade, passengers sat high above the engine and the wheels. The driver's side was on the right, and the front two seats looked like leather recliners. An ornate carriage seat took up the whole back of the car.

Despite the early design and fragility of automobiles, the machines grabbed people's imaginations. Soon, autos crowded the already jam-packed streets in American cities, and safety became an issue. An alarming number of pedestrians were injured or killed by auto enthusiasts. The outrage over vehicular deaths caused New York City officials to ban horseless vehicles from Central Park. In 1904, New York State passed a law setting the maximum speed limit at 10 miles per hour in built-up districts, 15 miles per hour in villages or outside congested areas, and 20 miles per hour elsewhere. Newspapers capitalized on anti-automobile public sentiment, but businesses that were affected by this outrage mobilized to resist the legislation.

The automobile profoundly affected the way in which people lived and interacted. Once automobile pioneers understood the impact the car could have, they moved quickly to make its influence a reality. In 1900, 4,192 automobiles were sold in the United States for a total of $4.89 million. Ten years later, the number jumped to 181,000 cars for $215.34 million.

Various inventors and engineers had tinkered with producing an automobile as far back as 1769, when French artillery officer Nicholas Cugnot made a primitive car that had three wheels and was equipped with a boiler and an engine. Charles E. and J. Frank Duryea built the first gas-powered car in Springfield, Massachusetts in 1893, while Ransom Eli Olds was credited with first attempting to build cars under a system of mass production in the late 1890s. The first Oldsmobile was manufactured in Lansing, Michigan in 1901, and 425 cars were sold that year; by 1904, Olds had sold 5,000 automobiles. Between 1904 and 1908, 241 auto companies were formed.[10]

Throughout the decade, automobiles were mainly for the wealthy. Early manufacturers advertised their cars with posters illustrating upper-class lifestyles, highlighting grandeur, speed, and power. Price was rarely mentioned in the classic automobile ads—if a person had to ask the price, he could not afford it.[11]

Cleveland-based Peerless Motor Car Company played on its slogan "All That the Name Implies" and showed rich women in big, feathered hats being carted around a department store by two chauffeur drivers. Another Cleveland auto company, the Baker Motor Vehicle Company, was an early pioneer in getting women interested in buying automobiles. Baker brought out the "Queen Victoria," an electric car that it touted as the "safest to drive" and "easiest to control."

Countless small businesses and parts suppliers helped fueled the growth of the industry. Entire cities began to cater to the growing auto manufacturers. Akron, Ohio, soon became known as "Rubber City" after a number of successful tire manufacturers, including Goodyear and Firestone, settled on the banks of the Cuyahoga River in northeastern Ohio.[12]

Just after the Civil War, Dr. Benjamin Franklin Goodrich, a surgeon by training and a burgeoning

real estate developer, visited many cities in his search for a place to relocate his twice-failed New York rubber company. His financial backers stipulated that the new location had to be west of the Allegheny Mountains, where the company would not face competition from its Eastern rivals. While on a trip to Cleveland, Goodrich read an Akron Board of Trade brochure and scouted the city.

Goodrich was attracted to Akron's supply of coal and water, transportation system, and abundance of labor. In 1871, the machinery was shipped from New York to Akron. By 1888, the year B. F. Goodrich died, company sales reached nearly $700,000.

Other entrepreneurs rushed to imitate Goodrich's success and profit from the early development of the automobile industry. By 1909, there were 14 rubber companies in Akron, including future giants Goodyear and Firestone. Five years later, rubber accounted for nearly 20,000 jobs and over 33 percent of the industry's yearly output.

HENRY FORD: THE FATHER OF THE AUTOMOBILE

Before the real car culture could grip America, someone had to make an auto the masses could afford to buy and maintain. The man who bridged the gap was Henry Ford, a farmer's son who was responsible for making the automobile affordable for the average man by perfecting the use of mass production. Although he did not invent the technology that made him famous,



The Jacksonville Metropolis automobile used in a 1909 endurance race from Tampa to Jacksonville and back. The promotional stunt sponsored by the *Tampa Daily Times* was to show Florida citizens the need for a statewide highway system. From the Louise Frisbie collection, courtesy of the Florida State Archives.

Ford perfected the assembly line, transforming the automobile from a luxury to a necessity.

Born in Dearborn, Michigan in 1863, Henry Ford had an early aptitude for machinery, but it was the sight of a coal-fired steam engine in 1876 that set in motion his later triumphs. By age 16, after leaving the family farm against his father's wishes, Ford apprenticed in a machine shop in Detroit. Next he joined the Westinghouse Engine Company, repairing old steam engines and setting up new ones.

Ford soon realized that steam engines were not the wave of the future. German engineer Karl Benz had developed a reliable internal combustion engine which ran on gasoline. Ford traveled around Detroit questioning its best engineers and later produced his own two-cylinder, four-cycle engine, which generated four horsepower. Ford mounted the engine on a borrowed chassis, and his "quadricycle" made its maiden run on June 4, 1896. It was a huge success. He sold his first for $200, then built a second bigger and more powerful one. Backed by investors, Ford opened the Detroit Automobile Company (soon reorganized as the Henry Ford Company). He was the first car manufacturer in "Motor City."

Ford entered his cars in races and won a reputation for speed and daring. Soon, he built racers that set speed records, and additional investors pumped money into the company, thus beginning the close union between the auto industry and auto racing. Over the years, the alliance led to overall improvements in car design and technology, benefiting the industry as a whole.

What makes Ford such a revolutionary business thinker is that he realized that everyone should benefit from his innovation. Ford proclaimed, "I will build a motor car for the great multitude," and he decided that the way to make them affordable was "to make them all alike, to make them come through the factory just alike." By 1908, he had bought out many and owned 58 percent of the company. In the fall of 1908, the first Model T rolled out. The car had several new features that made it more negotiable on country roads, and the engine was encased for protection. Ford set the price at $825, which to many was expensive, but he believed the price would fall through improvements in assembly-line technology. With Ford in control, efficiency was the keystone of his operations. For 20 years, Ford produced only black Model T's (often called the "Tin Lizzie" or "flivver").

Ford sold 11,000 cars in 1908 and 1909, and sold 19,000 in 1910. Sales skyrocketed, reaching 248,000 in 1914, or nearly half the U.S. market.

TAKING TO THE SKIES

On December 17, 1903, Orville and Wilbur Wright, both wearing starched collars, ties, and dark suits, emerged from their small cabin at Kill Devil Hills, North Carolina, just four miles from the town of Kitty Hawk, ready to test their machine. For years, the brothers, who were bicycle mechanics from Dayton, Ohio, had dreamed of building an aircraft that would fly. The Wrights tinkered with various designs to test their theories, then headed to Kitty Hawk, which offered steady wind, open spaces, and, most important for the two patent-minded brothers, privacy.

In 1903, the Wrights started piecing together their "whopper flying machine" based on an engine they had designed and built, with a box frame that required the pilot to lie in the middle of the ship, using his hips to work the wings. As the world debated man's ability to fly, the Wrights put the finishing touches on their airplane. On December 17, they set up the plane's launching device, a 60-foot-long monorail that would send the plane skyward. Because it was a windy day, they set the monorail up on the beach, instead of on the hillside they had used in earlier efforts.[13]

With Orville lying down at the controls and Wilbur running alongside, balancing the machine as it gained speed, the chain-driven engine roared to life, shaking the entire plane. As it rolled down the monorail, the plane jerked into the wind. Forty feet down the track, the plane slowly climbed up to ten feet off the ground. In the 12 seconds it was airborne, the Wright's ship traveled 120 feet.[14] This moment was caught on film, but the small crowd who had gathered (mostly rescue swimmers from the nearby life-saving station) did not even cheer. The Wright brothers simply pushed the plane back to the starting blocks for another run. By the fourth flight, at noon that day, the plane stayed up for 59 seconds and traveled 852 feet.[15]

Amazingly, the national press reacted with complete indifference to the Wrights's feat. No newspaper reporters were present that day, and most did not run stories about the event. Only Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot* editor Keville Glennan understood the importance of the flight and printed the story on the front page. Ironically, the United States Armed Services did not consider the Wrights's achievement useful. In 1904, a representative of the British government approached the brothers, but U.S. services ignored their achievement until 1907.[16]

The Wrights finally received the coverage they deserved after they held a public demonstration of the airplane in 1908 at Fort Myer military base in Virginia. A crowd of 5,000 watched the plane turn in the air, fly over their heads, then land on the grassy field nearby. The demonstration flights received much press coverage, but it would be years before people really believed in man's ability to fly. In 1909, Wilbur put on an exhibition over New York Harbor that drew more than one million spectators. He delighted the crowd by flying along Manhattan and around the Statue of Liberty.

THE PANAMA CANAL

A passageway through Central America had long been a dream of American industrialists, and it was regarded as an important strategic move by the nation's governmental and military leaders. Connecting the oceans through the seemingly thin slice of land across Panama would cut weeks off the trip between New York City and San Francisco. Roosevelt bought the rights to the Isthmus of Panama from the French for $40 million, over the objections of the Colombian government, who disputed the French claim to the land.[17] The president saw building a canal as an assertion of American will—he would not be denied by lengthy negotiations with Colombia. Roosevelt encouraged a revolution led by two French members of the Panama Company.[18]

Roosevelt sent American warships to a station off the coast of Colombia in a display of force. The maneuver sent a message, not only to the leaders of Colombia, but also to European nations: America would decide what happened in the Western hemisphere. The United States quickly recognized the rebel leaders and the new nation of Panama. The new canal treaty with Panama gave the United States rights to five miles of land on each side of the site, along with the right to build, operate, maintain, and defend a canal. After the U.S. Senate ratified the treaty on February 23, 1904, Congress set up a seven-member commission to organize the cutting of the canal.[19]

Almost immediately, construction began on the "Big Ditch." The decade-long project cost the nation $367 million, and more than 22,000 workers lost their lives to yellow fever and malaria in the disease-ridden swamps. Despite the lives lost, the site became a thriving vacation spot. In 1913, 20,000 vacationers went to Panama to gaze at the engineering wonders taking place. The Panama Canal, which stood as a symbol of American technological superiority, ranked as one of the nation's most impressive engineering feats.[20]

Medical knowledge played as important a role in the completion of the canal as engineering and technical skill. Colonel William Crawford Gorgas, the man who exterminated yellow fever in Havana, Cuba, was given the task of eradicating disease from the tropical swamps of Panama. Using methods similar to those he used in Havana, Gorgas had eliminated yellow fever by September 1905. Next he turned to malaria. He encouraged workers to eliminate stagnant water sources and ordered vegetation cut within a 200-yard perimeter around the construction crews. As a result, contraction rates fell from 40 percent to 10 percent between 1906 and 1913.[21]

Visual Arts

of the 1900s

The Progressive Era in America carried over into the nation's arts and culture. Although American artists still turned primarily to Europe for guidance on artistic styles and customs, their work began to encompass all aspects of society in the United States, from poor tenements to the manicured lawns of the leisure class and the sprawling mountains of the Western regions. Art critic Robert Hughes labeled the era stretching from the 1870s through the early 1900s the "American Renaissance" in visual arts.

In large cities, such as New York and San Francisco, support for the arts came from the wealthy, who filled their homes with works of art. They spared no expense in finding the next hot artist and buying artwork as fast as it could be com missioned.

The expanding middle class decorated their homes and parlors with lithographs, which were less expensive reproductions of famous works. Lithographs were extremely popular at the end of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth century. One firm, owned by Nathaniel Currier (later Currier and Ives) produced reproductions of 4,300 paintings between 1835 and 1907. Lithographs sold for between 20 cents and $3 apiece. Although some critics belittled lithographs as art by machinery, they exposed the middle class to the culture of the wealthy, but within their own social strata. Many members of the middle class also found that they had the leisure time to frequent museums subsidized by the rich.

In the 1880s and 1890s, photography inventor George Eastman began the process of photoengraving, which enabled large-scale reproduction of paintings from all around the world. For the first time, average citizens could see the works of European artists. In fact, the artists themselves used the new sources to inspire their own works.[1]

PAINTING

The first wave of painters in the American Renaissance traveled to Europe to take traditional training in Paris and elsewhere. As a result, much of the early work of American painters mimics the work of the Old World. Gradually, artists in the United States realized that they needed their own independent art scene.

In the years following the Civil War, painting gained importance in the United States. Fueled by the likes of J. P. Morgan and other incredibly wealthy collectors, American museums and private collectors acquired many of Europe's masterpieces. During the era, some American artists gained an international following, including Thomas Eakins (1844–1916), John Singer Sargent

(1856–1925), Winslow Homer (1836–1910), and James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903). For the most part, these artists achieved their fame at the end of the nineteenth century.

Impressionism dominated the art scene, influenced by the great impressionist painters of Europe—Claude Monet, Camille Pissarro, and others. Homer, Sargent, and Whistler all practiced the art of turning real images into a series of brushstrokes that came together to form an image softer than reality. The most important American female artist in the 1900s was Mary Cassatt (1845–1926). Her work, especially her paintings of domestic life, popularized Impressionism in the United States, although she lived in Europe, as did Whistler and Sargent.

Born in Lowell, Massachusetts as the son of a railway engineer, Whistler scorned the art world's distinction between European and American painting and the idea that Americans required Europe's guidance. For most of his life, Whistler lived overseas, studying in Paris, then moving to London, but he remained fiercely American in his attitudes. Whistler's reputation helped later American artists become accepted by European critics and audiences.[2]

Whistler believed in art for art's sake, not as a vehicle for moralizing or imparting romantic ideas. Thus, he called his most famous painting *Arrangement in Grey and Black, No. 1* (though it has been called "Whistler's Mother" because she was the sitter).

Many collectors snatched up Whistler's paintings and brought them home for display. Detroit railroad millionaire Charles Freer amassed hundreds of works by Whistler or collected by him, and he later donated the collection, and today it is housed in the Freer Gallery in Washington, D.C.[3]

The only American painter to rival Whistler's fame in the waning days of the 1800s and early 1900s was another expatriate, John Singer Sargent. Sargent was born in Florence and grew up in Italy, since his American parents had retired there. Sargent specialized in portraits, particularly of the cultivated set, and he soon became the most expensive and sought-after portraitist of his era.

Sargent escaped painting portraits by producing amazing watercolors and taking on commissions to paint murals in the United States and throughout Europe. His murals for the Boston Public Library and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts have been called the finest murals painted in the nation during the American Renaissance period.

Sargent traveled the world, recording his experiences in sketches and producing remarkable watercolors, although he remained American in spirit. He even refused a knighthood in Great Britain to retain his American citizenship.

While Sargent and other older painters plied their trade in Europe, a younger group of American artists returned from schools in France to bring Impressionism back to the United States. The primary group called themselves Ten American Painters or, more commonly, "The Ten." They sought to apply the skills they had learned overseas to American scenes and atmosphere.

Founded in Boston by Frank Weston Benson, The Ten also included Joseph De Camp, Childe Hassam, Thomas Dewing, Robert Reid, Willard Metcalf, Edmond Tarbell, J. Alden Weir, Edward Simmons, and John Twachtman. William Merritt Chase joined the group after Twachtman's death in 1902. As a group, The Ten were tired of the conservative attitude among the established art organizations in America, the large exhibits forced upon painters, and the multitude of styles presented at the exhibits. Worst of all, American collectors bought French Impressionist works and practically ignored American pieces. In 1897, The Ten signed an agreement to exhibit together in small galleries around New York City. Benson's works sold the best among the group and his reported annual income exceeded six figures, although the reputations of Chase and Hassam have carried more weight into modern times. In fact, Hassam is widely regarded as America's premier turn-of-the-century Impressionist.

Chase's work as a teacher (among his many students were Georgia O'Keeffe and Edward Hopper) and his fanciful lifestyle made him immensely popular. Chase also created a public image of himself. He could be seen parading down the streets of Fifth Avenue dressed in a cutaway coat, topper, and a jeweled neck scarf, with Russian wolfhounds on a leash. Chase also dressed a black servant as an African prince. These gimmicks

worked wonders for Chase, who became one of New York's most sought after portraitists.[4]

Hassam's first works in the genre captured his friend, the writer Celia Thaxter, on Appledore Island, off the New Hampshire coast. Hassam's works gained popularity, in part, because of a wave of nostalgia America felt for its colonial past. His Impressionistic paintings recalled a softer, quainter lifestyle.[5]

As the 1900s progressed, other painters, driven by the excitement and technological innovations of the new century, created new forms of artistic expression.

The Ashcan School

A group of artists came together in New York City to form a group called The Eight, or the Ashcan school (because they could find art in the "ashcans" of dirty cities). Led by Robert Henri, The Eight included George Luks, William Glackens, John Sloan, Everett Shinn, Arthur B. Davies, Maurice Prendergast, and Ernest Lawson. The Ashcan artists disdained academic pretensions in the established art world and they never formed a society or a school. Many had worked as illustrators at magazines or newspapers, which contributed to their approach of looking at everyday life through the lens of a journalist. Critics, who did not want to see such vulgarity displayed in art, called the group the "Revolutionary Black Gang."[6]

The Eight held their first exhibition of their own works in 1908. In 1910, they held another show that was so popular and sensational that riot police had to be called in to subdue the crowd of 1,500 spectators. However, the true impact of the Ashcan school on the international art scene did not occur until three years later when they put on the Armory Show, by some accounts the most important art exhibit ever held in the United States (see Art of the 1910s).[7]

The two most important members of the Ashcan school in the 1900s were Robert Henri (1865–1929) and his student George Bellows (1882–1925). Henri was the son of a Mississippi riverboat card shark. After working as an illustrator for a newspaper, he entered the Pennsylvania Academy of Art in Philadelphia. In the late 1880s, Henri studied in Paris for three years and started down the Impressionist path.[8]

Henri began teaching at the New York School of Art, headed by Chase. After several years, Chase resigned and Henri became head. In 1904, Bellows enrolled at the school and worked directly with Henri.

Henri and the other members of the Ashcan movement looked to Winslow Homer as their spiritual guide. Henri also looked to the great poet Walt Whitman for inspiration. Henri insisted on his pupils finding their own vision—developing the instincts that would drive them toward truth. Although Henri had gifts as an artist, his real importance was as an agitator and rebel. He fought the established art leaders of the 1900s and brought the Ashcan school into a loosely knit association that stood up to its critics.[9]

Henri's own paintings resembled Impressionism, but darker. His *Snow in New York* (1902) is a murky view of a snowy street barely lit by a single lamppost among the skyscrapers lining each side of the street. The shadowy figures in the painting seem to be in a losing battle with the wintry New York night.

Between arriving in New York City in 1904 to his death in 1925, Bellows became the most famous and highly regarded American artist of his day. It is estimated that he produced more than 700 works in his career, an average of more than 33 a year from 1904 to 1925. Bellows turned down a chance to play professional baseball to pursue a career as an artist. In his first summer in New York, while his friends returned home or searched for ways to make cash, Bellows played semi-professional baseball with a team in Central Park.[10]

Henri invited Bellows to his house every Tuesday evening for informal gatherings with the other members of the Ashcan group. Bellows spent the other summer evenings traveling in the slums of New York, seeing firsthand how the poor struggled to survive. This prepared him for the intellectual discussions that took place at Henri's meetings.

Bellows's art seemed to embody the spirit of the age—Roosevelt's plea for a strenuous life, combined with a raw, big view of the world around him.[11] Bellows shocked the Pennsylvania

Academy in 1908 with his painting *Forty-Two Kids,* depicting 42 young street urchins swimming naked in the polluted East River. The judges found the subject matter offensive (not the nudity, rather that the subjects were street children). Bellows used dark hues to create a somber scene of boyish frivolity, though the river ominously engulfs them. In other paintings, Bellows continued his portrayal of the underbelly of urban life. Both *River Rats* (1906) and *Cliff Dwellers* (1913) show urban America as chaotic and fast-paced. A common pastime among upper-class Americans in the 1900s was to go "slumming," touring the working-class neighborhoods to glimpse the downtrodden. The way people viewed the poor, with a kind of detached sentimentality, contributed to Bellows's popularity, although he did not hold these convictions. By this time, he had become a Marxist.[12]

Bellows began painting the excavations underway to build Pennsylvania Station. His first in a series recording the digging was finished in January 1907. Designed by the architectural firm McKim, Mead, and White, Penn Station was one of the city's largest urban projects. The tunnel leading to the terminal required digging under both the Hudson and East Rivers and demolishing four city blocks. The only hole ever dug that size was the recently completed Panama Canal (see Travel of the 1900s).

Although Bellows's New York street scenes were critically acclaimed, he gained his fame and lasting reputation on the basis of his boxing paintings, which is remarkable, since he produced only five boxing works. Although boxing was illegal in New York in 1907, Tom Sharkey's saloon, just across the street from Bellows's studio, evaded the law by converting the bar into a club for the evening. The cheap dues allowed "members" into the back room to observe the fight. Bellows's friend, Ed Keefe, invited him to see a match at Sharkey's. From this first visit, Bellows painted *Club Night,* revealing his ability to portray brutal energy and strength.[13] From the thick calf muscles and biceps of the combatants to the puffy face and misshapen nose of the fighter on the left, Bellows seems to have caught a punch being thrown in midair. An observer can almost feel the pain of the boxers in *Club Night.* The painting also highlights the dichotomy between the beaten and battered fighters and the ringside spectators, arrayed in formal attire. The faces of the fans are hideous and devilish. *Club Night* led to other boxing paintings including *Stag at Sharkey's* (1909) and *Both Members of This Club* (1909).

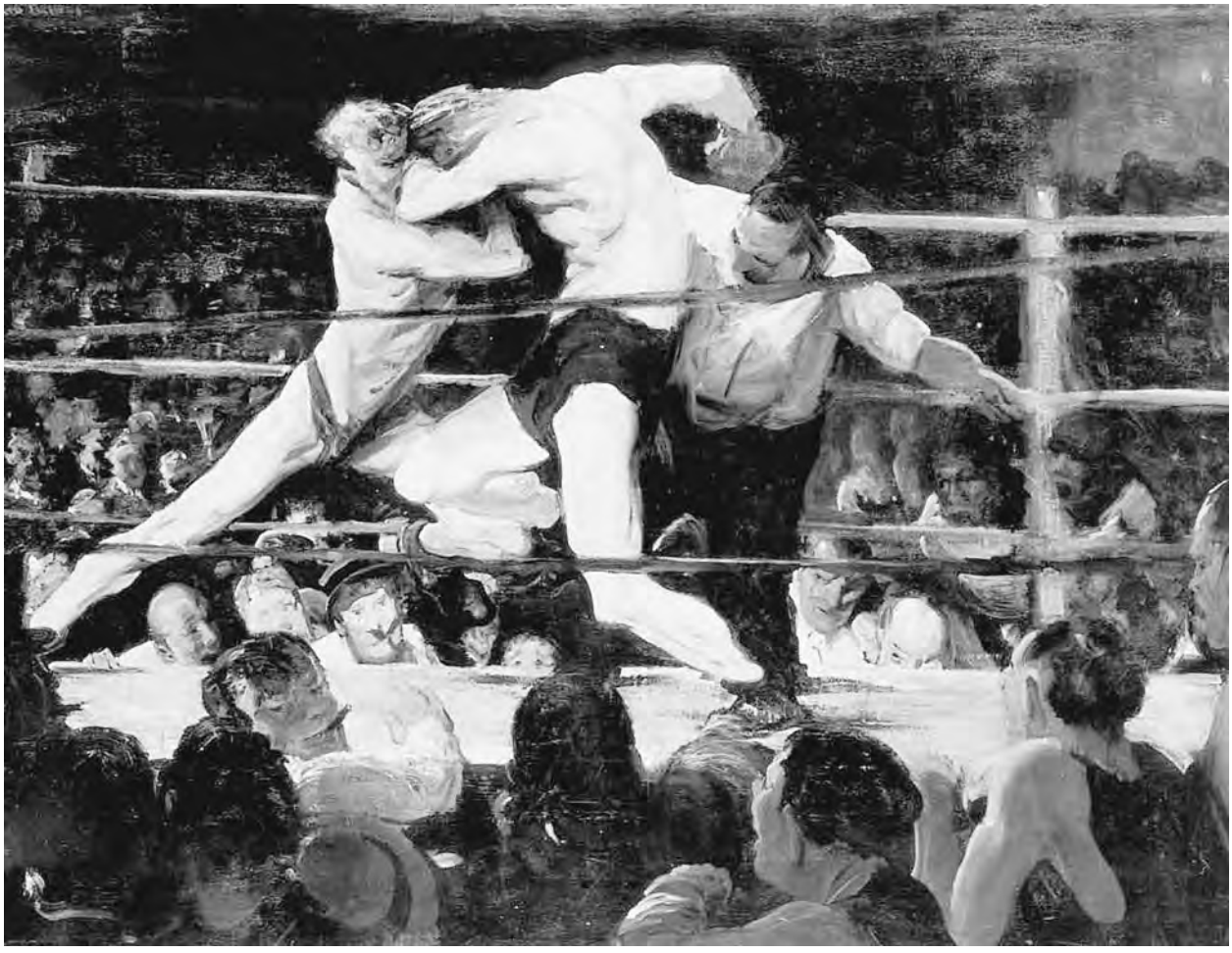
PHOTOGRAPHY

In the 1900s, art patron Alfred Stieglitz, who is credited for introducing modern painting to America by debuting shows featuring the works of Henri Matisse, Pablo Picasso, and Paul Gauguin, broke ground in another blossoming art form—photography. It became his mission to have photography accepted as the equal of painting or literature. In this role, Stieglitz mentored young photographers and founded the photography journal *Camera Work* (1903).

Born in New Jersey to wealthy Jewish parents, Stieglitz (1864–1946) learned photography in Germany in the 1880s. Stieglitz ruled the American art scene with an iron fist, arrogance, and a sharp tongue. He encouraged the development of a uniquely American art that characterized the conditions of life.

In the 1890s, Stieglitz began his campaign for photography as a "pictorialist," a person who attempts to make photos look like paintings. He preferred the "hard" school of pictorialism, a realistic look, as opposed to the soft branch that tried to make photos seem like watercolors or oil paintings. The hard pictorialists derisively called the soft photographers "fuzzyographers." Similar to Impressionist painting in that it emphasized suggestion over detail, Stieglitz's photography helped usher in a wave of modernism to the United States.

In 1902, Stieglitz formed the Photo-Secession group, along with friends and colleagues Edward Steichen, Clarence White, and Gertrude Kasebier. The group rebelled against the stringent academic thinking that dominated the arts in the 1900s and the bad photography they felt soft pictorialism represented. Stieglitz founded *Camera Work* in 1903 to showcase the group's photographs. The group's first exhibit at the National Arts Club Show in New York City was a great success and placed them in the forefront of the art photography movement.



The powerful painting *Stag Night at Sharkey's,* 1909, by George Bellows. © The Cleveland Museum of Art, 2001. Hinman B. Hurlbut Collection.

From 1902 to 1905, Stieglitz and his cohorts exhibited at galleries around the United States, Canada, and Europe. Next, under Stieglitz's leadership, they set up a permanent gallery at 291 Fifth Avenue in New York, which became known throughout the art world simply as "291." Until 1907, 291 showed nothing but photography, following Stieglitz's lead.[14]

The 291 served as a hub for avant-garde artists and became known as a place for experimentalists who were shunned by the art community. From 1908–1911, the list of artists who displayed works at the 291 reads like a who's who of the world's greats, including Picasso, Matisse, Renoir, Cézanne, Rodin, and Toulouse-Lautrec. In his own time, though, Stieglitz pushed too far ahead of the pack to effect great change on the nation as a whole.

While Stieglitz carried on his modernist crusade, other photographers used their lenses to capture realistic pictures of everyday life, revealing the real spirit of the age. Frances Benjamin Johnston, from her studio in Washington, D.C., traveled to Hampton, Virginia, to capture stills that represented the progress African Americans had made since the Civil War. As one of the most successful photographers of the 1900s, Johnston could have easily turned down such a commission. A member of the well-to-do society in the nation's capital, she photographed diplomats and government officials, including Admiral George Dewey and Secretary of State John Hay.[15]

Johnston, a free spirit, led a group of artists and writers in Washington called The Push, who captured their parties on film. In a revealing self-portrait, Johnston posed as a "new woman," a beer

stein in one hand and a cigarette in the other. Her skirt is hiked up above her knees, and a rogue's gallery of jilted suitors stares down from her mantle. Her playful demeanor and ability to catch magical, informal moments made her reputation. This ability led to the commission she received from Thomas J. Calloway, the agent in charge of finding work for the "Negro Exhibit" at the 1900 Paris Exposition.

By the spring of 1900, Johnston had shot more than 150 images for the exhibit. She contrasted the photos of enterprising young Hampton Institute graduates with ones of elderly African Americans struggling to survive. When Calloway saw the photos, he immediately wrote Johnston to tell her that he felt they were the best at the Paris exhibit. By contrasting the young college-educated blacks with their poorer brethren, Johnston constructed a portrait of African American life at the turn of the century that proved how little blacks had advanced as a whole, but still contained some hope for the future.[16]

SCULPTURE

Augustus Saint-Gaudens

American sculpture in the 1900s revolved around Augustus Saint-Gaudens, not only the greatest sculptor of his time, but possibly in all American history. The Irish-born Saint-Gaudens (1848–1907) came to the United States with his parents during the potato famine while he was still a baby. He grew up in New York City, and took night classes at Cooper Institute and the National Academy of Design. In 1867, he traveled to Paris, then Rome to study sculpting.[17]

The sculptor's first important commission upon returning to the United States in 1881 was a statue of Admiral David Farragut to be placed in Central Park. This early work spawned a series of



American sculpture in the early 1900s revolved around Augustus Saint-Gaudens, not only the greatest sculptor of his time, but possibly in all American history, 1908. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

commissions for the young artist. In 1897, Saint-Gaudens unveiled a Civil War memorial on the edge of Boston Commons that immortalizes Colonel Robert Shaw and his men, the Union's Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Regiment, who were all black volunteers, some of whom had been slaves. The powerful work shows the men marching to their final battle at Fort Wagner in South Carolina. In 1863, the regiment attempted to take the fort, despite the overwhelming odds against them, an almost suicidal mission. They all died in the battle and were buried in a mass grave. The commission marked the first time an American sculptor had been asked to represent blacks as heroes. The memorial was also the first American sculpture to commemorate a group, rather than an individual.

In 1903, Saint-Gaudens unveiled his gold-leaf statue of General William Tecumseh Sherman and Nike, the goddess of victory. On the southeast edge of Central Park, near Fifth Avenue and Fifty-ninth Street, Sherman rides a great war horse, with Nike by his side, her right arm outstretched and leading the general forward. In 1907, Saint-Gaudens designed a twenty-dollar gold eagle, which has been called the most beautiful coin ever minted. He made 70 different versions before deciding on the best one.[18]

Frederic Remington

Another form of sculpture in the 1900s was less formal and perhaps more popular with the general public: Native American and frontier works. Frederic Remington (1861–1909), also a painter and illustrator, created powerful works of cowboys and horses that rival Bellows's boxing paintings for their raw energy and vitality.

From an early age, Remington loved the outdoors. He studied art at Yale, but left for the West, where he visited Indian camps, cavalry posts, and cowboy ranches. Remington repackaged the West with heavy doses of nostalgia. He even fabricated a story about fighting in the Indian wars with the American cavalry. He settled down in New York but made frequent trips west in search of material. In his lifetime he produced more than 2,700 paintings.

By the early 1900s, his paintings and sculptures came to symbolize the West for many observers. His status as an artist grew steadily throughout the decade. His friendship with Theodore Roosevelt bolstered his sales and his image as a hard strewn Westerner. Over the course of the 1900s, Remington produced his sculptures *The Cheyenne* (1901), *Comin' Through the Rye* (1902–1904), and *The Cowboy* (1908).



Frederic Remington's *A Bucking Bronco,* 1908. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

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13. Walter Lord, *The Good Years: From 1900 to the First World War* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960), 91–94.
14. Walter Lord, *The Good Years: From 1900 to the First World War* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960), 94–98.
15. Chambers, *The Tyranny of Change,* 124–125.
16. Lord, *The Good Years,* 99–100.
17. Schlereth, *Victorian America,* 26.
18. Wiebe, *The Search for Order,* 244.
19. Cashman, *America in the Age of the Titans,* 442–444.
20. Schlereth, *Victorian America,* 26–27.
21. Cashman, *America in the Age of the Titans,* 444–446.

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2. Davidson, *History of the Artists' America,* 251.
3. Hughes, *American Visions,* 242.
4. Hughes, *American Visions,* 261–264.
5. Hughes, *American Visions,* 265–266.
6. Davidson, *History of the Artists' America,* 252–253.
7. Hughes, *American Visions,* 353–357.
8. Hughes, *American Visions,* 323.
9. Shi, *Facing Facts,* 252–259.
10. Donald Braider, *George Bellows and the Ashcan School of Painting* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1971), 24.
11. Hughes, *American Visions,* 330.
12. Joyce Carol Oates, *George Bellows: American Artist* (Hopewell, NJ: Ecco Press, 1995), 18–20.
13. Braider, *George Bellows,* 39–43.
14. Hughes, *American Visions,* 352.
15. Crichton, *America 1900,* 92–93.
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17. Wagenknecht, *American Profile,* 293–294.
18. Hughes, *American Visions,* 210.

1910s

Timeline

of Popular Culture Events, 1910s

1910

February 8: The Boy Scouts of America is chartered by William D. Boyce.

March 17: The Camp Fire Girls is chartered by Dr. & Mrs. L. H. Gulick.

Florence Lawrence declared the first genuine movie star as the "Vitagraph Girl."

Architect Frank Lloyd Wright completes work on the Robie House, Chicago, Illinois.

May 18: Return of Halley's Comet passes sun without disastrous consequences that were predicted.

June 4: Jack Johnson becomes the first black heavyweight champion of the modern era with a 15th-round knockout of Jim Jeffries.

June 25: The Mann Act passed, outlawing the transportation of women across state lines for any "immoral purpose" (i.e., prostitution). Also known as the "White Slavery" Act.

November 8: Washington State adopts women's suffrage.

The National City Planning Association is founded to help designers better coordinate architectural and landscape designs into American cities.

Morris and Rose Michtom found the Ideal Novelty & Toy Company.

1911

March 25: Triangle Shirtwaist Fire kills 146 workers in Lower Manhattan.

May 15: Supreme Court orders dissolution of Standard Oil Company.

December 14: Roald Amundsen of Norway beats Robert Scott to the South Pole.

Edith Wharton publishes *Ethan Frome.*

The magazine *Masses* is rechristened with Max Eastman as editor.

Walter Dill Scott publishes *Influencing Men in Business,* which defines the methods of modern advertising.

Crisco shortening is introduced by Procter & Gamble.

The U.S. Children's Bureau is established by President William Howard Taft to investigate and report on infant mortality, orphanages, juvenile courts, and other concerns.

Gordon Craig publishes *The Art of the Theatre,* describing the latest trends in staging and performing live theater.

Irving Berlin publishes hit song "Alexander's Ragtime Band."

The Kewpie doll, created by Rose O'Neill, appears.

The state of Illinois becomes the first to pass laws providing aid to mothers with dependent children.

Frank Lloyd Wright completes Taliesin, his home, studio, and retreat, near Spring Green, Wisconsin.
The Mona Lisa is stolen from the Louvre in Paris, France.
Pennsylvania Station completed in New York City by architects McKim, Mead, and White.
Galbraith Rodgers takes 82 hours—over seven weeks—to fly across the United States in an airplane.
The Gideon Organization of Christian Commercial Travelers begins placing more than 60,000 Bibles in hotel rooms.
President Taft goes on a diet, his weight dropping from 340 to 267 pounds, in an effort to appear "healthy" for the upcoming presidential election.

1912

April 14–15: The ocean liner *Titanic* strikes an iceberg and sinks, killing 1,523 passengers and crew.
May 12: The Girl Scouts of America are founded by Daisy Gordon.
June 19: Eight-hour labor law extended to all federal employees.
Poetry, a Magazine of Verse is first published in Chicago, Illinois.
Maria Montessori publishes *The Montessori Childhood Education Method,* describing new techniques in preschool education.
Mack Sennett founds the Keystone Company to produce comedy motion pictures.
Carl Laemmle forms Universal Pictures.
Richard Hellman begins marketing his "Blue Ribbon" mayonnaise.
Will Marion Cook composes and publishes *A Collection of Negro Songs.*
Novella *Tarzan of the Apes* is published by Edgar Rice Burroughs.
Woodrow Wilson is elected the twenty-eighth president of the United States.

1913

February 17: The Armory Show of Modern Art is staged in New York City.
February 25: The Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution is passed allowing for a federal income tax on those making more than $3,000 per year (fewer than 600,000 of 92 million Americans are affected).
May 14: John D. Rockefeller donates $100 million to create the Rockefeller Foundation.
Congress designates the second Sunday in May as Mother's Day.
Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung engage in speaking tour of the United States.
Dancers Vernon and Irene Castle debut in America.
A third professional baseball league, the Federal League, is founded to compete with the National and American Leagues. The Federal League folds in 1915.
The Oreo cookie is introduced.
James Reese Europe becomes one of the first African Americans to secure a record deal, with Victor Records.
Clarence Crane introduces a hard candy called the Life Saver. His first flavor is Pep-O-Mint.
A. C. Gilbert begins marketing the Erector set.
Amateur Francis Ouimet, the 20-year-old son of a recent immigrant, defeats two British professionals to win the U.S. Golf Association Open, propelling the game of golf into a national sensation.
George Herriman's cartoon strip "Krazy Kat" premieres in the *New York Journal.*
The Mona Lisa is recovered in Florence, Italy, and returned to Paris unharmed.
Willa Cather publishes *O, Pioneers!*
The Height of Buildings Commission of New York City regulates the city's skyscrapers, mandating the famous "setback" design of the decade.
The Woolworth Building is completed in New York City.

1914

February 13: Tin Pan Alley songwriters organize the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP) to protect their financial interests through royalty payments.
July 28–August 26: World War I begins in Europe.
July 29: First transcontinental telephone service between New York City and San Francisco is successful.

Robert Frost publishes *North of Boston.*

The magazine the *New Republic* is first published.

Charlie Chaplin becomes a national star after the release of *Kid Auto Races at Venice;* "Charliemania" sweeps the country.

Tinkertoys are introduced.

W. C. Handy introduces America to the blues with the publication of the St. Louis Blues.

Women in eleven Western states and the territory of Alaska are allowed to vote in state and local elections.

Construction begins on the Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C.

Mary Pickford becomes a national sensation after starring in D. W. Griffith's *Tess of Storm County.*

By the end of the year, it took the Ford Motor Company only one hour, 33 minutes to construct a new Model T; the firm produced more than 300,000 vehicles this year.

Margaret Sanger publishes *Family Limitation,* introducing many to the values of birth control.

The Harrison Drug Act is passed to restrict access to narcotics in the United States. The federal government estimates that 4.5 percent of the American public is addicted to drugs.

Gold is discovered in Alaska, leading to the last gold rush in American history.

1915

February 6–20: Panama-Pacific exposition held in San Francisco.

May 7: The *Lusitania* is hit by torpedoes fired from a German U-boat, killing 1,193 passengers, including 128 Americans.

July 1: Cost of telephone calls in New York City is reduced to a nickel.

July 24: The *Eastland* steamer capsizes in Chicago, killing 841 people.

September 29: The first transcontinental telephone call is placed. Direct wireless service is established between the United States and Japan.

December 18: Widower President Woodrow Wilson marries widow Edith Bolling Galt at her home in Washington, D.C.

D. W. Griffith releases his landmark film *The Birth of a Nation.*

Vice President Thomas R. Marshall suggests, "What this country really needs is a good five-cent cigar."

Edgar Lee Masters publishes *Spoon River Anthology.*

Carl Sandburg publishes *Chicago Poems*.

"Jelly Roll" Morton publishes the "Jelly Roll Blues."

R. J. Reynolds creates one of the most successful brand-name advertising campaigns in modern history by introducing Camel cigarettes.

The Victor Talking Machine Company begins selling phonographs to the public.

Ford Motor Company produces its one-millionth Model T.

The state of Nevada passes the first no-fault divorce law, which requires six months of residency in the state.

1916

January 1: First permanent annual Rose Bowl football game.

June 3: Louis Brandeis becomes the first Jewish person selected to serve on the U.S. Supreme Court.

August 25: The National Park Service is created.

September 1: The Keating-Owen Child Labor Act regulates working conditions for many child laborers and, through penalties to industry, severely limits the employment of children under fourteen years of age.

October 16: Margaret Sanger opens the first birth control clinic in Brooklyn, New York, and is arrested for distributing "obscene" materials.

Architect Irving Gill completes the important early modern Dodge House in Los Angeles.

Piggly-Wiggly, the first self-service grocery store, is founded by Clarence Saunders in Memphis, Tennessee.

D. W. Griffith films and releases the motion picture *Intolerance.*

Georgia O'Keeffe premieres at Alfred Stieglitz's New York Gallery, known as 291.

The Provincetown Players move from Cape Cod, Massachusetts, to Greenwich Village, New York, and become the most influential Little Theatre of the decade.

Jeannette Rankin, of Montana, becomes the first women elected to the U.S. Congress.

Norman Rockwell illustrates his first cover for the *Saturday Evening Post.*

Fortune cookies are introduced to the world by David Jung, a Los Angeles noodle maker.

A polio epidemic strikes the United States; more than 29,000 are affected and more than 6,000 die.

Woodrow Wilson is re-elected president.

1917

February 23: The Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act provides federal money to found many of the nation's first professional vocational schools.

April 1: Ragtime pioneer Scott Joplin dies.

April 6: The United States enters World War I.

April 14: The Committee on Public Information is created to censor news and issue propaganda for the war effort.

December 18: The Constitutional amendment prohibiting the manufacture, sale, and use of alcohol passes Congress and is sent to the states for ratification.

The National Birth Control League, later Planned Parenthood, is created by Margaret Sanger.

The New Orleans group known as the Original Dixieland Jazz Band is "discovered" while playing at Reisenweber's Restaurant, New York City, introducing the town to the jazz sound.

The *Saturday Evening Post* earns more than $17 million in advertising revenues alone.

1918

August 12: The first airmail flight occurs between Washington, D.C. and New York City.

November 7: World War I ends in an armistice.

A national outbreak of influenza begins in September and kills 588,000 Americans.

The first installment of Irish writer James Joyce's *Ulysses* is banned by the U.S. Post Office.

The Raggedy Ann doll, created by Johnny Gruelle, is introduced.

1919

January 29: The Eighteenth Amendment, prohibiting the manufacture, sale, and consumption of alcohol, is ratified.

April 17: United Artists is founded by Charlie Chaplin, D. W. Griffith, Douglas Fairbanks, and Mary Pickford.

Severe civil and economic unrest shake the United States. More than three million are unemployed while more than four million workers participate in 2,665 strikes.

Race riots affect 26 cities, and 70 lynchings are confirmed.

Eight members of the Chicago White Sox take bribes to throw the 1919 World Series, resulting in the "Black Sox scandal."

The first transoceanic flight is successfully completed.

George "Babe" Ruth hits 29 home runs, shattering the old record. The next year Ruth will hit 54 homers, more than any other single *team* previously.

The Actors' Equity Association goes on strike.

Peter Paul Halajian of the Peter Paul Candy Company introduces the Konabar.

Lincoln Logs, a toy building set, are introduced.

Overview

of the 1910s

Age of Opulence
Progressive Era

NICKNAMES FOR THE 1910S

For the average American, everyday life seemed to be in a constant state of change during the 1910s—from eating and dressing to entertainment and travel. But while the commercialization of everyday life during the 1910s was greater than that in previous decades, it was the challenge to America's traditional sense of itself that was the most significant. In a country that was consciously aware of its rural, democratic, and largely Western European heritage, the growth of an urban, commercial, and multiethnic popular culture generated deep anxieties and tensions in many citizens.

New and old technologies were made more common to the average American. For example, motion pictures changed from being a new pastime to a $735 million industry by 1920, which altered trends in fashion, public opinion, and even conversation. In 1910, 458,000 automobiles were registered in the country; by the end of the decade, this number exceeded eight million. While the population grew at a moderate rate (from 92 to 106 million in ten years), the economic output nearly tripled (from $35 billion to $92 billion) and the average salary increased from $750 to $1,226 per year, which furthered the pace of commercialization.[1]

PROGRESSIVISM

That most Americans were actively engaged in deciphering the meaning of these changes is a key characteristic of the decade. While Progressivism meant different things to different people, it was driven by the forces of everyday life and was experienced by all sectors of the American public, especially at the local level. Progressivism was an optimistic faith in the ability of science and rational thought to address the worst abuses of modern life. It also attacked traditional racial, ethnic, class, and gender prejudices. New York City workers and labor organizations had vocally identified the dangerous working conditions, low pay, and health problems associated with the garment industry, but it was not until the 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire, which claimed the lives of 146 people (mostly young women) that reform of the trade became a national issue. Once stirred, however, reformers such as Florence Kelley, Frances Perkins, and Al Smith radically redesigned both the inspection and operation of other work sites in the city, state, and throughout the country.

Broadly defined, the Progressive movement sought to accomplish three goals. The first was to limit the worst abuses of power associated with the concentration of capital. By using trust-busting and workplace inspections, and by organizing workers, reformers attempted to identify monopolies and to empower interest groups. Second, Progressives hoped to amplify the tendency of Americans to see ourselves collectively,

as a nation and a people, rather than as competitive individuals struggling against each other. Jane Addams and Florence Kelley pioneered settlement houses in an effort to lend the talents of educated, active American women to impoverished immigrants (mostly women). Kelley and Lillian Wald brought the same ideals to the U.S. Children's Bureau in 1912. Finally, Progressives intended to benefit from the abilities of technical specialists to reorganize and improve society. Reformers created a number of institutions, associations, commissions, and other bodies to lend authority to America's professionals. In business, efficiency experts improved management techniques, wages, and working conditions to get the most out of industry, thereby maximizing profits, improving quality, and creating a better work environment. While all three goals of Progressivism addressed specific areas of concern, often reforms were a mixture of these and other factors.

LIFE IN RURAL AND URBAN AMERICA

While the decade saw an increase in the population of urban, industrial laborers (from 16 to 29 million) and a slight decrease in rural workers (from 11 to 10.4 million), the period was an affluent time in rural America, with the doubling of gross farm income and the tripling of farm values. Productivity enhancements (such as fertilizers, improved breeds, and machinery), easier access to world markets (which had become a near monopoly with the start of war in Europe), and an improvement in farm living conditions (due to the use of automobiles, electricity, and water pumps) contributed to the boom.

Local civic improvements, most notably in roads and schools, increased, and greater investments were made in local churches and other private functions. These efforts augmented the Progressive Country Life Movement, which began as an investigation into why, in spite of such good times, Americans were continuing to move from the countryside to the city. Of course, those who did not directly benefit from by commercial farming, such as black tenant farmers and day laborers, were not greatly affected by the reforms. Stagnant rural incomes for African Americans in the South was one of the reasons for the Great Migration north during World War I.

The Country Life Movement went to the heart of Progressive anxieties during the decade. The fear of lower agricultural productivity was the gravest concern. Rising farm prices would make it more difficult for America to trade abroad, and cheap food prices were essential to maintaining prosperity at home. Moreover, a consensus emerged that rural people were not properly educating their young and were instead using children as unskilled family laborers. An urban curriculum, which included a greater emphasis on the arts and humanities and physical education, was intended to offset the worst problems of provincialism. Formal vocational training, rather than the practical experience gained on the farm, was initiated with the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917.

Millions of working-class people lived in the nation's cities. By the end of the decade, 60 percent of urban dwellers were immigrants and their children, arriving most recently from Italy, Poland, Greece, and Eastern Europe. Few of these people wanted to settle in the countryside—many were fleeing rural poverty or persecution—and many hoped to earn enough cash to improve their lot in Europe, where they hoped to return. During the 1900s and 1910s, Progressives became aware of the difficult conditions that these Americans faced in their daily lives. From unsanitary conditions and less than subsistence wages to crime and substance abuse, the urban working poor were forced to live within an inhospitable environment.

Muckraking journalists and reformers addressed the issue of housing reform and sanitation less to benefit the working poor and more as a way to highlight the corruption of big city machines. When, in the 1910s, Progressives argued that the government had a stake in "saving" urban children or in providing "decent" recreational facilities, increasing numbers of citizens found themselves in agreement.

At the same time, the suburbs were growing and becoming more significant. For the most part, suburbs were split between regions that were serviced by regular streetcar facilities, populated largely by the native-born working class, and areas that required personal means of transportation, dominated by professionals, owners, and the upper-middle class. Suburbs favored

single-family detached homes. With the growth of the automobile industry, higher industrial wages, and cheaper, more functional housing, the suburbs had become an increasingly popular and affordable option for many by the close of the decade.

PROGRESSIVE POLITICS

Progressive politics remained a fundamentally local phenomenon throughout the era. Local city or county governments became the focus of reformers. Such reform ranged from environmental improvements of housing and sanitation to such far-reaching projects as the City Beautiful campaign, which sought to redesign urban America by building parks and playgrounds for the social betterment of its citizens.

The turn toward directly elected city commissioners, managers, or other administrative officials attempted to "rationalize" the operation of city government. By 1917, more than 500 American cities and towns had opted for such a structure. The resulting efficiency and social welfare programs had a direct and immediate effect on everyday life. St. Louis prosecutor Joseph Folk, who later was elected Missouri's governor, was typical in cleaning up the city council, passing pure food legislation, curbing organized crime, setting standards for industry and labor, and promoting the transfer of ownership of many utilities (such as the streetcars) to municipal governments.

At the state level, leaders such as Wisconsin's Robert La Follette Sr. expanded these initiatives onto the national stage. La Follette, whose career included stints as a U.S. congressman and a governor, cobbled together effective coalitions of voters which included farmers, small businessmen, and industrial workers. From this base, he promoted issues such as tax reform, the direct election of U.S. senators, primary elections, and railroad regulation. He trusted and relied on experts in higher education, beginning a tradition of tapping into these academic resources for public service.

When Progressivism entered the national political stage, it became the central platform for change. In 1912, four presidential candidates each claimed a mandate to lead based on their Progressive agenda. While the incumbent president, William Howard Taft, had considerable Progressive credentials—appointing activists such as Philander Knox, Henry L. Stimson, and Charles Evans Hughes to his administration—he was not progressive enough to withstand challenges from Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Socialist Eugene V. Debs. Roosevelt even left the Republican Party and formed the Progressive Bull Moose Party in 1912 based on his vision of New Nationalism, which called for a chief executive dedicated to the distribution of social justice.

Woodrow Wilson, the victor in 1912 and 1916, was the dominant Progressive force at the national level for most of the decade. Wilson wanted government at all levels to be more open and representative and for business to be free from the evils of large, influential corporations. His administration reformed tariffs, advocated a national income tax, extended loans directly to farmers, established the Federal Reserve system and the Federal Trade Commission, passed banking and investment reform, banned child labor and mandated an eight-hour day in many industries, and helped pass the Clayton Antitrust Act, which legalized the formation of unions.

INTEREST GROUPS AND THE "NEW WOMAN"

The formation of associations by professionals and other like-minded individuals was part of the Progressive impulse to rationalize and bureaucratize social organization. While groups like the American Medical Association and the National Association of Manufacturers were created to protect specific economic or specialist niches, other interest groups formed to provide a more powerful voice for traditionally underrepresented populations. Two sectors in particular, African Americans and women, were especially active in the 1910s.

Since emancipation, blacks had struggled to find equality in America. Following the advice of Booker T. Washington, many African Americans quietly suffered the outrage of segregation in order to achieve economic self-sufficiency. By 1910, however, many black intellectuals, including W.E.B. Du Bois and William Monroe Trotter, were finding it hard to accept the arguments of

racists. In 1909, Du Bois and a number of white supporters founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and a monthly journal titled *Crisis*. Spurred by contemporary events, such as the success of the openly racist film *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), segregation and unfair practices during World War I, the Great Migration north, and the race riots of 1919, the NAACP provided a rallying point for citizens unwilling to accept second-class status. The group focused on constitutional protections, most notably the Fourteenth Amendment, setting in motion the modern civil rights movement.

The "New Woman" in America, who was increasingly engaged in public life, was both a political force and something of a stereotype. She was portrayed in popular culture as a cigarette-smoking, dancing, sexually liberated free spirit, but members of the movement were more typically average working women and women's club members. Margaret Sanger's crusade to provide birth control to working women was an attempt to free all women, particularly the working poor, from the primary biological factor (i.e., reproduction) that limited female independence. Settlement houses added to the number of committed activists, which included Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, and Alice Paul, and expanded reforms into child care, urban pollution, global peace, and consumer protection.

Women's suffrage both reflected and limited the effect of the New Woman on society. Led by organizations such as the National American Women's Suffrage Association and, later, the National Women's Party, the suffrage movement created a heightened awareness among American women. In November 1910, the state of Washington passed a referendum legalizing women's suffrage. Over the next two years, California, Arizona, Kansas, and Oregon enacted similar legislation. When Illinois became the first state east of the Mississippi River to pass women's suffrage, it was clear that the movement was more than simply a Western remedy to a low voter base, and that a majority of men wanted to enfranchise women.

Still, the push for universal female suffrage, which was finally accomplished in 1920 with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, was not without considerable compromise. "Radicals" like Alice Paul picketed, paraded, and underwent hunger strikes to demand equality based on the promises made in the Constitution. Moderates, like Carrie Chapman Catt and Anna Howard Shaw, used less dramatic means and linked women's suffrage to a host of previously unconnected issues, such as the war in Europe, immigration, and nativism to secure their goals.

CRIME, VICE, AND PERSECUTION

In the 1910s, "victimless crimes," such as prostitution, became intolerable—but mob violence proceeded without much opposition. The murder rate grew by nearly 50 percent from 4.6 to 6.8 deaths per 100,000 people.[2] No doubt, this was aided by the rapid pace of urbanization during the decade.

Prostitution, while illegal, had been a regular feature of everyday life in the United States since its inception. By 1910, reformers increasingly took note of the red-light districts (places where sex was commercialized), seeing them as a sign of the dangers and moral depravity of the inner cities. Vice fighters tried to save women they believed had been trapped into a life of prostitution by using police crackdowns and by publicizing the names of men who frequented the brothels. There were other reasons for these campaigns, ranging from the growing real estate values of the inner city and better wages for female industrial laborers to changes in the family and an increase in premarital sex by America's youth.

The Mann Act, also called the White Slave Traffic Act, passed in 1910 and was typical of a Progressive solution to a crime like prostitution. Assuming that all women who engaged in the trade were coerced either by violence or drugs, the act used federal resources to locate and break up the rings which allegedly abducted women, raped them, and then transported them across state lines to serve as prostitutes. Between 1910 and 1918, more than 2,000 ring members were found guilty of violating the Mann Act.[3]

The combined effect of federal and local enforcement of these vice laws generally was not beneficial for the women who practiced prostitution.

While few brothels were still owned by women in the 1910s, the vice districts did allow for some form of protection for the average professional. Following the crackdowns, many of the best run and highest paying brothels were closed. The women were forced out into the streets and were increasingly exposed to greater physical dangers from small-time pimps, corrupt policemen, and the general public.

Alcohol use also underwent a profound change in the 1910s. Aided in part by the vast grain surpluses of the country, as well as traditional alcohol use by native-born and immigrant alike, alcohol was readily available to adults and minors. The rise of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Anti-Saloon League, as well as the efforts at women's suffrage, provided the necessary catalysts for the passage of a number of state-based alcohol reforms. Tinged with fears of immigrant (largely Catholic and Jewish) cultures that periodically used alcohol, reformers portrayed the waste of spending one's wages on alcohol and the social costs of family violence, absenteeism, and chronic poverty. By 1916, 23 states and numerous municipalities had prohibited the manufacture of alcohol. World War I probably provided the final incentive for national action because some items needed for the production of alcohol were rationed and many prominent German families were at the forefront of the brewing industries. Congress passed the Eighteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in December 1917. Ratified two years later and enforced through the 1920 Volstead Act, prohibition made the manufacture, sale, and transportation of intoxicating liquors (more than 0.5 percent alcohol) a federal crime.

The unintended result of such criminalization was that average citizens began to accept greater lawlessness in order to secure a casual glass of beer (the preferred drink of most lawbreakers). Because of the complexity and capital-intensive nature of manufacturing, selling, and transporting alcohol, organized crime was the beneficiary. Most notable were the various syndicates which emerged in the larger cities and the men who rose to prominence, including Frankie Yale in New York City and "Big Jim" Colosimo, John Torrio, Dion O'Banion, and Al Capone in Chicago. Chicago's municipal government fell under the influence of such men as "Bathhouse" John Coughlin and "Hinky Dink" Michael Kenna. Many rationalized police corruption, gangland murder, expanded racketeering, and rigged elections for the sake of providing a thirsty public with the "hospitality" they craved.

A willingness to turn a blind eye to outright criminal behavior had a lasting effect on other crimes. Violence targeting racial and ethnic groups was widespread throughout the decade. Lynchings in the South and a revival of the Ku Klux Klan created tension between blacks and whites, which frequently escalated to violence. Race riots in East St. Louis (1917) and Chicago (1919) resulted in the deaths of hundreds, the destruction of entire black communities, and racial scars that would last generations. Few were ever brought to justice, but there were unintended benefits. Following the war, the NAACP was increasingly vocal about the prevalence of summary justice (the punishment of suspected offenders without a proper trial) and racial violence.

Fear of ethnic radicals, especially socialists, was another excuse to resort to violence. Inspired by new publications, such as the *Masses,* and intellectual trends, American socialists were mobilized by the Progressive movement, victories at the ballot box, and a rebirth of labor activism. Radical strikes in Paterson, New Jersey (1913), and in Ludlow, Colorado (1914), and the success of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) led to a conservative backlash. Under cover of the war, civil liberties were suspended as hundreds of people were arrested, beaten, or killed in violence for being "un-American." The Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 unnerved many legislators, who authored numerous laws aimed as such seditiousness. By 1920, hundreds of people, including presidential candidate Eugene V. Debs, were rounded up, arrested, or deported as a result of the Red Scare. During that same year, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were tried and convicted of first degree murder on evidence that established little more than their immigrant status and radical social views. Their execution, in 1927, was such a travesty of justice that there was a worldwide condemnation of America's seemingly warped sense of justice.

THE GREAT WAR

World War I loomed large in the 1910s. While the United States did not formally enter the conflict until April 6, 1917, most Americans closely followed events in Europe after Gavrilo Princip, a Serbian nationalist, assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian empire, on June 28, 1914, precipitating the "Great War" several weeks later. Questions of American neutrality greatly affected the average citizen. America emerged from nearly 100 years of isolation and committed itself to forming a new world.

When President Wilson called on Americans to be neutral "in thought as well as in action," he knew that the request was an ambitious one. The country was closely linked to English traditions and home to a large number of immigrants from Germany and Ireland (a nation seeking independence from England, with a long history of hatred and violence between the two). Still, the public saw through many of the efforts to exploit ethnic hatred and often became more supportive of American isolation as a result. Humanitarian efforts to ease the suffering in Belgium, a neutral country which was mercilessly invaded by the Germans, suggest a general pro-Allied stance by the public, but nothing more. Most believed that the fighting should remain "over there."

By contrast, American businesses were deeply involved in the conflict. U.S. banks were increasing loans to England and France who, in turn,



U.S. Army infantry troops, African American unit, marching northwest of Verdun, France, in World War I, 1918. Despite serving bravely in one of the most difficult wars on record, African American veterans of the war came back to racism and lack of opportunity. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

used the money to buy American food and manufactured goods. Soon the United States had an economic incentive to see that the Allies were capable of repaying their loans. An effective blockade of trade with Germany, as well as a near monopoly in trade to Latin America, expanded the gap. By 1917, U.S. loans to the Allies neared $2.6 billion; less than $35 *million* was extended in credit to Germany and its compatriots.

The effect of the U.S. supplies was not lost on the German military leadership. When it became clear that an embargo of war munitions from the United States was ineffective at stopping the flow of munitions to England, the Central powers announced a policy of unrestricted submarine warfare near and around the British Isles. On May 7, 1915, a German submarine sunk the passenger liner *Lusitania,* killing 1,153 people, including 128 Americans.[4] That the ship was warned about a potential attack and that it was probably carrying munitions was ignored by an American public, who suddenly felt the loss of war. Repeated confrontations with the Germans in 1916 heightened tensions.

During that presidential election year, the question of America's involvement in the war became paramount. Strong isolationist and peace movements, led by Progressives and women's suffrage advocates, helped to propel Wilson to reelection under the banner that "He Kept Us Out of War." Unfortunately, the situation in Europe had deteriorated to the point that the nations at war were willing to risk any gamble in an effort to gain the upper hand. Germany reasoned that a final, massive assault in the spring of 1917 could turn the tide. In order to prevent supplies from reaching the Allies, total submarine warfare would be unleashed on all vessels in the Atlantic. Hoping to win the conflict before an inevitable declaration of war was made by the United States, German official Arthur Zimmermann secretly approached the state of Mexico with an offer of post-war assistance in return for their attack on the United States. Coupled with the sinking of seven U.S. merchant vessels in March alone, the publication of the Zimmermann Telegram turned the tide against isolation. On April 6, 1917, the United States formally declared war on Germany and its allies.[5]

THE WAR OVER HERE AND OVER THERE

Although more than 24 million Americans registered to serve in the armed forces, and more than two million did serve, America's involvement in the conflict was relatively minor. Fresh troops, abundant supplies, and a renewed sense of victory buoyed the spirits of the Allied powers and had the reverse effect on the Central powers. Russia, an ally, was the first to crack politically (France and Italy were barely maintaining their political stability) while German territory remained unoccupied when the armistice was finally signed between the Germans and the Allies in 1918. The effects to the United States pale to near insignificance when compared to Europe: the total war dead was about 116,000 for the United States and more than 24 million for Europe; the governments in Russia, Austria, and Germany were totally destroyed.[6] Nevertheless, the effect of the war at home was considerable. Federal oversight of the economy began almost immediately, with the War Industries Board dictating prices, profits, wages, and supply of materials. Congress began massive war bond and rationing programs. The government borrowed nearly $22 billion from the American public through the sale of Liberty Bonds. Income tax reform (expanding the number of those who were required to pay), a federal police force (the FBI [Federal Bureau of Investigation] was founded in 1917), and an active propaganda division (Committee on Public Information, which distributed more than 75 million pamphlets throughout the war) were examples of how the government expanded its role in and helped to standardize modern American life.

Wartime industrialization expanded employment opportunities for blacks, Mexican Americans, and women. During the Great Migration, more than 500,000 African Americans left the rural South. Women earned the right to vote largely as a result of their support of the administration during the war. Even moderate labor unions, like the American Federal of Labor (AFL), benefited by the sense of common cause that was generated in the United States. On the other hand, those who opposed the war, including the IWW, were treated harshly. Issues such as

an eight-hour workday, a minimum wage, and collective bargaining were resolved by those willing to support the war effort.

Given the enormity of World War I, the peace process accomplished very little. When the nations agreed to an armistice on November 11, 1918, they had little notion of how to deal with the war's devastation and no idea of how to deal with the Bolsheviks in the newly christened Soviet Union. Wilson's proposal was to reshape international politics to "make the world safe for democracy." Such ideals contrasted sharply with V. I. Lenin's call for a worldwide social and economic revolution, and did little to quell Allied bitterness over the war. The Wilsonian doctrine—calling for self-determination, free speech, an international body of arbitration, and new ethnic nations in Europe—remained U.S. policy for much of the twentieth century, but it could not prevent a punitive peace treaty from alienating and pauperizing Germany. The result was the rise to power of Adolf Hitler fourteen years later.

At home, peace forced Americans radically to retool their economy. Layoffs and shrinking profits led to a series of bitter strikes, which affected almost a fifth of the nation's workers in 1919. In Seattle, New York, and Boston, strikes shut down key segments of the economy, even entire cities, for long periods of time. The rising fear of bolshevism led to a Red Scare, which weakened many of the gains in civil liberties that had been secured by the Progressives. Racial and ethnic violence erupted across the country. When Warren G. Harding called for a "return to normalcy" in the 1920 presidential election, he reflected the fear that something had been lost in America as a result of America's experiences in the war.



Woman countersinking a detonator tube hole and filling the hole in a hand grenade at Westinghouse Electric & Mfg. Co., East Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Women worked in factories in World War I for the war effort, as they would again later in World War II. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

THE *TITANIC* AND OTHER SHIP TRAGEDIES

Relying on multiple steam-turbine engines driving three or four screw propellers, shipping companies like the English owned White Star and Cunard lines launched dozens of ships in the first two decades of the twentieth century to meet the growing demand for transatlantic travel. The largest of these were White Star's new line which included the *Olympic, Britannic,* and *Titanic*.

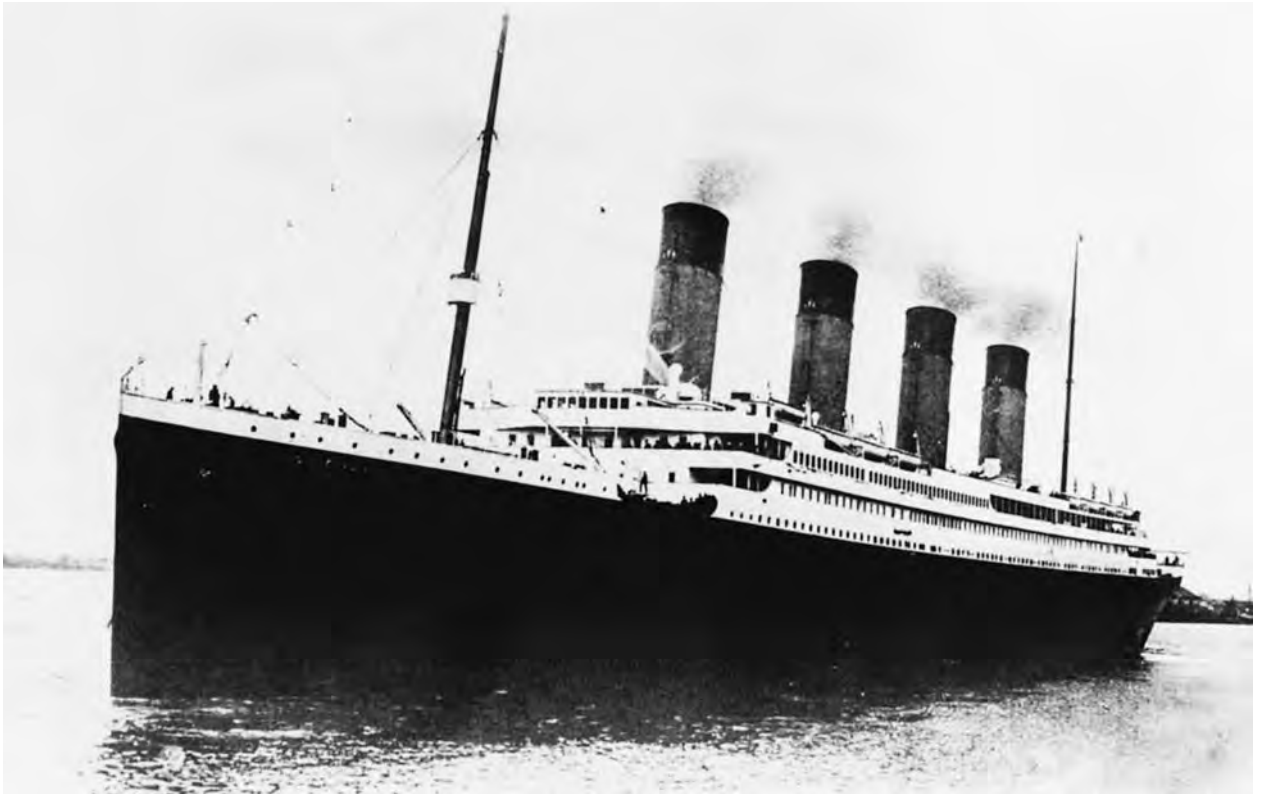
Ironically, *Titanic* was designed for safety and comfort, rather than speed. The ship could travel a respectable 22 knots, but was protected by 16 watertight compartments (spanning the length of the ship) and 15 transverse bulkheads (spanning the width). Electrical generators powered emergency, watertight doors that would make the vessel nearly unsinkable in the event of a hull breach. The number of lifeboats, which figured prominently in two of the three great shipping disasters of the decade, was mandated by the tonnage of the vessel, not by the capacity. All ships of over 10,000 tons were required to carry 16 lifeboats (each capable of carrying from 60 to 80 people). These regulations were followed, but *Titanic*'s weight of more than 46,000 tons suggests how outdated such regulations were. The fact that the ill-fated ship carried four additional collapsible lifeboats was seen as further deference to the safety of its passengers. It was assumed that even the direst of emergencies would not sink the vessel, and that the lifeboats could handle a large number of passengers who could then wait for a speedy rescue.

First and second-class patrons enjoyed luxurious suites, mahogany-lined restaurants, ballrooms, golf links, gymnasiums, and baths as part of the basic amenities of travel. Servants catered

to their every need, from personal physicians and activities directors to valets and tailors. While prohibited from using the elite accommodations, "steerage" passengers did enjoy modern and sanitary eating, dining, and bathroom facilities and generally were free from the overcrowding common earlier. More important, the size of the superliners made the journey smooth and tolerable even for the most claustrophobic. Still, class differences were stark. Patrons did not mix socially and were treated differently when an emergency did arise.

On its maiden voyage, *Titanic* left Southampton, England at noon on April 10, 1912, piloted by the White Star line's most well-respected and best-liked captain, Edward J. Smith. Officially, 2,227 passengers and crew were on board when, around 11:40 p.m. ship's time on April 13, the ship struck a massive iceberg. The iceberg ripped an opening in the hull 250 feet long that transversed six separate compartments, opening *Titanic* to the North Atlantic. Smith ordered a visual inspection of the damage. Twenty minutes later he was apprised that the liner was terminally wounded. He gave orders to swing out the lifeboats and abandon ship only 30 minutes after contact occurred.

The tragedy, which, in a matter of hours would result in the death of 1,523 passengers and crew, was due to a series of mistakes. Certainly, the lack of rescue boats and emergency preparedness lead the list. The *Titanic* was carrying over 2,200 people, but the ship's lifeboats could safely support less than 1,200. When the last lifeboat was freed from the ship, at 2:05 in the morning, more than 1,500 people remained on board with no chance of survival. Moreover, despite Smith's reputation as an accomplished captain, *Titanic*'s navigation department was poorly run. Warnings and sighting reports of numerous large icebergs were routinely broadcast over the wireless telegraph. Still, in spite of *Titanic*'s treacherous route, the wireless operator failed to take note of repeated warnings (a technical malfunction that afternoon led to a backlog of notes), which included another ship's report, only 50 minutes before the collision, that they had taken the extreme action of ordering a full stop due to the number and size of the



The *Titanic* at sea, from a photo taken in 1912. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

icebergs in the region. Smith and nearly 500 other crew members paid for this error with their lives.

More troublesome was the role that class played in the determining who was rescued. Of the first-class passengers, 96 percent of the women and children were saved, 89 percent of second-class women and children, and 47 percent of steerage-class women and children. When Americans learned that "women and children first" meant the rich first, a vocal debate emerged.[7]

Defending the skewed survival rates were traditional nativists and other bigots who valued the lives of the propertied classes over those of the poorer immigrants. When the list of wealthy victims was released, including millionaires John Jacob Astor, Benjamin Guggenheim, and Charles M. Hays, many praised their unselfish devotion to duty. Ignoring the aloof luxury these men choose for themselves on their journey, many suggested that the rich were actually better at making sacrifice and exhibiting valor than those without means. A report that the ship's band played "Nearer My God to Thee" as *Titanic* underwent its final destruction was fabricated (none survived to report what the band played at the last moments). Still, the story resonated with upper-class Americans who saw their kind not as pampered idlers but as the righteous enablers of God's plan for the American economy.[8]

Many were appalled at the distorted death tolls as well as the cavalier way in which many poorer victims went unnoticed or were listed simply by their occupation, such as "a maid." Working-class newspapers mocked stories of how industrialists "saved" poorer *Titanic* passengers while they were seemingly unconcerned with the thousands of workers who had toiled for them for years. More heroic to their minds than the rich who refused to get into lifeboats (many because they did not believe that the ship would sink and therefore did not want to endure a cold trip in a lifeboat) were the boilermen and stokers who worked to keep power to the ship (which maintained electricity and prevented panic) despite their certain death.

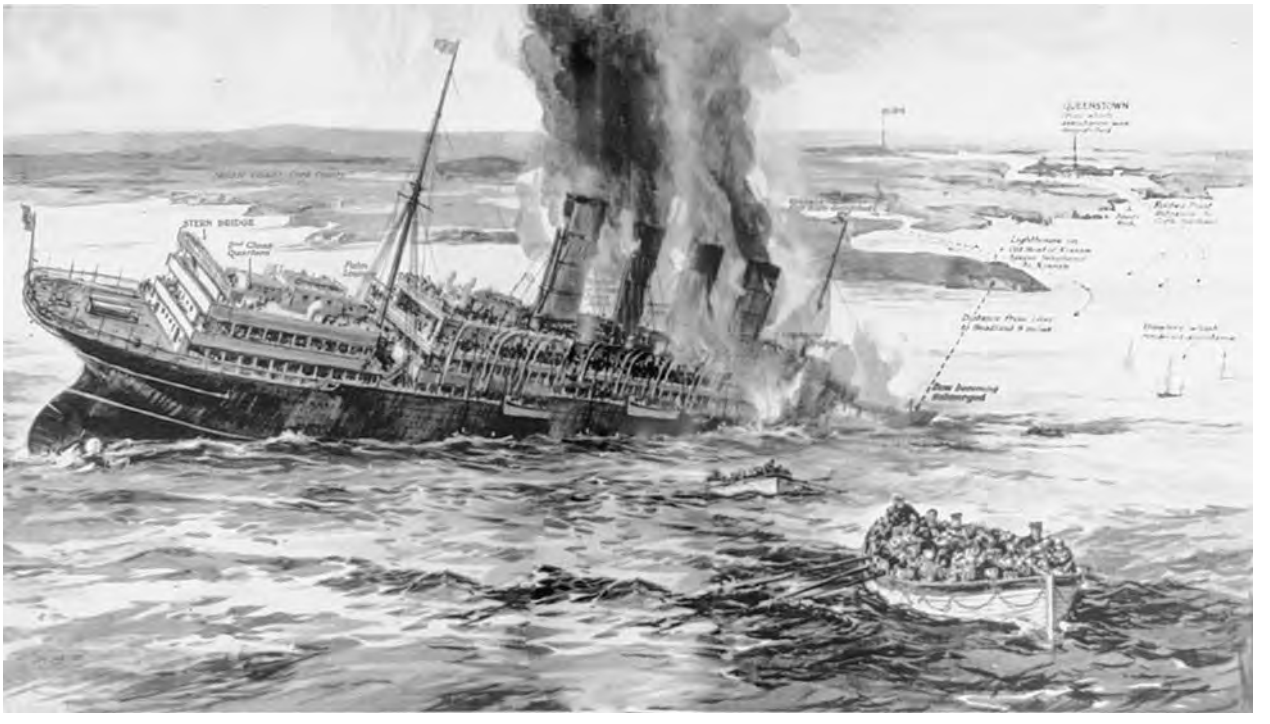
In comparison to *Titanic,* the reaction of the American public to the *Eastland* and *Lusitania* disasters was tame. The *Eastland,* another mammoth steamship, was designed for travel and tourism along the Great Lakes. The *Eastland* was built for speed with a narrow, streamlined hull that could cut through the relatively calm waters of the inland lakes. To make room for its nearly 2,500 passengers, the substructure of the *Eastland* was redesigned to add seating capacity above the waterline. In 1904, a fully loaded and underway *Eastland* began to list to the starboard (right) by nearly 25 degrees. While the ship remained in service, this structural instability led to rumors that the boat was unsafe. Repeated inspections, certifications, and claims by *Eastland* engineers assured the public that it was seaworthy. The final modification, one that quite possibly led to its fatal instability, was, ironically, the installation of additional lifeboats at the top of its maindecks.

On July 24, 1915, these faults led to the death of 841 passengers. In the aftermath, it was clear that the victims could have been anyone, not only the elite or the poor immigrant. The *Eastland* was one of six boats chartered by the Western Electric Company for their annual employee picnic in Chicago. Entire families, from infants to grandparents, arrived early to board the *Eastland* hoping to secure coveted window seats below deck on the recently remodeled "Speed Queen of the Lakes." Passengers first entered at 6:40 a.m., and the vessel began listing almost immediately. The crew attempted to compensate by flooding ballast tanks, but by 7:20, with 2,572 people on board, the *Eastland* began swaying from one side to the other, all while docked in a sheltered river with little or no wind. The port (left) list became so bad, nearly 30 degrees, that water began to enter in the lower level windows. Below decks, the crew worked to rebalance the human cargo while engineers worked above to do the same with the ballast. Neither knew what the other was doing. Within eight minutes, the list was nearly 45 degrees. By this time, the passengers began to realize the seriousness of the problem and a slight panic ensued. Unable to maintain their position on the tilted decks, even more people slid to the left. Those on the right jumped from the ship, which only added to the imbalance. At 7:30, the *Eastland* rolled the final 45 degrees and settled on its left side, trapping everyone who was inside below the water line. Entire families, all intending to enjoy a simple day trip on Lake Michigan, were wiped out.[9]

The public outcry began immediately and centered its blame on state regulators and the *Eastland* crew. Only inept or corrupt regulators and ballast-tank operators, specialists whose job it was to keep the public safe from technical malfunction, could possibly explain why such a horror was visited on the public. The fact that such travel—especially with capacities running in the thousands—was inherently dangerous was never admitted or discussed. The final legal outcome was resolved in 1935; no criminal or civil liability was cited.

By contrast, the sinking of the *Lusitania* earlier that same year (1915) was a premeditated act of war. Built in 1906 to win the coveted Blue Riband prize for the fastest transatlantic crossing, Cunard's *Lusitania* and its sibling the *Mauretania* were the largest ships of their day and could easily achieve 25 knots in calm seas. While christened as a luxury liner, each ship was outfitted with moorings to house 6-inch guns to serve as armored troop transports or merchant cruisers should the need arise.

The neutrality of the United States in the Great War led to the destruction of the British *Lusitania.* Fearing a German torpedo boat, Captain William Turner hoisted and sailed under the American flag in January 1915, prompting an international incident. Unwilling to fire upon an American liner, the Germans declared in April that ships known to be chartered by belligerent countries would no longer receive the protection of American neutrality should they be found in contested waters. *Lusitania* left New York on May 1, 1915, after a published warning by the German government, and entered the "danger zone" off the English coast carrying nearly 2,000 passengers and crew six days later. As with *Titanic,* these patrons included a large number of wealthy and influential people who regarded the liner as the finest and fastest in service. At 2:15 p.m., as the ship approached Liverpool, *Lusitania* was believed to be struck by a single torpedo, which was soon followed by a powerful internal explosion. The blasts caused the stricken vessel to list badly to the right, rendering the portside lifeboats



From the *Sphere,* a London newspaper, 1915: "The doomed *Lusitania:* how the Irish rescuers hurried to the scene of the tragedy. The boats pulling away . . . and the rescuers approaching from Kinsale and Queenstown." Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

inoperable (they could not be lowered) and many of the starboard boats unreachable as they swung out over the open ocean. The electrical power failed immediately, creating near total darkness within the ship, and the craft sank in 18 minutes. The severe conditions accounted for 1,193 passenger deaths, including 128 Americans.[10]

Again, unlike the *Titanic,* interpretation of the disaster was without class recriminations for the passengers or their luxurious mode of travel. The German navy became a symbol of treachery and heartlessness, despite the fact that the *Lusitania* was known to be carrying war provisions and was sailing within a known corridor of U-boat activity. The fact that the 31,000-ton liner sank in less than half an hour after being struck by a single torpedo (compared to *Titanic*'s three hour ordeal, which was caused by hitting a mountainous iceberg) strongly supports the theory that *Lusitania* carried munitions as well as passengers and other cargo. The United States threatened to enter the war as a result of the sinking, but it was two more years before a formal declaration was issued. Still, the tragedy galvanized moderate public opinion in the United States firmly against Germany and significantly influenced the activities of both the Allied and Central Powers during the conflict.

Advertising

of the 1910s

At the start of the decade, ad campaigns were primitive, hit-or-miss affairs relying on little more than the instincts of the copywriters or manufacturers. Following the war, many national promotions involved intensive market analysis and the services of dozens of professionals. The explosive growth of ads in the 1910s anchored the many new forms of popular culture, reinforcing the desire to go to the ballpark, buy a new car, or see the latest movie.

ADVERTISING MODERNITY

Advertising during the 1910s needed to address the fact that American society had modernized. For example, the rapid expansion of railroads and a banking infrastructure made a mass consumer market a possibility. Population growth sustained this marketplace, while the great improvements in literacy allowed their appeals to be read. Finally, the majority of Americans now worked and lived in cities, thereby thrusting themselves into a rapidly changing social and economic environment.

As a result, advertising in the decade revolved around three key themes. The first was an effort to help the individual find meaning in an increasingly complex and bureaucratized world. Modern comforts and lifestyles were in sharp contrast to the production of basic needs—food, clothing, and utensils—which had previously occupied the lives of most Americans. Even the new industrial workers, less profoundly influenced than the growing white-collar population, found that they were less involved in creating a tangible product than in performing a mechanized routine. In such a setting, citizens needed new meaning for themselves, their work, and their lives. Advertising addressed this need by providing significance, however fleeting, to consumer goods.

Second, advertising offered "solutions" to many of modern life's newest problems. Frustrations with modernity and the faster pace of living were common, and advertisers sought to ease these psychological pressures by assuring their clients that their goods were the latest and most progressive products available. As a result, the advertising styles changed markedly throughout the decade. Ads that provided simple information about a product gave way to those that demonstrated, often visually, how the item could solve basic problems of modern living.

Finally, ads helped to create a new standard of conduct. Urban living, industrialization, and the move toward bureaucratic hierarchy made social interactions more complex. What were the new standards of conduct? Was how one dressed as important as one's character? In many ways, these were the sort of guides that many wanted

ADVERTISING SLOGANS OF THE 1910s

"I Want You," U.S. Army, 1917

"The skin you love to touch," Woodbury Soap, 1911*

"When it rains it pours," Morton Salt, 1911*

"Say it with flowers," American Florist Association, 1910s

"The penalty of leadership," Cadillac, 1915*

The instrument of the immortals," Steinway & Sons, 1919*

* Among *Advertising Age's* 100 Best Ads of 20th Century. http://adage.com/century/.

when confronted with the mysteries of fast-paced urban living. Most Americans first confronted novel technologies, fashions, and fads through national advertising.

The manner and scope in which advertising expanded during the 1910s illustrates these changes. Total advertising volumes in the United States increased from approximately $256 million in 1900 to about $682 million in 1914, and then reached $1,409 million by 1919.[1] While little is known about revenues for local newspapers, direct mail campaigns, or local publicity efforts (such as sandwich board walkers), the numbers provide a clear indication of the rapid expansion of national advertising.

NEWSPAPERS AND BILLBOARDS

Newspapers played an active role in the growth of the industry. Daily and weekly presses had, for decades, relied on the revenues from their sales copy to augment their subscription earnings. But typesetting technology limited innovation and, as a result, most ads were restricted to certain preformatted sections of paper (usually the front page), changed copy infrequently, and used few pictures or other imagery.

Bill posters (advertising posters) were potential sources for advertising growth. Standardizing on three formats in 1900, and seeking to regulate itself through the Associated Bill Posters' Association, the industry did not suffer from lack



Two women pasting billboard posters, Cincinnati, May 1912. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

of imagination or limited artistic formats. Almost any artist could publicly display his or her pitches regardless of taste or quality. The public outrage over the more vulgar attempts, aided by monthly editorials in competing advertising forums such as magazines and newspapers, forced the industry to seek greater controls. By creating a national licensing system, a classification for bill quality, and an oversight board to suggest policies for improved public relations, the bill posters industry eliminated much of the antagonism directed against their efforts. Although active in the 1910s, particularly during the war years, billboard advertising hit its stride only in subsequent decades when Americans took to the roads in their automobiles.

MAGAZINE ADVERTISING

The premiere advertising forum of the 1910s was the periodical. By and large, the earliest magazines were financed through subscriptions

by individual consumers. Advertisers were convinced that active consumers were, in fact, avid readers of specific publications. The advertising style began to mirror the editorial content of each publication, reasoning that what attracted a reader to an article might also persuade them to purchase a new product. The most prolific advertisers were those who sold relatively common products (such as soap, shirt collars, or cigarettes) to a broad yet selective audience. Gossipy, casual publications such as *Cosmopolitan, Ladies' Home Journal,* and the *Saturday Evening Post* seemed the most logical choice for such advertisements. Now that they had access to an urban middle class eager to understand trends quickly and cope with the complexities of modern life, advertisers soon poured millions of dollars into the glossy monthlies. In 1917 alone, the *Saturday Evening Post* earned more than $17 million in advertising revenues.[2] More than half of the pages of the typical magazine, which usually extended to 100 pages per issue, were devoted to advertisements.

The vast influx of advertising revenues allowed publishers to sell their journals at nearly the same cost that it took to print them—and occasionally below cost, thereby expanding circulation. This then compelled other advertisers to spend their money likewise. Occasionally, demand outstripped supply, and many publications lost money by undercharging advertisers. As a result, magazines and advertising agencies became closely linked in their goals.



An ad for Manoli's Gibson Girl cigarettes. Color poster by Lucian Bernhard, 1883–1972. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

REFORMING MADISON AVENUE

While newspapers, billboards, and magazines were essential in the spread of advertising, it was the evolution of professional advertising agencies and their new advertising styles that revolutionized the industry in the 1910s. The large agencies, centered in New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia, were the driving force behind the modernization of advertising pitches.

The chief obstacle threatening the success of these agencies was the pervasive fear that advertising was little more than trickery. Tensions mounted in the 1900s as muckrakers and other Progressive reformers exposed the impurities and toxic additives routinely contained within the nation's food

AFRICAN AMERICAN MAGAZINES

Many periodicals intended for non-middle-class and white audiences struggled to find the necessary sponsorship that would propel circulation. For example, magazines intended for the African American community repeatedly struggled, usually in vain, for survival. Up to 1910, the two biggest of these were *The Colored American* and *Voices of the Negro*. Neither journal claimed more than 20,000 paid subscribers. While divisive debates surrounding Booker T. Washington's accommodation of Jim Crow legislation did not help, it was the lack of advertising subsidies that kept most magazines struggling. When W.E.B. Du Bois, a professor at Atlanta University, took the post of director of the newly founded National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1910, he founded what was probably the strongest African American publication of the era: *Crisis: A Record of the Darker Races*. Circulation grew from 9,000 in 1911 to more than 35,000 by 1915, but Du Bois could rely on little outside support beyond the subscription funds funneled to him by the NAACP.

John Tebbel and Mary Ellen Zuckerman, *The Magazine in America: 1741–1990* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 131–39.

and drug supply. Advertising agencies, which had been extolling the virtues of many of the worst offenders, were connected with these villains.

The Progressive crusades in the 1900s did two things to help advertisers in the 1910s. First, the largest advertising firms came to follow the editorial lead of the most prominent periodicals. Editors such as the *Ladies' Home Journal's* Edward Bok dictated many of the products that they were willing to market on their pages. With the forced exclusion of many of the most egregious offenders, such as alcohol products and patent medicines, the largest agencies were able to free themselves from the negative connotations associated with these products. Second, self-regulation such as the Associated Advertising Clubs of America (1911) was created with the goal of freeing the medium from falsehoods and deceptions. The strong connections between editors and publishers created an unwritten but powerful layer of censorship, which served as reform for the decade. Just as the *Ladies' Home Journal* could set the boundaries, so too could advertisers now claim to be acting in the best interests of the consumer. This new public legitimacy freed agencies to experiment with new and aggressive advertising styles in the 1910s. When, during World War I, the U.S. government added its blessing to advertising, it solidified the trust and confidence of willing consumers.

COMMUNICATING THROUGH ADVERTISEMENTS

The 1910s saw the widespread use of images, pictures, and icons to facilitate this new form of communication. Unlike traditional ads, which promoted specific products, sales events, or prices (in other words, promotions that were tied to a concrete reality), new, largely national advertising avoided any mention of specifics and focused their appeal on abstractions. Abstract words printed in newspapers and magazines allowed consumers to pour their own hopes, fears, and illusions into the products. The people characterized in ads represented how people wanted to be seen rather than how they appeared in reality.

Two dominant styles of advertising were used during the decade. The more common was the reason-why or hard-sell approach. Based on "plain speaking," these pitches hoped to cloak their products in honesty and virtue, dispelling the fear that one might be taken in by fancy sales talk. They suggested that suppliers were simply in the business of meeting consumer demand, as opposed to creating demand, as many had begun to fear.

Reason-why advertising was often referred to as "salesmanship on paper" because it supposedly conveyed the same information a hired representative might convey if given the opportunity to meet with every consumer. Typical reason-why ads prominently displayed the product at the center of the pitch. Little space was wasted in elaborate or unclear imagery that did not directly reflect upon the product. An example of such an approach was the Ivory Soap campaign from 1907 to 1909, which showed the bar of soap as the



A straightforward approach to explaining the benefits of Ivory Soap are seen in this ad. © Corbis/Bettman.

foundation for such well-known structures as the Washington Monument, the Great Pyramid, and the Arch de Triumphe. The ad copy is presented as straightforward and "honest." Consumers could feel confident that Procter & Gamble had a high level of trust in Ivory Soap and, by extension, so should they.

The soft-sell, or impressionistic, approach was laden with atmosphere and meaning. Extensive artwork, detailed layouts, and clear associations between the product and human feeling characterized the ads. Generally these promotions placed human actors at the center of the ads, showing how the products might be used to benefit consumers. Soft-sell advertisements were a new and profoundly revolutionary form of commercial expression during the 1910s.[3]

More than any other format, the atmosphere advertising style was best able to take advantage of the complexity and insecurity generated by modern living. For example, Arrow collars and shirts were sold with little more than pictures of men smugly secure within this new society. Others, such as the advertisers of Pebesco Tooth Paste and Odorono, took a more threatening stance. Promising to prevent "Acid-Mouth," which inevitably led to the loss of teeth, a Pebesco ad showed a young woman smiling in disbelief as an old toothless man warned, "I once had good teeth like yours, my dear." Odorono, an antiperspirant for women, humorlessly provided "a frank discussion of a subject too often avoided." Showing an attractive woman in close contact with a dashing suitor, the copy warned that "fastidious women who want to be absolutely sure of their daintiness have found that they could not trust to their own consciousness," however, Odorono would ensure a woman's "perfect daintiness." In each case, the product offered a solution to a modern problem that most became aware of only by reading these ads.

EFFECTIVENESS OF ADVERTISING

Most advertising agencies and manufacturers in the 1910s used a mixture of both styles of advertising. Promoters themselves had little sense of what was most effective, and many were wary of spending the ever-increasing sums needed to stay in the public eye. Henry Ford, for example, alternated between a grudging acceptance of mass advertising and outright hostility.

Another problem for manufacturers during the decade was the relative novelty of their wares. For example, a range of electrically powered products were introduced for home use, including refrigerators, toasters, irons, fans, sewing machines, washing machines, and even dishwashers. Electricity, however, was available in only a small number of homes. It was not until 1910 that a standard electrical current was agreed upon by power providers. These limitations did not stop manufacturers, such as the Hoover Suction Sweeper Company, who advertised their new electric vacuums in the most important national magazines. Stressing modernity, cleanliness, and ease of use, the Hoover ads were, in a sense, preparing a marketplace for their products as electrification came to more homes.

Coca-Cola

Soft drinks originated as inexpensive consumer indulgences that were made to order at drugstores and specialty soda fountains. Initially, most of these syrups were the result of failed experiments at creating useful medicines. Pharmacist John Pemberton created just such a potion, sometime between 1880 and 1886, to cure headaches. In 1886, Willis E. Venable began serving Pemberton's creation at his soda fountain in Atlanta, which he named Coca-Cola Syrup and Extract. Two years later, wholesale druggist Asa Candler, also from Atlanta, took control over production and began exporting and advertising the popular syrup around the country. When Candler retired from the firm in 1916, his net worth exceeded $50 million.

As a product that originated as a patent medicine, Coca-Cola was susceptible to the consumer pressures that resulted from the 1906 Pure Food and Drug Act. While the firm claimed in 1916 that the soft drink contained only "pure water sterilized by boiling,"[4] sugar, flavoring extracts, caramel, caffeine, and citric and phosphoric acids, regulators were concerned that the drink included other substances, ranging from cocaine (which was present in small quantities until the

turn of the century) to alcohol (which had never been used). The name Coca-Cola referred to coca and cola leaves, which were the source of the extracts. By the 1910s, however, most of these constituents were far removed from the production of the syrup. Other products also relied on these seemingly simple naming conventions: Pepsi-Cola was thought to contain pepsin to aid digestion; Palmolive soaps were taken from the oils of palm and olive plants. Still, in 1909, Dr. Harvey Wiley, head of the Bureau of Chemistry of the Department of Agriculture, accused Coca-Cola, whom he termed "dope peddlers," of violating the Pure Food and Drug Act because their product contained *no* coca and very little cola.[5] The suit was eventually settled in the soft drink company's favor in 1918.



Early Coca-Cola ad using the baseball personality Napoleon "Nap" Lajoie for product endorsement. The ad shows Lajoie on the baseball grounds as members of the audience drink Coca-Cola, January 1, 1910. Photo by Transcendental Graphics/Getty Images.

The evolution of Coca-Cola's advertising illustrates the transformation of the industry as the firm moved from strong, reason-why promotions to more subtle and effervescent ones. The firm clearly believed that its product, which contained caffeine, provided a functional relief from headaches and drowsiness. Reflecting their roots as a soothing and inexpensive indulgence, ads in the 1900s provided brief and well-reasoned justifications for its consumption. In 1904, one spot proclaimed "Coca-Cola is a delightful, palatable, healthful beverage." The following year, the product was hailed because it "revives and sustains." By the 1910s, however, the promotions began to appeal to more emotional, less factual benefits. For example, advertisements asked consumers to "Enjoy a glass of liquid laughter" (1911), drink "The Best beverage under the sun" or "The Best drink anyone can buy" (1913), because the beverage was "Pure and wholesome" (1914).

Model T

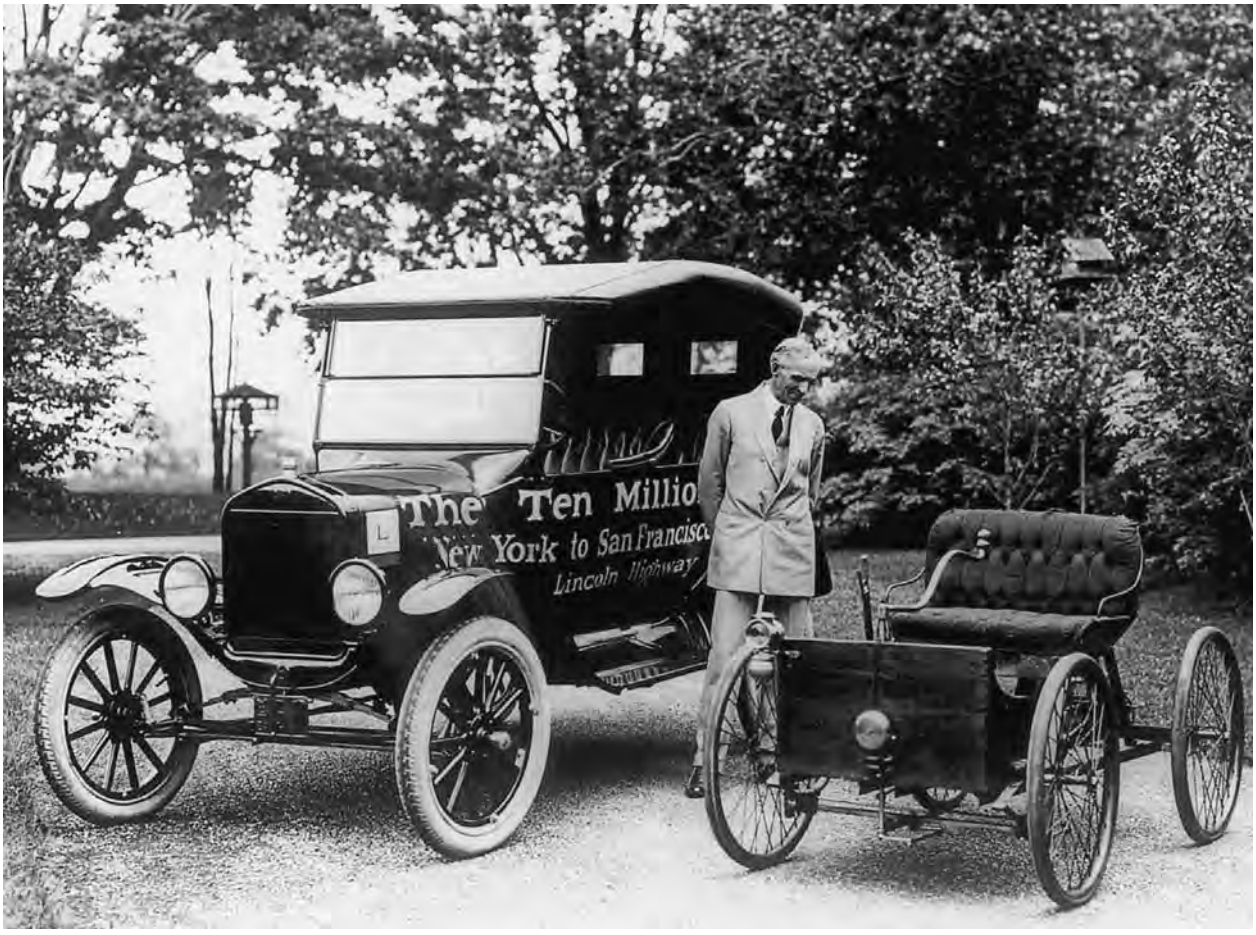
Automobile advertisements also used both the hard and soft-sell approaches. The growth of the industry drove the need for greater product differentiation. When little more than 4,100 cars were manufactured in 1900, there was not a great need to distinguish a Packard from a Chalmer from a Pierce. As these production figures began to balloon—from 181,000 cars in 1910, to 895,500 five years later, to almost two million units by 1920—manufacturers turned to advertising to spur their sales.[6] Appealing to the consumers of such expensive and durable goods was more difficult than convincing Americans to spend a nickel for a cold soda. Were the purchasing decisions of consumers influenced more by technology—in which case a reason-why approach might be more useful—or did people buy for prestige?

Impressionistic copy seemed to predominate. The Jordan Automobile Company, for example, claimed their car allowed modern drivers freedom to yield "to the whims of the moment."[7] In 1917, the Overland Car Company pictured the "Four Greatest Events" in the life of the average American as getting married, buying a home, having a baby, "and buying your Overland."

Ford Motor Company went the furthest from this industry trend in its advertising between 1910 and 1919. The source of this difference can generally be attributed to Henry Ford's goal to provide a truly low-cost yet quality product. Ford's development of the interchangeable assembly-line production process was critical to this approach. In 1910, it took his firm an average of 12 hours and 28 minutes to complete work on one auto. With the completion of his new Highland Park assembly plant in 1913, however, this number fell dramatically. By 1914, it took Ford only one hour and 33 minutes to construct a Model T. As a result, more than 300,000 cars were manufactured that year, half a million the following year, and more than two million in 1923. With mass production came lowered costs, and the price of a Model T fell from $440 in 1915 to $290 in 1925.[8]

Henry Ford believed that it was his "better car," not some esoteric and psychological need on the part of consumers, that sold his cars.

Ford also looked to benefit from free publicity which, in essence, did much of the emotional promotion for him. For example, his well-noted and liberal minimum wage and maximum daily hour policies, commencing in 1914, earned the firm much public praise. Moreover, Ford successfully battled the Association of Licensed Automobile Manufacturers, a trust consisting of such heavyweights as Cadillac, Oldsmobile, and Packard, to obtain the rights for a gasoline-powered engine. This image of Ford as trustbuster and populist, combined with the car's low cost and reliability, freed the firm to pursue more hard-hitting, reason-why promotions when the competition was headed in the opposite direction. According



Henry Ford, standing between the first and ten-millionth Ford cars made. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

CIGARETTE ADVERTISING

Tobacco consumption in the United States increased significantly during the latter 1910s. Prior to this time, most tobacco consumers either chewed plug tobacco or smoked the shredded leaves in a pipe. In 1881, James B. Duke introduced a mechanized roller that could produce more than 100,000 cigarettes per day. "Buck" Duke parlayed his production advantage into market dominance when he formed the American Tobacco Company (ATC) in 1890. As a trust, ATC was busted in 1911 into the new American Tobacco Company, Liggett & Meyers, R. J. Reynolds Tobacco, and P. Lorillard and Company, and these four maintained market dominance throughout the decade.

As with soft drinks and automobiles, cigarettes were advertised both for the rational and emotional reasons to smoke them. Consumers were advised to try American cigarettes because they were milder on the throat than the Turkish varieties, and since they were pre-rolled, they were convenient to smoke. However, critics were already charging that cigarette usage was unhealthy and unappealing. Noteworthy individuals and groups—including Henry Ford, Thomas Edison, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and Marshall Field—were undermining much of the reason-why cigarette ads.

Rather than continue a losing campaign over the health benefits derived from smoking, many suppliers turned to impressionistic appeals. The makers of Pall Mall cigarettes pitched their brand as the smoke of the rich globe-trotter. R. J. Reynolds came up with one of the most successful campaigns for their brand Camel. Beginning in newspapers, Reynolds started a cryptic campaign of announcing, in 1915, "The CAMELS are coming." Modeled after a smiling dromedary named "Old Joe" from the Barnum and Bailey circus, the camel became an emblem of an inexpensive, mild cigarette made from Turkish and domestic tobaccos and intended for a mass audience. Reynolds completed the picture of brand loyalty with the slogan, "I'd walk a mile for a Camel," and showed people willing to go to great lengths to ensure that they obtained their one true choice. These appeals had their intended effect. By 1919 Camel was the most popular ready-rolled cigarette in the world. Liggett & Meyers, ATC, and R. J. Reynolds controlled more than 82 percent of the market by 1925.

James D. Norris, *Advertising and the Transformation of American Society,* Contributions in Economics and Economic History, no. 110 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990), 138–39, 141; Charles Goodrum and Helen Dalrymple, *Advertising in America: The First 200 Years* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1990), 195.

to historian James D. Norris, by 1915 "when Ford's advertisement for the Model T simply showed a picture of the 'Tin Lizzie' touring car model with the caption 'BUY IT BECAUSE IT IS A BETTER CAR,' most Americans believed him." Many auto makers were forced to rely on ads that highlighted the social status and prestige of their cars because of Ford's dominance at the low-end of the market spectrum.[9]

ADVERTISING THE WAR

American advertising was certainly modern by the time the United States entered World War I. As a result, the war did not transform advertising as much as it promoted its efficacy in the larger business community. As manufacturers shifted to wartime production and lost opportunities to sell to the public, they had an even greater need for subtle advertising that allowed them to remain visible without appearing to be callous.

Ironically, while manufacturers increasingly soft sold their products during the war, the U.S. government used hard-sell advertising to sell the conflict to the American public. In the first days after war had been declared, President Woodrow Wilson selected George Creel to head the Committee on Public Information to accomplish this task. Creel, a muckraker from Kansas City and Denver, was so effective that his name became synonymous with the committee. Most notable were Creel's "four-minute men," a veritable army of propagandists who gave more than 75,000 short, patriotic public lectures. The Creel Committee generated nearly 75 million pamphlets and more than 6,000 press releases.[10] The Red Scare and ethnic and racial intolerance evidenced after the war suggest that there were a

few unintended consequences of the Committee's powerful messages.

The modern advertising styles were most obvious in the Division of Pictorial Publicity headed by artist Charles Dana Gibson, but also including such notables as Howard Chandler Christy and James Montgomery Flagg. Playing off the hardest sell of all—human life—the poster artists tugged repeatedly at Americans' sense of duty, patriotism, and humanitarianism. Flagg's legendary portrayal of "Uncle Sam" unflinchingly demanding "I Want You" leaves little to the imagination and almost defies the viewer to not buy into the war effort. While most war art played off of these positive values, others played off of the not-very-subtle racial and ethnic biases of most American citizens.

In 1918, the trade journal *Printers Ink* concluded, "The war has been won by advertising, as well as by soldiers and munitions. It has been a four-year strife between the powers of repression and concealment and the powers of expression and enlightenment."[11]

Architecture

of the 1910s

Of all architectural forms, the skyscraper is undeniably the most American. Introduced in the late nineteenth century, high-rise buildings represented a unique American blend of progress, commerce, culture, and democracy. The stunning heights of these massive structures, rising more than 800 feet from the ground by the 1910s, became a symbol of American optimism and ingenuity.

At the same time, the rise of affordable housing communities, such as Allwood in Passaic, New Jersey, or Goodyear Heights and Firestone Park in Akron, Ohio, and the growing availability of the private automobile in the 1910s had long-term implications for domestic architecture. Less obvious reforms, such as the 1913 Constitutional amendment that created a graduated income tax, sapped the unlimited spending of many of the very wealthy. Finally, the war cut many of the ties between the American and European branches of the profession, and many fewer aspiring designers traveled to Paris's École des Beaux-Arts after 1914.

FORM AND MEANING

American architects in the 1910s found themselves torn between providing a building that was serviceable for the people who would use it and the desire to make a lasting artistic impression. The type of structure under consideration figured greatly in the amount of latitude a designer had. For example, vernacular or folk architecture, which relied on tried and true methods of construction that were passed on informally from generation to generation using readily available materials, produced little artistic variation in form. Most early nineteenth-century houses, for example, are quite uniform throughout the country. By contrast, academic or high-art architecture looked for particular ideas and emotions to be delivered by buildings specifically commissioned for construction. Relying on historical motifs, these designers used the symbols of the Gothic cathedral or the Greek and Roman temple, for example, to signify a particular theme. By the 1910s, American architects mixed and matched these well-known motifs to create a style all their own. The rise of mass production and, especially, the use of modern building materials in both vernacular and academic design blended the relationship between form and function even further.

The best term to describe the architectural style of the 1910s is eclectic, that is, a selection of components from various other sources. To critics, this characteristic suggests that there was no particular style of the 1910s. In actuality, the eclectic style was a distinct method of design in

that it avoided *one specific* historical model. The decade saw a greater tolerance of informal design elements that many connoisseurs found distasteful. Spanish influences from California and Florida, Pueblo motifs from the Southwest, and Creole styles from New Orleans, for example, were added to the palettes of architects throughout the decade. Traditional vernacular and academic designs remained strong, but it was now much more likely for a suburb or city to contain a hodgepodge of styles rather than merely variations on a central theme.

The four mainstays of the era were Classical, Gothic, Renaissance, and Romanesque design. Each had its own specialized treatments, such as the neoclassical and beaux arts classical. The Classical style refers to a Roman temple design that raises the base of the foundation off the level of the ground, uses a four-column portico or entryway, and has simple, unadorned moldings. The Gothic style is noted for its steeply pitched roofs, multiple dormers, relatively simple lines, and use of stone exteriors. Renaissance and Romanesque architecture are decidedly more formal and academic in composition. The Renaissance style is characterized by a strictly repeated regularity in rectangular window and door designs and strong horizontal belts for each floor. Each floor is also distinguished by a slight but noticeable change in the treatment of the brick exterior. The roof line is either flat or augmented by a balustrade or railing. Romanesque design is set off by the repeated use of archways, brick or stone exteriors, towers at the corners, and, in the case of the Richardsonian Romanesque, an intentional sense of great mass and volume. During the 1910s, architects often mixed these elements within single buildings.

These standard forms provided not only guidance for designers, but also a "standard vocabulary" for the public. When comparing the Classical, Gothic, Renaissance, and Romanesque forms above, one might just as easily have called these the bank, church, townhouse, and university styles, respectively. Increasingly in the 1910s, architects



Municipal Building, Des Moines City Hall. Designed in the Beaux Arts classical style of civic architecture, it was built in 1911. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

created new combinations using standard materials, shapes, ornamentation, and proportions.

When used without restraint, eclecticism tended to degenerate into mad collections of styles and ornamentation. Mass-produced woodwork and other accessories undermined the academic architects' claim that historical design uplifted and educated the citizenry. When, from 1900 to 1920, elite draftsmen began to downplay and soften the historical elements of their buildings, the road was paved for modernists to discard them.

MODERN MATERIALS

Several powerful forces that were changing the architectural and social landscape of America. The first of these was the development of new and better building materials. By 1900, most suppliers of wood had standardized their millwork, allowing architects to order a wider variety of wood types with the assurance that a "two-by-four" or standard joist was the same regardless of the lumberyard. Mechanized millwork also improved, so moldings, doors, shutters, blinds, gables, and trim arrived at job sites in a much more polished and uniform state. Brick presses fashioned masonry in a variety of designs and colors. Finally, the spread of affordable pane glass reduced the traditional reliance upon the small and expensive rows of glass seen in many preindustrial structures. Providers often sold completely framed windows and doors, trimmed in the specific style requested by the designer.

The increased availability of affordable steel led to larger, taller buildings. A steel frame distributed the load throughout the structure and practically eliminated height constraints. The use of steel support beams also meant that internal spaces could now be opened, allowing for larger rooms without walls. The resulting structure was lighter and therefore could be built higher, and it was also more open to air and light.

Safety elevators, telephones, electricity, and incandescent lighting made these vast interior spaces functional. By 1910, architects relied heavily on these basic technical and engineering innovations in their construction.

A change in the training of architects also led to changes in the field. Most nineteenth-century American architects were trained informally, apprenticed at an established firm, in studios, or with construction companies. Here they absorbed the basic historical vocabulary of design. It was not until the latter part of the 1800s that standard skills were developed by the American Institute of Architects and formal training was provided by such universities as Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Yale, the University of Illinois, and Cornell University.

Good architecture fit into and augmented a larger, citywide plan. Seeking to place a structure within a "proper" environmental setting, natural designers, such as Frederick Law Olmsted, Calvert Vaux, and Charles Adams Platt formed the American Society of Landscape Architects in 1899 to help designers to see the building within its "natural setting" (which was often manufactured, as in the case of Central Park in New York City). The connection between the structure and its immediate environment had been recognized by most academic architects by 1910.

City planning was formalized around 1900, and noteworthy commissions were formed in cities such as Cleveland, Chicago, Washington, D.C., and San Francisco. In 1910, the National City Planning Association was founded to help designers incorporate their plans better into the larger needs of the metropolis. Led by Charles Mumford Robinson, advocates believed in a "science" of city design, which provided tangible benefits to the city's residents. By 1916, New York City became the first municipality to zone its space for specific purposes (e.g., residential, commercial), a trend that spread rapidly to other towns and, later, the suburbs.

ÉCOLE DES BEAUX-ARTS

While architecture, landscape design, and city planning were well understood by most architects, no American institution had the cultural or intellectual authority to unify designers into a single school of thought. As had been the case throughout the nineteenth century, the best and brightest American architects turned to Europe, in particular to France, for guidance and leadership. The École des Beaux-Arts in Paris became the most influential institution in American

architectural design. Many of the most prominent American designers either attended the Beaux-Arts or worked in partnership with architects who had. While it too changed over time, the central mission of the French school was to unify the theory of the design (called the *parti*) with both the rational needs of the structure and city and the emotional or artistic desires of the architects and patrons.

American students seemed intent on fashioning their own unique solutions while using the traditional methods countenanced by their European masters. It was here that the eclectic style was born. For example, after influential architect Ernest Flagg studied at the Beaux-Arts for nearly three years, he felt he had absorbed as much academic classicism and structural rationalism as possible. Flagg, however, had no interest in remaining in Europe or in earning any of the prestigious prizes awarded to the most accomplished students. What Flagg and the other Americans seemed most impressed with was the *parti.*

The work of these French-influenced draftsmen was soon seen across the United States through a variety of popular and trade presses. By 1910, only the most isolated vernacular architects were unaware of the *parti* and the freedom of eclectic design. Periodicals included the *American Architect and Building News, American Architect,* the *Architectural Record,* the *Brickbuilder, American Builder's Companion,* and the *Modern Builder's Guide.* The last two of these addressed the needs of builders and contractors rather than those of the design artists. Mass magazines, such as the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Better Homes and Gardens,* began to highlight "ideal homes" and designs, further popularizing and supporting eclecticism and the architects who favored it. Many popular writers and critics gained fame by popularizing and critiquing the latest designs. Finally, the vernacular pattern books, which provided pictorial indexes of most of the major styles of exterior and interior treatments, were wildly popular with the public.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS

The most forceful American architectural expression of the decade was clearly the skyscraper. As historian Carter Wideman noted, "They are, after all, the way Americans explain how high Superman can leap in a single bound."[1] While height is, in itself, an impressive characteristic of building design, very often early designers lost sight of proportion.

New York's Singer Tower was an unfortunate example of this type of problem. Designed by Ernest Flagg and completed in 1908, the 47-floor, 612-foot structure was for a short time the tallest building in the world (and later the tallest building ever torn down, in 1968). Flagg appended a needlelike tower to his conventional, mansard-roofed, Beaux-Arts design. The exaggerated French Baroque design was highlighted by a garish green and red terra cotta exterior.

The Singer Tower is notable for its role in bringing about new urban zoning laws. While construction for Singer Tower was under way, City Investing Company began work on an equally tall structure on the same block. It soon became apparent that the buildings would crowd each other out for attention, and also for the much-needed natural light and breezes. Flagg approached city planners with a proposal to restrict the amount of vertical space a building could claim based on the area of the structure at the ground level and the width of the streets servicing the region. Opposed by prominent designer D. Knickerbocker Boyd, who wanted shorter but more spacious towers, discussion continued at the Heights of Buildings Commission of New York City from 1913 until 1916. When a resolution was passed by the planners, the city's set-back or wedding-cake building design became law. It decreed that after a developer had reached 25 percent of the lot area, it could build a skyscraper of any height. On 25 percent of the lot, a developer could build a slender tower, which is what happened in New York and throughout other cities.[2]

For the remaining quarter, there were no height restrictions. The New York zoning law was soon copied by many other cities, giving the American urban landscape a unique, ziggurat-like appearance that would last until the 1960s.

The Woolworth Building demonstrated how the eclectic style could result in a true work of art. Financed entirely in cash by retailing mogul Frank Woolworth (and retained by the company

until 1998), the structure was designed by Cass Gilbert and engineered by Gunvald Aus from 1910 to 1913. Unlike the Singer Building, which relied on embellishments for dramatic effect, the Woolworth Building used a seemingly traditional Gothic motif to soar 57 stories, or 792 feet, above the streets of New York. Gilbert softened the heavier elements of the Gothic style, removing most of the horizontal breaks that would prevent an observer's eye from rising with it. At the top, the Gothic finials, gargoyles, and flying buttresses were oversized so as to be seen and experienced from the streets below. The Gothic theme is carried into the interiors, lending a sense of wholeness to the structure and leading Reverend S. Parkes Cadman, who attended the opening ceremonies with dignitaries including President Woodrow Wilson, to dub the Woolworth Building the "Cathedral of Commerce."[3] In many ways, the Woolworth Building was the fulfillment of the eclectic style. Employing the most modern technology (including a bank of 30 elevators that could reach the top floors in less than a minute) and built with contemporary materials, the building could be stripped of its Gothic exterior and be indistinguishable from the emerging International Style.

Numerous other public buildings of note were either constructed or completed in the 1910s. Pennsylvania Station, designed by the New York firm of McKim, Mead, and White, suggested that neoclassicism could still provide utility while conferring beauty and tranquility to an important civic space. Covering two entire city blocks, the central rail station of New York relied on the same steel girder construction as did its loftier neighbors. The external colonnade design, completed in 1911, complemented the internal vaults which took passengers and visitors more than 45 feet below street level. For the nation's largest rail station to remain functional, McKim varied the internal spaces so that areas that were to provide swift passage were small and low-ceilinged, while the ticketing and debarkation points, places where people might linger, were large and high. Razed in 1963, the site is now occupied by Madison Square Garden. Pennsylvania Station's less impressive relation, Grand Central Terminal (in essence, an inner-city depot of the station), constructed in 1913, was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1976.

The New York Public Library was completed during the decade. Founded in 1886 by the largess of Samuel J. Tilden, who bequeathed about $2.4 million to create and maintain a public reading resource, the city library merged with two semiprivate collections in 1895 to form the base of the current institution. The library immediately sought a permanent home to accommodate its immense collection (now second only to the Library of Congress). Although the foundation was laid in 1902, the final construction of the library, including the placement of the now famous lions, was not completed until 1911. Commissioned to the relatively obscure firm of Carre'e and Hastings, the exterior was patterned along the relatively traditional Beaux-Arts style. It was the public nature of the space, providing access to books to tens of thousands of readers and visitors on its very first day, which makes the New York Public Library such an extraordinary building.

Finally, the architecture of many semipublic institutions was also greatly shaped by American eclecticism. Many colleges were either opening or augmenting their campus facilities. The eclectic genre melded nicely with the needs of the university as developers were asked to design unified campuses that showed both deference to the past and confidence in the future. Rice University in Houston, Texas, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Boston, provide excellent examples of this widespread architectural trend in the 1910s; however, perhaps American eclecticism was best applied at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, New York. Ralph Adams Cram won the commission for the academy in 1903, and construction continued until it was completed in 1910. Cram's selection of a neo-Gothic motif for the main hall and chapel gave West Point a clean, Spartan, and decidedly masculine atmosphere.

Public monuments were also key architectural legacies of the decade. Most prominent among these was the Lincoln Memorial, commissioned in 1911 by Congress and constructed between 1914 and 1922. Henry Bacon's design, like that of Charles McKim for Pennsylvania Station, used traditional Classical motifs, in this case a Greek, Doric-columned temple. As was typical with the

eclectic style, Bacon modified the form to keep the best elements—giving the structure an openness and serenity that was suitable to Abraham Lincoln's memory—while maintaining functional access for the public. Such simple modifications as rotating the axis of the building by 90 degrees to allow for a more dramatic facade to face the reflecting pool, also under construction, created symmetry with the existing Washington Monument and anchored the Washington Mall area. The massive sculpture of a seated and peaceful Lincoln, completed by Daniel Chester French, was assembled at the site near the end of 1919. Combined with the president's two most cited speeches (the Gettysburg Address and his Second Inaugural) and symbolic references to the Union that Lincoln helped to preserve, Bacon's memorial became one of the most popular and solemn public places in the nation's capital.

PRIVATE BUILDINGS

By the turn of the century, home ownership had become an important civic characteristic of the middle class. Tenement-style living was still rare, and the single-family detached home accounted for from between half and three-quarters of all housing starts from 1890 to 1930. The styles employed in designing these homes were the visible markers of an owner's relative "respectability."

The earliest suburbs of the nation's largest cities drew families disproportionately from the upper economic categories. Towns such as Oak Park or Evanston, near Chicago, and Brookline, near Boston, declined offers by the major cities to annex them. This growing population of wealthy clients offered architects new places for them to design their ideal structures. Moreover, the advent of new technologies—such as electricity and indoor plumbing—removed many of the restraints to design that led developers to accept the limits of vernacular design without challenge.

By the 1910s the many heavily ornamented suburban Queen Anne and Eastlake homes were beginning to look dated. The affectations of domesticity seemed silly in an era when modernity was quickly outdating old traditions. The consumer revolution brought new, disposable products and ready-made foods, which eliminated the need for large work spaces in the home. Parlors and large hallways seemed foolish in an era when formal private visitations were disappearing in favor of more public entertainments. In the new decade, simplicity had replaced formality, and the Victorians were most certainly not simple.

The search for simplicity consumed residential architects for most of the 1910s. The focus on honesty in form and presentation was termed by practitioners an "organic" style, which attempted to build structures appropriate for the owners, the site, and the community. Organic architectural styles favored lightly treated natural surfaces, such as wood and stone, and intrinsic colors rather than the ornate and painted millwork that festooned most Victorian homes. Minimalism was also a quality of organic home design, as architects tried to reduce the need for expensive upkeep and cleaning while making each room multifunctional. Floor plans also changed significantly. Most first floor layouts were now circular, allowing easy access to every room. Kitchens were dramatically reduced in size, and back staircases and servants' quarters were eliminated. Upstairs, it was rare to find homes with more than three simple bedrooms, instead of the four or five bedrooms typical of the Victorian. Even for the least expensive new homes, built-ins were used wherever possible, including closets, which replaced free-standing armoires, laundry chutes, and bathroom fixtures. Such a house was less of a social statement and more a place for a family to care for its needs efficiently so that they might make their statements elsewhere in the increasingly public American life. These trends in organic and minimalist styles led directly to a standardization of home production and, as a result, a lowering of the cost for home ownership.

FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT

Frank Lloyd Wright continued as a leader in architecture, and in particular, in organic design. A Midwesterner by birth, Wright was ambitious, self-assured, and an architectural genius. Trained informally as a commercial architect with some of the era's greatest designers, Wright won international fame largely on the basis of his residential structures, which came to define

the "Prairie school" of design. (See "Architecture of the 1900s.") While the esthetic of the Prairie school is profound, Wright was equally capable in using the newest technologies and building theories. The Tokyo Imperial Hotel, built from 1916 to 1923, is a case in point. Wright's use of steel and concrete opened the doors for innovations in a multitude of buildings.

Wright designed and erected Taliesin, his home, studio, and retreat, in 1911 at his family's estate near Spring Green, Wisconsin. At 37,000 square feet, Taliesin had ample space and a strong emotional connection to the land, which allowed Wright's architectural imagination to run free. Significantly, he placed his home not on the crest of the hill (which would have lifted the structure away from its natural environment) but on the "brow" of the hill. (*Taliesin* is a name meaning "shining brow" in Welsh.) Unfortunately, fires have left little of the original structure intact. As Wright rebuilt, he remained true to his vision of an organic structure that was both part of nature and also the product of a man's hand.

In the 1910s, the Prairie school design principles were well demonstrated by a host of Wright's apprentices. George Elmslie, Dwight H. Perkins, George Maher, and Walter Burley Griffin, and others, continued and expanded the new style in places well outside of Wright's Midwest. The basic characteristics of these homes remained relatively consistent, and included a minimal number of rooms, a close integration between site and structure, few interior walls, exterior walls replaced with windows whenever possible, built-in utilities and many built-in furnishings, minimal extraneous ornamentation, and no "fashionable" (i.e., non-Prairie) decor within the structure.

THE ARTS AND CRAFTS MOVEMENT

Wright and the Prairie school of design were not the only ones discovering the simple, organic forms of natural materials. The Arts and Crafts movement, begun in England but championed by Gustav Stickley in the United States, mirrored many of the same trends of the Prairie school but traced a different lineage. (See "Architecture of the 1900s.") While his simply hewn furniture remained popular during the 1910s, it was easily copied by those less committed to hand craftsmanship. While not immediately recognizable as a Stickley or Wright-inspired design, the California style of



A model of proposed Imperial Hotel, Tokyo, designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, with Japanese and English text. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

HOW OTHERS SEE US

Frank Lloyd Wright's Tokyo Imperial Hotel

Iconic American architect Frank Lloyd Wright was in some ways a surprising choice to design the Tokyo Imperial Hotel in 1916. Wright and his work were strongly associated with the American Midwest. Yet Wright was also a great adapter who often borrowed the architectural vocabulary of other cultures, and he was fascinated by Japanese art. He lobbied hard to get the hotel project.

Completed in 1923, Wright's ornate and mannered design fused elements of Japanese, Mayan, and Egyptian decoration and architecture, as well as his own Prairie Style, to form a massive complex that was a center of the city's social scene. Its "uncommon unity" was a point of special praise: viewers were said to "stand in mute admiration" at its "mass of details" that managed to coalesce into "a graceful oneness." Its legend was enhanced by the fact that it stayed standing during the devastating 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake, a magnitude 7.9 temblor that destroyed many of Tokyo's modern-style buildings and killed at least 100,000 people.

Wright lived in Japan for much of the hotel's six years of construction, and during that time he exhorted local architects and builders to fight the European-style modernism that was creeping into Japan's urban landscape. "There is no reason whatever why the Japanese style of architecture, as seen both in the temples and private dwellings, should not be adapted to the needs of modern Japan," he lectured. He incorporated such Japanese elements as rigorous symmetry, reflecting pools, serene plantings, and cantilever-supported roofs into his Imperial Hotel design. But Japanese architects continued to look to Western modernist styles for their main inspiration, particularly in the massive rebuilding efforts after World War II, leaving Wright's vision of a uniquely Japanese modern architecture unrealized.

the 1900s and 1910s soon gave birth to one of the most novel, most popular home designs of the twentieth century: the American bungalow.

Architects and brothers Henry and Charles Greene were certainly influenced by the work of Wright, Stickley, and the other leading Eastern designers. Trained at M.I.T. and suffused with Beaux-Arts classicism, the Greenes designed mostly Colonial and Queen Anne homes for the wealthy until the turn of the century. Near the end of the 1900s, they began experimenting with cantilevered eaves and historical craftsmanship. By the time the partners had created the D. L. James house in Carmel Highlands, California, in 1918, the design had matured from being a derivation of others' ideas into a more natural, native creation.

The fusion of styles visible in the Greenes's work was typical of early vernacular design in California. Entire communities, such as Pasadena, imbued the Arts and Crafts style in uniquely Western ways. The inclusion of Arroyo Seco cultural objects such as blankets, pottery, and jewelry, or the use of natural forms from the desert were just two of the ways in which the California style differentiated itself. One of the state's most important residential architects, Irving Gill, drew deeply upon the multicultural history of Southern California. By mixing reinforced steel with traditional adobe, Gill constructed a number of homes for both the elite and the masses.

These native historical traditions, academic eclecticism, and vernacular design elements all merged in the 1910s to produce a boom in California bungalow construction. Simple, versatile, casual, inexpensive, and closely linked to a love of the outdoors, the bungalow became a hit across the country. In its ideal form, the bungalow featured a low-pitched roof, an ample porch, and an open, single-floor interior. Popularized by Henry L. Wilson's *Bungalow Book* (1908) and Henry H. Saylor's *Bungalows* (1911), the bungalow was appreciated for its low cost and basic usefulness. The few rooms were spacious but easy to clean and maintain by working couples. The basic design was readily modified through the use of dormers, chimneys, roof lines, and windows to encourage a sense of individuality in a society that was rapidly homogenizing. By the end of the decade, developers could design and build a simple bungalow for as little as $900, making home

ownership and middle-class respectability a reality for millions of working families.

With such democratic advantages, the bungalow quickly became the favorite style of real estate developers and even mail-order houses. The Southern California Standard Building Company, for example, sold and financed hundreds of standard bungalow designs on small lots. California speculators also originated bungalow courts, consisting of a ring of homes surrounding a central grassy area. Prefabricated bungalows were hot sellers for the Sears, Roebuck and the Montgomery Ward mail-order firms after 1910. In 1918, Sears offered a 146-page catalog of various bungalow styles from which to choose. These mail-order bungalows were prefabricated and quickly assembled, often in less than a day. Other large national suppliers included Pacific Ready-Cut, the Aladdin Company of Bay City, Michigan, Harris Brothers of Chicago, and the Gordon-Van Tine Company of Davenport, Iowa.

While seemingly never a vital concern for most architects, California designers did show an extraordinary interest in providing inexpensive and functional housing for low-income Americans. For example, in 1910, Irving Gill developed Lewis Courts, in Sierra Madre, California, to house 11 moderate-income families. The prefabricated homes were placed within a common, terraced courtyard with a communal play area for children and a large public porch. These small neighborhoods soon became so successful that developers were able to raise rents, which drove away tenants of modest means.

Books

Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics of the 1910s

Literary artists, unlike other artists in the 1910s, were largely free of the direct control of European stylists. Certainly, European writers were considered more refined and intellectually challenging simply because of their home, but Americans had developed their own written traditions using a language that was particularly their own.

The new writers built upon this growing anxiety about the world Americans saw around them, while tapping into two well-established traditions of previous transcendentalist authors. First, these earlier artists understood that change was an important component of American popular culture. Second, writers in the 1910s borrowed the strong sense of individuality that ran through the works of nineteenth-century writers such as Herman Melville, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Henry David Thoreau, Walt Whitman, and Ralph Waldo Emerson. This inner strength was highly democratic and rewarded those most willing to take risks. As a result, many realist writers concentrated on the very wealthy, not because they were technically "better" than the rest of the public, but because the wealthy were better able to demonstrate their individual mettle, since their wealth freed them from the distress of poverty.

The list of writers and literary publications that came of age under these conditions is remarkable. In fiction, they include Willa Cather, Sherwood Anderson, Gertrude Stein, and Theodore Dreiser. In criticism, publications like the *Masses* (1911), *Poetry* (1912), the *Smart Set* (1914), and the *New Republic* (1914) were founded, and writers such as John (Jack) Reed, Max Eastman, and H. L. Mencken gained wide circulation. In poetry, Ezra Pound, T. S. Eliot, Robert Frost, Carl Sandburg, and Edgar Lee Masters were first published.

The shift in American literature was slow due to a number of factors. First, the contrast between the soaring optimism in the world in 1910 and the bleak reality of world war knocked the breath out of the movement in its earliest years. Stein would later call the group of writers most directly affected by the war a "lost generation," hinting at their alienation and disillusionment. Second, many of these creative authors chose to live in Europe, which had an unintended effect of slowing the pace of literary change in the United States. Dwarfing these factors was the realist tradition which kept many writers grounded in everyday life. Realism absorbed, modified, and pacified many of the most revolutionary artistic innovations of the decade, but it also changed significantly throughout the decade.

REALISM AND MODERNISM IN NONFICTION

Literary realism was both a revolutionary reappraisal of life in America and a simple acceptance of the forces of industrial capitalism. Writers focused on the complexities of mass society and created fictional worlds where impersonal forces overwhelmed the hopes and dreams of their subjects. Typically, the drama of a realist work flowed from everyday events such as losing or taking a job, moving to a city, or making money, rather than contrived, overly emotional plot devices. Significantly, the setting of these works was almost always modern and, as a result, readers found the narratives familiar and very powerful.

The appearance of a number of influential nonfiction works focused on the concrete reality of life supported this overall trend in the 1910s. The leading books of the decade include *Twenty-Years at Hull-House* by Jane Addams (1910), *My First Summer in the Sierra* by John Muir (1911), *The Montessori Method* by Maria Montessori (1912), *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* by Charles and Mary Beard (1913), *The Negro* by W.E.B. Du Bois (1915), and *America's Coming of Age* by Van Wyck Brooks (1915).

Fictional works followed an equally realistic pattern. Typically, a narrative introduced a young and idealistic hero who was thrown into a setting that overwhelmed his or her ability to respond. Try as he or she might to strike out against conformity, by the end of the piece, the character was usually broken in spirit and incapable of further resistance. As noted above, the focus on the very wealthy was common in the works of early realists like William Dean Howells, Theodore Dreiser, and Frank Norris. Here were men who had the inner drive to succeed in the new economy yet who ultimately had to face the reality that they could not control the markets that had made them rich.

"Modernism" is a recognized literary style separate from realism. Where realists usually depict characters struggling to employ traditional moral values to their problems, modernists suggested that these values were no longer valid. As a result, the dramatic tension realists portrayed *between* different members of society and their values was transformed to the dramatic tension *within* a single person torn between his or her own values. Realists suggested the need to adapt traditional morality to modernity, while modernists hinted that the old views of morality no longer even applied. During the 1910s, modernists tended to rely more upon everyday language, portrayed less balanced characters (both emotionally and economically), and blurred the traditional linear narrative progression of their works.

NEW MAGAZINES

Boys' Life (1911)
Masses (1911)
The New Republic (1914)
Detective Story Magazine (1915)
Forbes (1917)
True Story Magazine (1919)

Magazines

Muckraking exposés and general interest magazines remained popular in the decade, but the magazine business transformed into big business, fueled by advertising dollars and an eager public. As a result, confessionals and gossip-heavy books—forerunners to modern tabloids—grew in popularity. Consumer demand for a certain genre led to a vicious circle of more of the same type being pushed onto the public, because the publishers were motivated by profits. Titillating and shocking content became a mainstay of magazine content.

At the other end of the spectrum, lifestyle magazines featured the latest fashions and goods that catered to the wealthy. Heavy on slick photographs and splashy illustrations, magazines such as *The Smart Set* and *Vanity Fair* appealed to wealthy readers. Condé Nast, a pioneering ad man and publisher, bought *Vogue* in 1909 and turned it into the nation's most profitable magazine by emphasizing fashion and advertisements aimed at wealthy readers. In 1913, Nast purchased *Vanity Fair* and *House and Garden,* followed by a

British edition of *Vogue* in 1915 and a French version in 1920.

THE "NEW CRITICISM" AND NEW MAGAZINES

Before the 1910s, critics usually overlooked the values contained within a work provided that the artist conformed to traditional literary rules. If a verse was constructed in the proper meter or if prose developed an emotionally moving drama, the author was rarely held accountable for his or her views on society. By contrast, New Criticism and the publications that published these reviews, focused intently on the cultural assumptions of the writer and directly challenged works that were based on values that they felt were unsupported in the modern era.

The birth of the *Masses,* a magazine of social and artistic criticism in 1911, reflected this trend. The magazine began tentatively by humorously needling the genteel values that were already struggling to survive in the twentieth century. The magazine was soon reconstructed to address explicitly the role of art in the modern industrial world.

Critical to the success of the *Masses* was its dedicated stable of talented contributors. Many of these, including Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Colonel Edward House, and Mary Heaton Vorse, were Progressive reformers and muckrakers interested in popularizing the plight of the working poor in the United States. Others, like Upton Sinclair and Jack Reed, were more committed to the militant and inspired actions of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and a true socialist government. Reed, the son of a wealthy Oregon family and educated at the best schools, reveled in the violent labor strikes in Paterson, New Jersey, and Ludlow, Colorado. His passionate writing provided a human face to the threatening revolutions in Mexico and Russia (*Ten Days That Shook the World* was published in 1919). Reed's activism led him to the Soviet Union, where he died in 1920.

While the *Masses* staked a claim as representative of the enlightened worker, other publications sought less rigid ideological ground. Most notable was the *New Republic,* a "journal of opinion" started in 1914 by Herbert Croly with funding by heiress Dorothy Straight. More centrist in tone, the *New Republic* advocated neutrality in the war and backed the modest reforms put forth by Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive Party, although the periodical maintained its focus on cultural expression, particularly literature. The *New Republic* hoped to enlighten its readers with writing and criticism that expressly connected literary trends—which advanced a new understanding of one's place and role in society—and the intense political activity of the decade.

Finally, the decade saw the growth of more sophisticated and discerning literary magazines. For decades, such popular publications as the *Ladies' Home Journal,* the *Saturday Evening Post, Cosmopolitan, Munsey's,* and *McClure's* had offered middle-class readers a taste of the newest trends in literature. These magazines greatly aided in the development of the short story in America.

Still, in general, commercial publishers shied away from the more experimental. As a result, many specialty magazines, such as *Little Review* (1914), *Others* (1915), the *Seven Arts* (1916), and the *Dial* (1916), were founded to cater to these needs. Harriet Monroe started *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse* in 1912 in Chicago to provide a forum for modernist poets, such as Joyce Kilmer, Vachel Lindsay, and Carl Sandburg. More important, these magazines opened the public to a more pressing criticism of modern literature.

H. L. Mencken

As a journalist, critic, and editor, Henry Louis Mencken (1880–1956) used his corrosive but humorous wit to dissolve pretentiousness, inequality, and ignorance, although he was not without his own prejudices. While frequently contemptuous of democracy and impatient with those of lesser intellectual capacity, Mencken was always honest and straightforward in his writing.

Mencken had little use for female reformers or the Women's Suffrage movement. He had even less tolerance for African Americans, partly due to his Southern upbringing, but also because he believed blacks were undereducated as a result of their own lack of resolve, a common error of the day. Mencken also was an unabashed supporter of science and a critic of organized religions.

Mencken wrote prolifically for newspapers in Baltimore and elsewhere; for journals (such as the *Smart Set,* where he began working as a literary editor in 1908, and which he began editing with George Nathan in 1914); and he wrote a number of books. As a critic, he wrote 182 book reviews spanning a wide range of offerings. He loved the works of such realist novelists as Theodore Dreiser, Sherwood Anderson, and Willa Cather, and he advanced the poetry of Edgar Lee Masters and Ezra Pound.

REALIST AND MODERNIST NOVELS

The 1910s saw the creation of some of the best realistic, popular, and modern novels of any decade in American history, including works by Upton Sinclair, Jack London, Edith Wharton, Willa Cather, and Ellen Glasgow. Theodore Dreiser's works are perhaps the best examples of the American realist style.

Drieser's breakthrough came with the publication of *Sister Carrie* (1900), a gritty account of how people followed the sensual pleasures on obvious display in the large cities. (See Books, Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics of the 1900s.) He continued to explore materialism and the darker aspects of contemporary life in *Jennie Gerhardt* (1911), a bestseller, and his trilogy based on the life of railroad magnate Charles T. Yerkes—*The Financier* (1912), *The Titan* (1914), and *The Stoics* (written in 1916 but not published until 1947). Objects were magical possessions and people like Yerkes, who had so much and wanted so much more, became superhuman—unburdened by pointless middle-class morals and fears of sin, lacking human warmth, and wholly manipulative of others.

The experimental modernism of Gertrude Stein was certainly as influential as Dreiser's realism. Born in 1874, educated at Radcliffe College and then medical school at Johns Hopkins University, Stein left the United States in 1902 to live in Europe. She returned only for visits until her death in 1946, but she always considered herself a Yankee. Stein was an adventuresome writer who willingly sacrificed book sales for greater freedom in her prose. In *Three Lives* (1909) and then *Tender Buttons* (1913), she experimented with repetitive sentences and new speech patterns. She largely abandoned traditional narratives for an immediacy of presentation—shifting tenses within her writing so that all action (past, present, or future) was directly connected to the psyche of her characters. Stein saw the stream-of-consciousness style as typically modern and more typically American. As a critic, Stein strongly supported the work of Hemingway, William Faulkner, Eliot, and others.

LITERARY TRENDS AND THE POPULAR NOVEL

While Dreiser's realism and Stein's modernism were important indicators of the direction of American literature, popular novels were more loosely associated with these schema. Writers of popular fiction, Edgar Rice Burroughs and Zane Grey, for example, understood that these more respected authors were widening the possibilities of their own craft. In addition, regional writers, such as Midwestern authors Willa Cather and Sherwood Anderson, achieved popular acclaim while driving the realist and modernist literary movement in unforeseen directions. All told, the public taste in novels both supported and limited the more artistic trends in American literature during the 1910s.

Zane Grey, born Pearl Zane Gray in 1872, began publishing in 1903 and became successful with his book *The Heritage of the Desert* (1910). Throughout his life, Grey published 85 books that sold more than 40 million copies. He used predictable melodramatic plots and simple characters speaking in flat dialog, all contained within a loose, realist style.[1]

Grey's writing was based on a love of the mythic West, themes he had absorbed from his numerous fishing and sightseeing excursions to Arizona's Painted Desert. *The Heritage of the Desert* was typical of his early experiences. It is the story of an Easterner who is transplanted in the West who, through a rapid series of improbable yet hair-raising events, proves his mettle to the satisfaction of the heroine and validates his claim to be a real man. In *Riders of the Purple Sage* (1912), Grey pilloried Mormonism to show how institutional religion and traditional notions of community undermined the natural dignity of the cowboy. Grey established the stock Western

character of the "reluctant gunman," an honorable individual who was forced to become a killer because of encroaching civilization.

Grey's pseudo-historical novels were also popular during the decade. *The U. P. Trail* (1918) and *The Desert of Wheat* (1919) dealt with the contests between man and nature in building the transcontinental railroad and supplying the world with wheat. Both novels drew upon the same cast of stock characters as in his earlier works, but he used the natural drama of history to lend gravity to his stories. The reliance upon current events and heavies like the IWW and Imperial Germany gave his work the appearance of realist literature without the complexities that gave the realists their lasting reputation.

In a different vein, Edgar Rice Burroughs rose to fame in the 1910s as the creator of *Tarzan of the Apes,* a novella published in the October 1912 issue of the *All-Story* magazine. By the end of Burroughs's career, he had penned 23 additional Tarzan stories (and more than 50 others).[2] Like Grey, Burroughs took advantage of the realist style to pit man against nature. Influenced by Rudyard Kipling's *Jungle Book,* Teddy Roosevelt's call for a more "strenuous life," and popular novels emerging from the colonization of Africa, Burroughs devised a scenario whereby an English aristocrat was tested by the wildest of jungles. Lord Greystoke (i.e., Tarzan) might have been raised in the jungle, but in Burroughs's hands he soon proved his evolutionary worth by teaching himself to read and laying claim to being the king of the beasts. Burroughs knew that what he was writing was not "literature"; he spent most of his creative energies marketing his Tarzan stories to moviemakers and the comic books. As with Grey, his series were short on credible dialog and plots and long on action.

His rise to fame shows the fate of a typical writer more clearly than that of an author with the artistic talents of Dreiser or Stein. Short stories such as Tarzan were in great demand by the pulp fiction magazines (so called because of the coarse and inexpensive paper that was used) which became popular in the 1890s and sold for a nickel or dime. By 1910, all-fiction magazines such as *Popular Stories, Short Stories, Top Notch,* and *All-Story* were commercially successful. They demanded a steady stream of authors for hackneyed but surefire plots and would burn through a writer's creative imagination in a matter of months. By 1912, Burroughs had already submitted several short stories, including "A Princess from Mars" (1911), a thriller which combined the Old West and outer space while staying true to the formula of the pulp magazines. In his sequel to Tarzan's popular premiere, Greystoke battled Russian spies in the Sahara. Originally titled "Monsieur Tarzan," the chronicle was published as "The Return of Tarzan" in *New Story* magazine in 1912. Two years later, Burroughs published *Tarzan of the Apes* as a novel, and in 1918 it was transformed to the silent screen (where the character was significantly altered from Burroughs's original conception).[3]

THE MIDWESTERN RENAISSANCE

Grey and Burroughs sacrificed artistic realism for commercial success. Their treatment of their fictional worlds limited their ability to incorporate a more serious analysis of the relationship of their characters to their environment, the very basis of realistic writing. Much of the work of The Midwestern Renaissance of the 1910s was commercially successful, however, showing that it was possible to merge artistry with business in popular American literature.

The success of writers emerging in the Midwest in the 1910s was phenomenal. Coupled with the arrival of the Chicago School of architecture and the importance of Midwestern musicians, the term renaissance may not be an overstatement. The list of stellar writers included Hamlin Garland, Willa Cather, Sherwood Anderson, Sinclair Lewis, Ring Lardner, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and T. S. Eliot. The region was reaching its apogee of economic importance for the United States and, lacking any real indigenous cultural tradition, these writers tended to create one. Focusing on the power of the land, shared rural roots, and the unbridled economic optimism of the region, Midwestern writers provided works that were robust, confident, and wholly original.

Willa Cather

Willa Cather never needed to travel to pick up local color; she was emotionally and spiritually a

part of it. In fact, while she wrote poetry, prose, and criticism in a variety of styles, her body of work is hard to classify as a single school or theory. While she clearly represented the realist and modernist trends of novels in the era, she also incorporated the symbolism of poetry and the political optimism that gave life to the Progressive movement. If there is a single source of power in her words, it comes from the faith that she took from the land.[4]

Willa Cather was born in Virginia in 1873. When she was 10 years old, her family moved to Red Cloud, Nebraska, an immigrant town where native-born Americans were a minority. Cather attended the University of Nebraska, where she began her professional career as a writer and teacher. She moved first to Pittsburgh and then to New York where she became an editor for *McClure's* magazine in 1906. While in New York, she became close friends with a group of writers and activists who challenged her thinking and tightened her skills as a creative writer. Her writing reflected a strong, female-centered appreciation for the Midwest, a rarity for accomplished writers of the era.

Cather was an intensely private person, and she directed that most of her private correspondence and all of her unfinished manuscripts be destroyed after her death. This relative lack of biographical material has forced scholars to come to terms with Cather through her fiction alone, and it is here where she earned her distinguished reputation.

Cather felt that her first major published work, *Alexander's Bridge* (1912), was too shallow and artificial to merit much attention. Still, she began to demonstrate her infatuation with the subject of youth which coursed through her entire body of work. In the novel, a young architect, Bartley Alexander, must choose between his youthful dreams and his adult responsibilities. Torn between the two, Alexander is killed when his bridge collapses from its structural instability.

These efforts paid handsome dividends in the 1910s with the publication of *O Pioneers!* (1913), *The Song of the Lark* (1915), and *My Àntonia* (1918)—the first and the last of which are considered to be part of the canon of American literature. Cather considered *O Pioneers!* to be her first true novel. The story is of an immigrant woman transplanted to Nebraska who suffers through the precarious fate of most prairie settlers. Cather's sparse style spends little effort describing the plains, focusing instead on the nearly tangible spirit of the land. Surrounding this immigrant girl were dozens who committed themselves to chasing the illusion of success through materialism and transient pleasures. By contrast, while the heroine was tormented in life, she was sustained by the timeless peace, cycles, and surety of the physical earth. In style and subject matter, *O Pioneers!* was unique, and it established Willa Cather as an author of note.

In *My Àntonia,* the most autobiographical of all her novels, Cather transformed her presence in the novel into a young, male, romantic, native-born railroad lawyer named James Burden. Burden narrates the novel and recounts how he came to understand a Bohemian immigrant girl from Nebraska by the name of Àntonia Shirmerda and how his Àntonia restored his faith in himself and in the world around him. Again, Cather's style is Spartan, and the dramatic elements of this novel are completely ordinary. Àntonia is seen to go through four stages of life: a spirited youth, a troubled young woman, an abandoned mother, and, finally, a fulfilled matriarch of a stable and fertile extended family. While suffering the suicide of her romantic father, the hypocritical gossip of "respectable" society, and the lies of a native-born lover, the immigrant sees the joy of life connected to the natural and living rhythms of the land. Burden, the typical American, sees through Àntonia that he had lost this faith. By the end, however, he knows where to look to recapture his youthful optimism; he knows again that all things are possible.

Sherwood Anderson

Sherwood Anderson achieved his literary fame with the publication of *Winesburg, Ohio* in 1919 when he was 43 years old. Anderson had worked as a laborer, served in the Spanish-American War, and worked in advertising, all the while dreaming of writing fiction. After suffering a nervous breakdown in 1912, Anderson came to Chicago and became friends with a small group of struggling

writers including Edgar Lee Masters, Carl Sandburg, and Harriet Monroe. This was an auspicious time for creative writing in the city as both *Poetry* and the *Little Review* gave a forum for new and experimental poetry and prose.

Anderson experimented with novels and, in 1916, he published his first book titled *Windy McPherson's Son*. One year later, *Marching Men* was released. Both books examined small-town America, the effects of modernization, and the alienation of thinking men in such a society. The books sold poorly, so Anderson turned to shorter, more focused studies about particular individuals. Several of his short character studies were published in the *Masses* and the *Seven Arts*. These pieces formed the core of his anthology of stories which he published under the name *Winesburg, Ohio*.

Winesburg, Ohio contains 22 separate stories, usually related by or observed through the eyes of a local reporter who represented an idealized version of the author. A town just emerging from the Civil War and going into the tempest of modernization, Winesburg has no sense of the future and no trust in the past. Most of the characters are emotionally and psychologically scarred. Their lack of self-awareness and their reliance on moral clichés only deepens these wounds in others. Anderson used modern vocabulary, a frank discussion of sex and sexual drives, and a merciless focus on the tottering genteel values of small-town America to lend power and substance to his work.

Anderson did not set out to attack village life. His characters in *Winesburg* are a mixed bag of transients, locals, the urbane, and provincials. Moreover, some of his characters display strong moral values which are developed and often reinforced through their contact with fellow citizens. What Anderson disliked was not the physical reality of small-town U.S.A., but rather the self-righteousness and lack of self-criticism that come from a population that never stops to evaluate its own morals. In *Winesburg,* characters are trapped and tortured by the very institutions and belief systems held most dear by the citizens: family, rectitude, and Christian morality. While most of his characters struggle against conforming to the wishes of others, the battle leaves them broken and their individuality "grotesque." Winesburg is a claustrophobic town, where its peoples' hopes and dreams are turned into fears and nightmares from the realities of modern living.

Winesburg, Ohio was a critical and financial success for Anderson. He used his fame to promote the work of other talented modern writers such as Ernest Hemingway and William Faulkner. Moreover, Anderson proved that the modernist style of using colloquial speech, short, simple sentences, and poetic imagery could be fashioned into a powerful yet popular novel.

BEST-SELLERS, AND THE GREAT WAR

Lying between the extremes of experimental modernism and the adventure stories of Burroughs and Grey, novelists Edith Wharton, Booth Tarkington, and Arthur Guy Empey filled a unique niche of American literature in the 1910s. Wharton was perhaps the most influential of these novelists. Born to wealth in 1862, she struggled with a failed marriage and the conservative elite culture of New York City, often making this culture the subject of the 47 volumes she wrote. Wharton popularized the struggles of the upper classes to retain their footing upon the shifting sands of modern society.

Wharton continued upon her literary success of the previous decade. *Ethan Frome* (1911) was her most popular book of the 1910s. In it, two selfish and materialistic women destroy the ideals and the very life of the title character. In the critically acclaimed *The Custom of the Country* (1913), Wharton's subject was a social climber who was trapped by the shallowness of the money-eyed class. In addition, Wharton published *Tales of Men and Ghosts* (1910), *The Reef* (1913), *Xingu and Other Stories* (1917), and *Summer* (1919), and most of these were best sellers. While *The Age of Innocence* (1920) earned Wharton the Pulitzer Prize, many of her critics contend that her work had become nostalgic and uncritical by this date.

Other bestselling authors wrote impressive works throughout the decade. The best of these followed traditions already in place before the decade began, such as Joel Chandler Harris's *Uncle Remus and the Little Boy* (1910) and Finley Peter



Edith Wharton. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

NOTABLE BOOKS

Howards End, E. M. Forster (1910)

Ethan Frome, Edith Wharton (1911)

Mother, Kathleen Norris (1911)

The Harvester, Gene Stratton Porter (1912)

Riders of the Purple Sage, Zane Grey (1912)

O Pioneers!, Willa Cather (1913)

Pollyanna, Eleanor Hodgman Porter (1913)

The Spoon River Anthology, Edgar Lee Masters (1915)

A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, James Joyce (1916)

Rhymes of a Red Cross Man, Robert W. Service (1917)

Diet and Health, Lulu Hunt Peters (1918)

The Magnificent Ambersons, Booth Tarkington (1918)

Winesburg, Ohio, Sherwood Anderson (1919)

The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, V. Blasco Ibañez (1919)

Dunne's *Mr. Dooley Says* (1911) and *New Dooley Book* (1912). Booth Tarkington, too, solidified his reputation as a talented narrator with *The Turmoil* (1915)—a story of economic exploitation—and *Seventeen* (1916)—a story of teens coming of age. Bestsellers also included Jeffrey Farnol's *The Broad Highway* (1911), Gene Stratton Porter's *The Harvester* (1912), Harold Bell Wright's *The Eyes of the World* (1914), and H. G. Wells's *Mr. Britling Sees It Through* (1917).

Wells's novel, which seeks meaning from death in World War I, was typical of many popular novels during the war years. The meaning of the war became a contested terrain for writers. During the 1910s, the majority of these books tended to the see the conflict as a way for young men to test their bravery, honor, patriotism, and masculinity. Author Alan Seeger was an unfortunate example of this trend. Graduating from Harvard in 1910, Seeger went to Paris in 1912 and joined the French Foreign Legion when the fighting began in 1914. Seeger was stationed on the front. While he fought, he wrote popular dispatches for the *New York Sun* and the *New Republic.* Killed in action in 1916, his posthumous memoirs became a best seller in 1917, as Americans marveled and wept over his selfless sacrifice for "the cause."[5]

The field was open for a large number of guts-and-glory memoirs or fictionalized accounts. Arthur Guy Empey's *Over the Top* (1917) was typical. Telling the story of his experiences as a machine gunner, Empey used realistic descriptions and jargon to suggest that frontal assaults on fortified gun nests were the height of glory for young men. The book sold 350,000 copies its first year and was soon turned into a movie. Empey became a featured speaker at patriotic rallies throughout the country. Other best sellers included Robert W. Service's *Rhymes of a Red Cross Man* (1917), Alan Seeger's *Poems of Alan Seeger* (1917), Ian Hay's *First Hundred Thousand* (1917),

Francis W. Huard's *My Home in the Field of Honor* (1917), Edward Guest's *Over Here* (1918), James W. Gerard's *My Four Years in Germany* (1918), and Lt. Pat O'Brien's *Outwitting the Hun* (1918).

AMERICAN POETRY

The trends in poetic verse in the 1910s underscored the shifts seen in popular fiction and criticism. When Ezra Pound called for a conscious *risorgimento,* or reorganization of poetic styles, in 1909, he was asking poets to reformulate their approach in ways that rejected the formal complexities of traditional verse. Pound, who was born in Idaho and lived most of his early life in Pennsylvania before emigrating to England in 1908, was a great promoter of American poets who he believed were attempting to make this crossover, including T. S. Eliot, William Carlos Williams, e. e. cummings, Hilda Doolittle (who published her works by her initials, H. D.), and Robert Frost.

Pound's greatest ally was Thomas Stearns (T. S.) Eliot. Born in St. Louis and educated at Harvard, the Sorbonne, and Oxford, Eliot permanently relocated to England in 1910. Neither he nor the other expatriates abandoned their American roots; rather, they regarded Europe as a cultural oasis in which they could pursue their craft more freely than in the more materialistic States. Eliot championed a symbolist style that had been gaining influence since the turn of the century. His greatest work of the decade was *The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock,* published as a compilation titled simply *Prufrock,* in 1917. He used common language to establish new patterns of rhythm within his text. The subject matter was expanded to include all forms of human behavior, particularly those considered too crude for Victorian poets. The mood of the piece was usually established by images and tones rather than glaring emotions or contrived dramatic flourishes. Finally, Eliot's writing was meticulously crafted, often to the point that the work became near parodies. After the release of *The Waste Land* (1922), a poem of incredible influence, Eliot added footnotes in an effort to guide readers to the sources of his imagery.

Concurrent with the rise of a regional voice in American novels, poets found that their experiences in the United States granted them a unique artistic perspective. The Midwest Renaissance sparked just such a movement. Edgar Lee Masters, who was born in Kansas and raised in Illinois, came to Chicago in the 1890s to practice law but made his name as an accomplished poet with the publication of *Spoon River Anthology* in 1915, his third book of verse. In this classic, Masters introduced his readers to the ghosts of former residents of the region. Being dead afforded the narrators the freedom to be honest. In their confessions, Masters related how they believed they had wasted much of their lives on petty grievances, fleeting sexual pleasures, and a fruitless search for understanding. As with Anderson and, later, Sinclair Lewis, the work is often misconstrued as a focused attack on small-town America. In actuality, these writers used their experiences in small towns to show how these frustrations were magnified by close contact within the provincial village, but that the experiences were no less present in the city. In many ways, the small town inhabitants were at least able to identify their frustrations.

Carl Sandburg, who like Masters was first published in the Chicago-based *Poetry* magazine, was the son of a Swedish blacksmith from Galesburg, Illinois. After moving to Chicago in 1913 and taking a series of odd jobs which brought him into contact with Chicago's polyglot society, Sandburg was able to capture the distinct regional and American values of citizens toward work, society, and the country. While often overly sentimental toward the wisdom of the public, Sandburg translated the raw power of America's industrial and economic might into lyrical and moving verse. His frequently quoted description of Chicago, from *Chicago Poems* (1916), as "Hog Butcher for the World, Tool Maker, Stacker of Wheat, Player with Railroads . . . Stormy, husky, brawling, City of the Big Shoulders" revels in the sweaty accomplishments of workaday living. These are again hailed in his later works, *Cornhuskers* (1918) and *Smoke and Steel* (1920).

While some critics of the Midwest Renaissance take exception to the accomplishments of these poets, it is clear that regionalism had become a distinguishing characteristic of American poetry in the 1910s. The success of Robert Frost's works is telling proof of this assertion. Frost,

who was born in San Francisco in 1874, moved to New Hampshire with his family when he was 11 years old. There he absorbed the local diction and environment and began writing poetry. After attending Dartmouth and then Harvard, Frost emigrated to England in 1912 where his work was noticed and supported by literary activists Pound and Stein. In England, Frost began to publish his regional American verse, first with *A Boy's Will* (1913) and then the critically acclaimed *North of Boston* (1914).[6]

Frost's work is often regarded as homage to rustic simplicity and folksy wisdom. In reality, he used the picturesque New England countryside and vernacular to examine and attack the same genteel traditions that were bombarded by other modernist poets. For example, while his popular poem "The Road Not Taken," published in *Mountain Interval* (1916), seems to cherish the man who took the road "less traveled by, and that has made all the difference," he also suggests that an American will justify *any* action in hindsight as the most adventuresome and least conforming. In "Mending Wall" (*North of Boston*), Frost seems to lament the need for boundaries between citizens but concluded, with one of his characters, that "Good fences make good neighbors."

NEWSPAPERS AND COMICS

The influence of advertisers crept into newsrooms in the 1910s. Will Irwin exposed the relationship between the two in a 14-part series published in *Collier's* magazine in 1911. One of the major influences Irwin uncovered was the agenda-driven work of powerful editors who had almost complete control over how news was gathered. However, at the same time, the emphasis on journalism as a profession (fueled by the investigative work of the muckrakers and the lurid reporting of the yellow papers) led to a code of ethics emerging among reporters. These reporters emphasized their responsibility to the public.

Comics

Newspaper comic strips were popular through the 1910s, with humorous drawings being by far the most popular form of illustrations throughout the decade. Moreover, the visual and written humor contained within the illustrations reinforced or questioned many traditional assumptions about American society.

Regular cartoons began in the 1880s primarily in the sports and editorial sections of the newspapers. Most of these were single-panel drawings relying on verbal jokes for their humor. The characters were mostly underdeveloped and did not repeat from day to day.

In the 1890s, the comics became more consistent when newspapers owned by E. W. Scripps, William Randolph Hearst, and Joseph Pulitzer began forming national chains, or syndicates. These affiliated dailies standardized their editorial and reporting content and employed a regular stable of comic illustrators. By the 1910s, their comics were running in hundreds of papers, making the art form a common point of reference



Mutt and Jeff by Bud Fisher. In this 1917, war-era strip, Mutt and Jeff, as sailors, on deck of ship, are receiving knitted muffler and socks from ladies. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

for many readers. Popular comics included Hogan's Alley (originally drawn by Richard Felton Outcault, now drawn by George Luks) James Swinnerton's "Little Bears," and Rudolph Dirks's "Katzenjammer Kids."

The first true comic strip was introduced in 1907 in the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Titled "A. Mutt" (meaning a rather unimportant person) and penned by Bud Fisher, the strip was a series of cartoons that told narrative and increasingly visual jokes spread out across the newspaper page. The strip was an innovation in several ways. First, by using frames, Fisher was free to develop multiple gags within a strip, which allowed character development. The use of speech balloons allowed characters to interact within each frame, rather than deliver extended speeches at the bottom of a single illustration.

The humor of the strip was aimed at the sporting man who read the sports pages of the *Chronicle*. It was not until 1910, with the regular appearance of a second, more sympathetic character, "Jeff," that the strip matured into an accessible and popular feature for the paper. Jeff, who appeared when Mutt was thrown into an asylum as a result of his gambling addiction, thought he was heavyweight boxing champion Jeff Jeffries. Jeff proved to be the perfect foil for Mutt; one an irrational idealist, softhearted and innocent, the other a crafty materialist. In 1916, the strip was retitled "Mutt and Jeff" to reflect the popularity of the diminutive newcomer. Fisher had the foresight to copyright his creations. When he left the *Chronicle* for better pay at Hearst's *Examiner,* the former publication attempted to continue the strip under the same name using the same characters. Fisher sued and won, in 1915, establishing the right of comic artists to maintain control over their intellectual property.

Strips also loosened the bounds of typical graphic humor. The need for a gag or slapstick in comics was lessened as artists sought more emotionally interesting ground. George Herriman was well ahead of his contemporaries in creating abstract humorous content in "Krazy Kat" (1913). Herriman, born to a mixed-race couple in New Orleans, created a strip for Hearst's *New York Journal* that was never immensely popular. It was featured in only 48 papers while more popular cartoons were usually syndicated in hundreds.

"Krazy Kat" remained in print solely because William Randolph Hearst liked it. When Herriman died, in 1944, the panel was discontinued. Still, the strip is regarded today as one of the best examples of how the visual arts both reflected and influenced popular culture.

The content of "Krazy Kat" is absurdly simple yet compellingly complex. Three central characters are involved in an unrequited love triangle, a topic that clearly indicates that, like his contemporaries, the audience was the adult reading public and not children. Krazy Kat is love with Ignatz the mouse. Ignatz hates Krazy and expresses his frustrations by hurling bricks at the confused cat, who assumes these to be expressions of love. Offissa Pup, torn between *his* love for Krazy and his duty to uphold the law in stopping Ignatz's behavior, stumbles between the two, incapable of achieving either objective. The plot, if indeed there was one, was simply how Ignatz would find ways to lob his missiles. The humor was in how all three characters accepted the absurdity of their lives while remaining true to their hopes of love and independence. Herriman interjected

WORDS AND PHRASES

ace (cool)

air conditioning

beans! (nonsense!)

big shot

buzz-off

chow (food)

civvies (casual clothes)

copycat (noun)

crabby

cushy

duck soup (easy)

floozy (loose woman)

heebie jeebies

Tin Lizzie/flivver (Model T)

popular slang, Yiddish, Bronx accents, and even Shakespearean dialect into a surreal yet familiar speech.

Even the most conventional strips tended to reinforce the popular culture of the day. For example, *Chicago Tribune* publisher Robert McCormick wanted his readers to become more comfortable with the automobile. As a result, illustrator Frank King was asked to create a strip in 1918, which he called "Gasoline Alley," that eventually became one of the longest running, most successful series in cartooning.

Strips also began to portray kids as relatively simple and honest pranksters intent on having fun. In line with the reform of children's play, strips like Merril Blosser's "Freckles and His Friends" (1915) and Carl Ed's "Harold Teen" (1919) all showed youth and youth culture as nonthreatening and potentially redeemable. Blooser's work ran for 50 years in more than 700 newspapers. "Harold Teen" was the first to begin identifying older children as intrinsically different from their more innocent younger siblings. Until 1959, when the strip ended, Harold also provided readers a daily dose of teen slang, humor, and trends that no doubt proved to be useful for parents confused by the growing generation gap.

These popular cartoonists commanded phenomenal sums. George MacManus was a multimillionaire as a result of "Bringing Up Father." Former shoe salesman Gene Byrnes, who penned "Reg'lar Fellas," was making $25,000 per year by 1920. "Mutt and Jeff" creator Bud Fisher earned over $1,000 a week, owned a stable of horses, and was frequently seen in the company of movie starlets and showgirls.

Entertainment

of the 1910s

During the 1910s, the performing arts seemed to both support and undermine many of the prevailing values and behaviors of American society. Many still believed in the moral simplicity of Victorianism—that good and evil were easily identified, and that poverty and social inequality were indicators of individual character. Yet the complexities and social realities of modern life were quickly dissolving the foundation of this bias. Technology freed performers from the bounds of the traditional productions, allowing artists to probe more psychologically complex issues on the stage.

THE EUROPEAN ROOTS OF MODERN AMERICAN DRAMA

The greatest influence on the changes that overtook the American stage in the 1910s was the new intellectual trend in European drama. Most of the tension that existed for European playwrights was due to the rising intellectual dissatisfaction with bourgeois or middle-class rationalism.

George Bernard Shaw, an Irish-born literary critic and writer, who was prominent from the 1890s until his death in 1950, took a satirical and humorous approach in his early playwriting. Shaw demonstrated through his characters that a life of critical self-awareness and humanitarianism could address many of society's ills. World War I obliterated his sense of progressive optimism, and Shaw's work took on darker, more fatalistic tones with the publication of *Heartbreak House* (1919).

Russia's Anton Chekov tapped into the social frustrations of the aristocratic, landholding elite. Incapable of accepting a place among the common people, many of Chekov's characters harbored deep-seated frustrations at the limits of modern society and the emptiness of their class system.

Shaw, Chekov, and others opened the format of the staged play to new possibilities. Still, there remained one large and serious problem: how to produce a show which effectively related the seriousness and complexity of the written word. Theaters were designed primarily to cope with traditional repertory productions. These houses had actors who trained for and performed a set number of classical or Shakespearean dramas. Konstantin Stanislavsky found that he needed to retrain nearly all of the Moscow Art Theatre's performers. His "actor's studio" worked to prevent artists from using clichéd, overly dramatic outbursts that previously had clued an audience into the emotional state of a character. Instead, he wanted to allow the themes and dialog to set the mood.

It was not until details of the new production methods had been translated into English that

these plays received serious consideration in the United States. Stage director Adolphe Appia and theater connoisseur Gordon Craig made this possible in the 1910s. Appia wrote several influential books detailing the use of three-dimensional scenery, special effects, and variations in lighting (both color and brightness) and sound to help set the emotional tone of a production. Craig popularized these techniques in *The Art of the Theatre* (1911), *Towards a New Theatre* (1913), *The Theatre Advancing* (1919), and in a theater periodical titled *The Mask,* which was published from 1908 to 1929. Craig's criticism of the powerful producers who restricted the development of experimental theater gave courage to a number of less influential theater companies to produce more daring plays.

A final, and unexpected, source of change was in the world of psychology. From 1900 to 1905, Sigmund Freud and his leading disciple, Carl Jung, set the scientific and medical communities on their ears by demonstrating the link between dreams, the subconscious, and human sexual behavior.

"ART" COMES TO THE AMERICAN DRAMA

By 1910, American critics of the theater had begun to create alternatives to the commercial stage, although it was not until the late 1920s and early 1930s that these trends converged to transform drama in America.

The result of this haphazard transformation was a period of intense experimentation in dramatic realism. Sparked by the new European attitudes, the artificiality of the traditional theater became the target of reform. This experimentation, at times, distracted the audience more than it enhanced the performance. American theater lacked directors; no one was capable of coordinating the wide range of new artistic expressions. Previously, the closest equivalent to the director was the stage manager, an administrator whose job responsibilities included ticket sales, music, stage design, and the temperature of the theater. While some experienced Europeans, like Max Reinhart, did lend their talents to the American cause, it was not until the 1920s that the current form of the stage director emerged.[1]

Equally problematic was the generally poor state of dramatic writing in America in the 1910s. In general, writers tended to modify existing narratives or relied on fanciful tales of transformation. For example, Alice Gerstenberg adapted Lewis Carroll's story of Alice in Wonderland into a play titled *Alice* in 1915. While some writers exposed American audiences to the exciting possibilities of the new style, they provided little motivation for the public or producers to move American theater in this direction.

THE LITTLE THEATRE MOVEMENT

The growth of small, experimental theaters in the United States provided the necessary space and audiences for America's modern playwrights to develop their skills. Under the new rules, the barren stage designs of these small, underfunded theaters became a virtue. The lack of extravagant sets, complex musical numbers, and top-named actors meant that production costs could be kept low, making it easier for the company to take risks. In addition, the tiny audiences were usually drawn from the local arts and academic communities, who tolerated a greater freedom of expression than those who paid top dollar for Broadway productions. Critic and writer Maurice Brown termed these noncommercial venues "Little Theatres," a name that was proudly displayed by their founders.

The Little Theatre movement was the most influential trend in American drama during the 1910s. Beginning in 1912, local writers, actors, and enthusiasts opened Little Theatres throughout the country. By 1917, more than 50 Little Theatres were in operation throughout the United States.

The style of the Little Theatres was a complete departure from the more mainstream stage. The Little Theatres rejected melodrama, star appeal, and extravaganza, and created their own "off Broadway" qualities. Novelty and experimentation were paramount. The traditional repertoire was reinterpreted to highlight mental complexities. The focus on simple, quiet, and realistic stage designs stood in stark contrast to the glitter and blaring orchestras at most commercial venues.

The Provincetown Players was an important Little Theatre during the decade. Moving from

Cape Cod, Massachusetts to Greenwich Village in 1916, the Players drew upon the talents of such notables as John Reed, Robert Edmund Jones, Eugene O'Neill, and George Cram Cook and his wife, Susan Glaspell. They drew upon a variety of sources for their inspiration, including labor radicalism and the Armory Art Show. When disbanded in the 1920s, the company had produced 97 original plays written by 47 American authors.[2]

Certainly the most accomplished writer to come from the Little Theatre movement was Eugene O'Neill, the son of acclaimed Broadway actor James O'Neill. By the time he joined the Provincetown Players, in 1916 at the age of 28, O'Neill had already composed 16 one-act plays that had been rejected by the commercial theater. He also had several years of formal training at Harvard. His true gift was in crafting natural dialog and rhythm within plays of great emotional depth. His work was unsparing in its attacks on those who rationalized their feelings or attempted to develop artificial states of happiness. In one of his most acclaimed plays of the era, *Beyond the Horizon* (1918), which won the Pulitzer Prize in 1920, O'Neill portrayed the lives of two brothers in love with the same girl, each of whom took on the values of the other to disastrous consequences. The play stunned critics with its emotional power, contemporary language, lack of dramatic gimmickry, and, most of all, American authorship. While with the Players, O'Neill either staged or wrote some of his most accomplished plays, including *Long Day's Journey into Night, Bound East for Cardiff, Anna Christie* (which also won the Pulitzer Prize), and *The Emperor Jones.*

COMMERCIAL THEATER

Critics of commercial theater were frustrated by the continued success of so many seemingly identical Broadway productions. The success of the daring Theatre Guild and the rising popularity and recognition of writers such as O'Neill was evident to all who made their living through drama. Experimental works and "serious" plays were produced for the commercial stage in the latter half of the decade. The best of these were written by Clyde Fitch, Booth Tarkington, William Vaughan Moody, Sinclair Lewis, Martha Morton, and Josephine Preston Peabody. The problem, however, was that few of these productions (and almost no works of lesser quality) succeeded in making money for their commercial producers.

Theatergoers demonstrated little interest in complex Freudian dramas, favoring instead light comedy and trendy musicals. They usually attended plays based on the stars appearing in the production, rather than on innovative writing or staging methods. The arrival of the little and community theaters provided enthusiasts of the modern style the perfect forum for experimental productions. It is highly probable that the inability of the commercial theaters to profitably stage experimental dramas only added to the off-Broadway movements of the decade.

The main stages were most successful when they provided extravagant, lighthearted, and lavishly expensive productions. America's taste for melodrama, while widely rejected by the artistic community, remained overwhelmingly popular. Preachy morality plays and tear-jerking dramas written and performed by American artists found ready support.



The very popular operetta *Robin Hood,* with Katherine Gault and Alexandro Cautacuzene. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

It is possible to grant the commercial theater some credit for innovations. Most notably, the Broadway musical comedy became an authentic national art form in the first decades of the twentieth century. Operettas and light opera, such as those written by W. S. Gilbert and Sir Arthur Sullivan in the 1880s and 1890s, had been providing Europeans with memorable songs and soul-stirring arias. Composers and librettists, such as Reginald De Koven (whose operetta *Robin Hood* ran for 3,000 consecutive performances), Victor Herbert (who wrote the successful *Naughty Marietta* in 1910), and Jerome Kern, were instrumental in this transition from high art to popular entertainment in the United States.

Kern's career shows this evolution. Beginning in 1912, he, like most other American composers, stayed close to the European method. Yet Kern soon found that, in order for his work to connect with American audiences, it needed to be more accessible and believable. Kern wrote songs for shows at the Princess Theatre and, later, for Florenz Ziegfeld's *Follies.* Supported by talented librettists, such as Guy Bolton and P. G. Wodehouse, Kern soon perfected an American style that established a close and direct relationship with the crowd through songs that used common language, natural humor, and believable experiences. His more artistic operettas, *Very Good Eddie* (1915) and *Sally* (1920), were commercially successful and laid the groundwork for his collaboration with Oscar Hammerstein II, which produced *Showboat* in 1927.

ORGANIZATIONAL INNOVATIONS OF BROADWAY

As with other economic endeavors of the Progressive Era, mass entertainment saw a dramatic increase in the amount of money needed to produce their product. The construction of large and expensive theaters, as well as the skyrocketing costs of stage technologies, required internal organization and accounting that was uncharacteristic of the medium's entrepreneurial roots. Major productions cost hundreds of thousands of dollars before a single ticket was sold. Managing this uncertainty, while spreading the general availability of popular shows nationwide, was an important legacy of Broadway during the 1910s.

The obvious example of this management style was the operation of a group of production companies collectively called "the Syndicate." Formed in 1896 by the owners of the biggest theaters in the country, the Syndicate offered regional theaters a full season of high-quality, popular shows if they would stage only these productions. Nonconformists were blacklisted, making it unlikely that named actors and writers would be willing to work for non-Syndicate members. The Syndicate effectively blocked experimental dramas, but did ensure that high-quality works made it to the interior of the nation. By stabilizing and augmenting the cash flow into the dramatic arts, the Syndicate also encouraged the construction of new theaters and the implementation of new technologies—such as high-wattage electric lighting and multiuse stages.

The success of the Syndicate led to the growth of rebel organizations. David Belasco, who opened the Stuyvesant Theatre in 1907 (renamed the Belasco Theatre in 1910), effectively challenged the Syndicate when his production of *The Governor's Lady* began to tour the country in 1912. Belasco appealed to the public's desire for spectacle when he pioneered the use of modern electric spotlights and reconstructed a working restaurant on stage. The Syndicate backed down, allowing regional affiliates to show *The Governor's Lady.* The rise of national chains of theaters, such as those owned by brothers Lee and Jacob J. Shubert, gave writers and actors viable alternatives to the Syndicate by 1913. When Frohman died in the 1915 sinking of the *Lusitania,* the trust lost its most effective advocate, and the Syndicate was soon broken.

The downfall of the Syndicate had unforeseen consequences on the labor relations among actors, directors, and managers on the New York stage. Directors, still minor players, tended to wield power indirectly. Actors had influence and could compete for what were at that time astronomical salaries if they could prove their "star power" in drawing patrons to their shows. Most actors, however, had virtually no leverage and were paid only for performing before an audience, not for rehearsals. Another nightmare (partially addressed by the Syndicate) was the speculative touring company that failed to meet expenses. Managers could and did stop productions in mid-tour,

stranding dozens of people without work or pay. In 1896, the Actor's Society was formed to pressure managers to establish a fairer, more reliable payment method. The union failed, but it was replaced in 1913 by the Actors' Equity Association, which expanded demands to include Sundays off and paid layoffs during Holy Week, a traditionally slow week for theaters.

In 1919, Equity members went on strike. Several factors were responsible for the final outcome. First, by the end of the decade, theaters were increasingly facing competition from movies. Second, the Red Scare, which followed the Bolshevik Revolution of 1918, harassed and often silenced many of Equity's more radical members. While these variables seemed to favor management, the third change was a growing support of the union by Broadway stars. Either swayed by sympathy for their fellow actors or the threat to their profession from the silver screen, the star actors' support provided Equity with the courage to demand fair treatment for all. When managers refused even to meet with the actors, a general strike began just before the curtain was called on August 6, 1919. Entire casts walked out, closing every major theater in New York (the cooperatively run Theatre Guild was a lone exception). Managers, led by George M. Cohan, claimed that Equity's demands would ruin the industry. Star actors, including Ethel Barrymore, Ed Wynn, Lillian Russell, and W. C. Fields, walked the picket lines and appealed to the emotions of the public. In the end, it was the stagehands and musicians (who respected the actors' picket line) who convinced the managers that they had no alternative but to settle. The Producing Managers' Association, losing fortunes every week that the theaters remained closed, on September 6, recognized the Actors' Equity Association and signed a contract, which yielded to almost every demand.

THE PEOPLE'S THEATER

The more widely attended popular or "people's theater" was also important to the direction of the performing arts. From minstrel shows and vaudeville to revue artists and the "girly shows" of Florenz Ziegfeld, popular theater was both independent of and closely linked to the more prestigious stage productions of the decade. The minstrel or coon shows probably were the most representative—and reprehensible—popular theater of the 1910s. Usually starring whites wearing blackface makeup, the shows parodied and exaggerated African American culture, speech patterns, and physique. Since the 1830s, minstrel shows had sold bigotry to white audiences. By 1910, the growing popularity of these performances in Northern cities suggested that the shows acted to dissipate—in a mean-spirited, but nonviolent way—much of the growing fear associated with the internal migration of blacks.

While the minstrel performances did much to advance satire, slapstick, and ad lib comedy in the United States, they did so at great cost to the few black performers able to find employment. Bob Cole and Will Marion Cook, both classically trained musicians, found work by composing coon songs for white casts. Bert Williams and George Walker, educated black actors, were typecast into self-denigrating roles that mocked the efforts of many African Americans to assimilate into the closed, racist white culture.

African Americans attempted to combat racism on the stage. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) actively promoted the work of black playwrights, helped stage their work, and openly condemned the obvious hatred that supported such plays as Edward Sheldon's *The Nigger* (1910) and, later,

NOTABLE THEATER OF THE 1910s

Peg O' My Heart, 1912 (603 perfs.)
Within the Law, 1912 (541 perfs.)
Potash and Perlmutter, 1913 (441 perfs.)
The Boomerang, 1915 (522 perfs.)
The Man Who Came Back, 1916 (457 perfs.)
Maytime, 1917 (492 perfs.)
Oh, Boy, 1917 (463 perfs.)
East Is West, 1918 (680 perfs.)
Everything, 1918 (461 perfs.)
Lightnin', 1918 (1,291 perfs.)
Irene, 1919 (675 perfs.)

movies such as *The Birth of a Nation*. W.E.B. Du Bois, a driving force in the NAACP, authored *The Star of Ethiopia* in 1913, and Ridgely Torrence wrote *Three Plays for a Negro Theatre* (1917) to highlight racial tensions and inequality. African American writers and actors found a more welcome reception in the experimental Little Theatres, such as Anita Bush's Lafayette Players, who staged a number of works written by and starring blacks. Eugene O'Neill's critically acclaimed *The Emperor Jones* (1920) starred African American Charles Gilpin in the title role. Still, these were limited and largely symbolic protests against the widespread bigotry of the era. It was not until the Harlem Renaissance and Jazz Age of the 1920s that significant change in the attitudes of white audiences and artists occurred on the American stage.

Vaudeville had deep connections to American society in the 1910s. Permanent vaudeville



A cast of scantily clad but artistically arranged Ziegfeld girls in "Midnight Frolic." Edna French and others. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

theaters replaced the touring revue shows around the turn of the century. Most typical productions included eight or nine separate acts, which included comedians, singers, dancers, acrobats, jugglers, and ventriloquists. Headliners included starts such as W. C. Fields, Will Rogers, Eddie Cantor, the Marx Brothers, or Fanny Brice.

By 1910, Chicago had 22 vaudeville theaters, Philadelphia, 30, and New York City, nearly 40. While chains similar to the Syndicate attempted to lock in the best acts, the need for fresh material and a surplus of unusual acts generally kept the forum open. Audiences could be ruthless in their rejection of performers, and managers used hooks to pull failing performers from the stage. Conversely, positive audience responses could sustain a talented but repetitious act for years. Many of those who succeeded became known for their consummate skill and masterful delivery. As a result, the vaudeville stage often was the best location for experimental European and American artists to demonstrate their crafts. Well-known performers such as Sarah Bernhardt and Anna Pavlova also toured with vaudeville companies during the decade. Popular vaudeville actors such as Charles (soon to be Charlie) Chaplin were hesitant to turn to film because it was not considered as "respectable" as the people's theater.

Two of America's most popular vaudeville performers were Al Jolson and George M. Cohan. Jolson, known today largely as the star of the first synchronized sound film, *The Jazz Singer* (1927), was perhaps the most energetic and well-loved stage figure of the 1910s. Performing in a one-man show, punctuated by others during his breaks, at the Shubert's Winter Garden Theatre in New York, Jolson sang, danced, performed minstrelry, and told jokes.

The so-called girly shows also reflected the changing tastes of American theatergoers. Certainly, the appeal of young and attractive females on stage was not unique to the 1910s. Rather, it was during this decade that producers first capitalized on this temptation while remaining within the accepted norms of polite society. At the fore was Florenz Ziegfeld, born in Chicago, trained in vaudeville, and dedicated to his motto, Glorifying the American Girl. Ziegfeld's revue, called the *Ziegfeld Follies,* created a glamorous, exciting, and refined show for young women that would remain a standard for decades. He demanded that "his girls" have ample hips, perfect teeth, and an effervescent stage personality. The well-choreographed production numbers featured exotic costumes of feathers, chiffon, and color, which often cost thousands of dollars. Despite the arduous training required, Ziegfeld received more than 15,000 applications a year from women interested in an audition—in part a reflection of the grandeur the country saw in the New York stage. While Ziegfeld had little interest in the comedy presented between dance numbers, his shows featured some of the country's most talented performers. By 1917, one could see Fanny Brice, Bert Williams, Leon Errol, Ed Wynn, W. C. Fields, Eddie Cantor, and Will Rogers in a single show performing routines they had perfected on the vaudeville stage.

AMERICAN DANCE

Formal American dance saw few changes in the 1910s. While dance numbers remained part of the vaudeville, theater, and film repertoire, few of these productions qualified as anything more than glorified marches parading pretty women across the stage. One noteworthy exception was the extraordinary dance team of Vernon and Irene Castle, who appeared in 1914 in the Broadway musical comedy *Watch Your Step.* The Castles's elegance and energy on stage was augmented by their willingness to coordinate their movements closely to the rhythm of the music. In addition, the Castles developed an engaging presence in the emerging nightclub and cabaret scene of New York City. The Castle walk was one of the first styles to be transported from the stage to the popular dance studios. The fox trot, popularized by vaudeville comedian Harry Fox while at the *Ziegfeld Follies,* also achieved notoriety by 1913.

Up until 1910, theater, vaudeville, and nightclubs avoided being labeled as vulgar pastimes in large part because they successfully segregated their audience based on class, race, and gender. At that time, it would have been considered scandalous to be seen dancing in public because of the threat to these strong social norms. The cabaret settings smashed these taboos. New York clubs

such as the Sans Souci, launched by the Castles in 1913, provided venues for women to practice public dancing during afternoon "teas," and then for the tony late night set to dance until dawn.

The more academic forms of public dance, such as ballet, were nearly nonexistent in the United States. As with drama, ballet was experiencing a renaissance in Europe. On May 29, 1913, Russian dancer Vaslav Nijinsky's brilliant yet abrasive interpretation of Igor Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du Printemps* (The Rite of Spring) led to a near riot at the Paris ballet. In Saint Petersburg, Moscow, and Berlin, there were equally daring changes. Only rare appearances, such as the tours by the Ballet Russe, were made in the United States, and these often were seen only on the popular vaudeville circuit—hardly an ideal location for serious appreciation. Some dancers did find the American markets profitable during the 1910s, such as Anna Pavlova, Mikhail Fokine, and Mikhail Mordin.

Paralleling the changes in music and an influx of immigrants, popular dance began the process of borrowing and synthesizing that would lead to an explosion of creativity in the coming decade. In addition to the customary waltzes and polkas of the old country, American barn dances, two-steps, and marches were widely known and practiced at music halls and family gatherings throughout the country.

Finally, the decade saw the emergence of a small number of black tap dancers on the vaudeville stage. Tap dancing, pioneered on the stage by men like Willie Covan, was well suited to the rapid pace of vaudeville and the sound of modern America. By 1917, after a lifetime of touring, Covan was accepted into many of the more popular vaudeville theaters on a regular basis. The majority of adult black performers, however, rarely broke through to success at commercial theaters.

THE BUSINESS OF MOTION PICTURES

No single decade was as consequential to American cinema as the 1910s. By 1910, it was estimated that more than 25 million Americans (out of a total of 92 million) attended a movie *every day* of the year. By the middle of the decade, gross annual revenues for the industry were more than $735 million, exceeding that of automobiles and trailing only the railroad, textile, steel, and oil industries. When Mary Pickford, an experienced but typical stage actress, signed with Biograph Pictures in 1909, she earned $175 per week. By 1917, First National Films had agreed to pay her $1 million to work in three of their pictures. Two years later, the entrepreneur joined her husband, Douglas Fairbanks, Charlie Chaplin, and D. W. Griffith to form United Artists.

Seeking to unify the largest manufacturers into a trust, Thomas Edison created the Motion Picture Patents Company (MPPC) in January 1909, which included Biograph, Vitagraph, Essanay, Selig, Lubin, Kalem, two French companies, and Edison's Western Electric Company. The MPPC sought to monopolize the American market by licensing all projection equipment and by establishing an exclusive arrangement for film stock through Eastman Kodak.[3]

The film industry experienced phenomenal growth and complexity by 1910. The first projection motion picture theater opened in 1902, and by 1910 there were approximately 8,000 to 10,000. Operated in small storefront operations, usually with nothing more than a series of benches and a crude screen, the theaters soon took the collective name "nickelodeons" as a reflection of the typical cost for admission. Largely as a result of the entertainment "rules" established by vaudeville, patrons demanded a variety of styles of performances in their shows. Theater owners wanted a reliable availability of films to rent. Distributors emerged to purchase films and circulate them for rent to the theater owners.[4]

The MPPC hoped to standardize and control the production, distribution, and exhibition of film through their trust. The control over the production of movies seemed the easiest to secure. Preventing filmmakers from buying raw stock or cameras not controlled by the trust was fairly straightforward in most Eastern cities like Chicago and New York (where most movies were made). Some filmmakers moved to Oklahoma, Texas, and the burgeoning city of Los Angeles, which had nearly perfect natural conditions for filming as well as easy access to contraband cameras and film from Mexico. The MPPC threatened to remove exhibitors' projectors or cut off

the supply of films unless exhibitors paid the weekly licensing fees and showed only MPCC movies. For distribution, the trust created a film exchange clearinghouse, called the General Film Company (1910), which circulated and underwrote the production of many films. By 1912, the Motion Pictures Patent Company controlled all but one of the 58 existing distribution companies in the United States.[5]

The MPPC's restricting of free trade had some positive effects. The trust increased the quality and general availability of films nationwide. They also lowered the price for most films and stabilized the acting, directing, and producing talent pools. Their willingness to remove damaged films and projectors from circulation and their ability to rent rather than sell their motion pictures supported the young industry.

Two firms finally broke the grip of the MPPC during the 1910s: Carl Laemmle of Independent Motion Picture (IMP) Company and the Greater New York Film Rental Company, the lone remaining independent distribution company, owned by William Fox. Both men were immigrants who made their fortunes in operating strings of small nickelodeons. In 1912, Laemmle formed Universal Pictures, which combined IMP with a host of smaller independent producers, and moved to Los Angeles. He began to sign and promote popular movie stars and feature-length films which Americans could see only at independent theaters. Fox experimented with novel production and presentation methods that appealed to moviegoers' desires for a more exciting theater experience. Both men used Americans' distrust of monopolies to their advantage. They filed antitrust suits and used newspapers to discredit the MPPC. By lowering costs and making better films, the two effectively undermined the power of the trust.

THE STYLE OF EARLY MOVIES

With few exceptions, movies made before 1910 were quickly forgotten. Limited to single reels, which provided less than ten minutes of screen time, and filmed in a day or two, early movies spent little time in developing good stories or sympathetic characters. Much of the material produced was vulgar, and respectable actors generally shunned the medium until the last years of the 1900s. Most films, sold by the foot, were little more than a series of stunts, travelogs, or hackneyed melodramas. David Wark (D. W.) Griffith, for example, directed more than 400 single-reel films between 1908 and 1913.[6] While this groundbreaking director would go on to completely redefine the style and structure of film, only rare glimpses of his genius are evident in these early offerings.

While the urban working class made up a sizable percentage of filmgoers, by 1910 rural and urban middle-class citizens also frequented movies in great numbers. As with vaudeville, these diverse audiences demanded high quality and excitement. One incorrect assumption that people hold today is that the films of the 1910s suffered from poor production values—scratchy images, action that was too fast, and, of course, no sound. In reality, reproductions today do not recreate how the films were originally shown. The film quality was very good, and the finished prints were often tinted with colors and used extensive in-theater sound accompaniment. The versions that exist today are black-and-white reproductions of second or third copies of originals, which were usually saved only after long runs in theaters. The reproducing equipment, by the 1930s, ran at a faster pace than the original, hand-cranked cameras captured the action.

Finally, movie acting and narratives took on decidedly different forms from those used in live theater. When the accomplished actress Sarah

NOTABLE MOVIES

Gertie the Dinosaur, 1914

Kid Auto Races at Venice, 1914

The Perils of Pauline, 1914

The Birth of a Nation, 1915

Intolerance, 1916

The Poor Little Rich Girl, 1917

Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm, 1917

Tom Sawyer, 1917

Broken Blossoms, 1919

Bernhardt starred in the movie *Queen Elizabeth* (1912), her actions seemed exaggerated and foolish. Many other early actors in film used the same overly expressive stage style with similar results. The new reality was that the closeness of camera canceled the need for dramatic embellishment. Viewers could see the actors clearly and the words were printed for all to read. Storytelling also changed because writers and directors could cut scenes that did not further the plot.

THE STAR SYSTEM AND FEATURE FILMS

The combined growth of Hollywood, the spread of the star system, the use of feature-length (multireel) films, and the rise of the new movie theaters signaled the true emergence of modern film in the United States. By 1911, when the major independents and even some of the licensed production companies moved to California, the effective control of the MPPC had been broken. George Spoor and his business partner, Gilbert Anderson, founders of Essenay (named after their initials), were the first to relocate in 1910, and they began to produce hundreds of traditional film shorts. By 1914, 52 companies were purchasing vast tracks of land from the nearby lemon and orange growers. While competition between the firms was fierce, Hollywood provided movie producers enough space, actors, and set locations for most to concentrate on reaping the profits of the era.

The spread of the star system also helped to undermine the MPPC. Before this, most actors were paid by the day for their service and rarely received screen credit for their work. When actors did catch the eye of the public, either for their looks or acting abilities, they received fan mail addressed to "the Vitagraph Girl," "Biograph Girl," or, nicknames such as American Sweetheart, Mary Pickford. The appearance of fan magazines such as *Motion Picture Story Magazine* and *Photoplay* helped propagate the glamour of film stars. In June 1910, Florence Lawrence was labeled the first motion picture star by fan magazine *New York Dramatic Mirror.* Lawrence was also the first actor "stolen" by another producer, Carl Laemmle, for the then unheard of sum of $175 a week. When Pickford followed Lawrence to IMP, it signaled the start of intense bidding wars for the biggest tars.

Feature-length films also placed pressure on established producers accustomed to mass-produced shorts. While the idea of using multiple reels to show a film was not new, what producers showed on these films was. Longer films meant more complex narratives, which required artistic directors to tell the story visually in ways that conveyed the appropriate emotions at the designated time. Features also created stronger bonds between the audience and stars, quickening the cycle between the public's demand for their favorite actors and the studio's production of films.

The expansion of film content allowed studios to standardize their fare while giving artists a creative new medium. Genre or type films first appeared in the 1910s as a result of the feature. Probably the best example of this was the success of the movie serial. Each week in these serials, the stars were placed in harm's way, only to be rescued in the next installment in ways that were ever more daring. With little plot development, idiotic characters, and corny morality, the serials were easy to produce and proved to be popular with the public. The most famous of these, *The Perils of Pauline* (1914), starred Pearl White in a role that she would reprise, under different character names but always blindly trusting the villain, until 1923. While cliffhangers certainly brought people back to the theater, they did little to advance the craft.

Finally, the appearance of luxurious movie palaces throughout the decade signaled a qualitative shift in how Americans experienced the movies. While the MPPC retained control over many of the smaller nickelodeons, by 1910 moviegoers were becoming increasingly dissatisfied with these small outfits. Few exhibitors had plans to invest money in more comfortable seats, better screens, or ambience. By contrast, movie houses were designed to seat hundreds of patrons comfortably in an environment of luxury.

Certainly, the sudden appearance of Hollywood, the star system, feature films, and the new cinemas had a destabilizing effect on the MPPC organization. The trust was undermined in its efforts to control the industry by entrepreneurs who relied on the public's willingness to pay for a

better form of entertainment. Yet until the end of the decade, no rival structure existed to compete with the MPPC for supremacy. As a result, the stars and film content of the 1910s played a pivotal role in the nature and direction of motion pictures. Pioneers in both acting and directing emerged during the decade, with profound consequences for American popular culture.

THE STARS

During the 1910s, female stars both expanded the perceived boundaries of Victorian righteousness while they also strengthened them. Dorothy and Lillian Gish, both of whom became celebrities under the direction of Griffith, personify this creative tension. Dorothy, the older sister, was less popular than her sibling, but since fewer of her earliest films survive, it is unclear who was the better actor. Usually Dorothy was assigned supporting roles that built upon her ability to project warmth, mischief, and female sensuality.

Lillian Gish was one of the eminent performers of the era. She played the leading female role in D. W. Griffith's most critically important films, such as *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), *Intolerance* (1916), *Hearts of the World* (1918), and *Broken Blossoms* (1920). Lillian, who had been performing on the stage since childhood, played fragile, youthful beauties with a deep but tragic strength. She served as Griffith's unofficial and uncredited assistant director throughout most of these productions.

If Dorothy and Lillian Gish represented the warm and demure Victorian woman-child ideal, then Theda Bara characterized the threatening and sexually charged, liberated woman. Bara, who was born Theodosia Goodman to middle-class parents in Cincinnati, Ohio, was rumored in the fan magazines to have immigrated from northern Africa with a mixture of Egyptian and Arab blood and an ancestry that traced back to the Ptolemies. She appeared in *A Fool There Was* (1915) as a "sexual vampire" who seduced and ruined unsuspecting men. She played a vamp in almost all of the 40 movies she made at Fox. William Fox orchestrated a publicity campaign that took full advantage of the sensational movie. It was leaked to the press that her stage name was an anagram for "Arab Death," and her hobbies were listed as astrology and alchemy. Bara made one attempt to break out of her typecast when she played a sweet and likable lead in *Kathleen Mavoureen* (1919). It was both a critical and commercial disaster.

While Dorothy and Lillian Gish and Theda Bara all three portrayed women who were publicly confident and intellectually capable, their screen personas contained strong support for the prevailing biases toward the "proper place" of women in American society.

Mary Pickford

While these examples suggest that Hollywood's star system constrained, rather than freed, dramatic artists on the screen, the careers of Mary Pickford and Charlie Chaplin provide strong counter-evidence: the "New Personality" film stars were able to puncture many of society's strongest prejudices and intolerance. Pickford was born Gladys Mary Smith in Toronto in 1893. Following her father's death, she and her siblings performed on the stage, where they changed their names. Pickford's small frame and noble bearing gave her a strong stage presence, and she rose to prominence in the New York theater by 1909. Facing a rare stretch of unemployment, Pickford decided to augment her stage income with performances in film. While her movie roles were similar to many other young women's, her pixie-like appearance gave her a special sympathetic quality. Lacking any credits, she became known as "Little Mary" or the "Biograph Girl" in most of her fan mail.

Pickford took full advantage of the economic potential of the star system. Stolen away from Biograph by Carl Laemmle, Pickford jumped from IMP to Majestic, then back to Biograph, next to Famous Players, then American Film, and finally First National. With each new contract, her salary and creative freedom increased, from $175 per week while first at Biograph to the million dollar contract from First National in 1918.

Pickford's screen characters remained fairly constant throughout the decade. While usually the unfair victim of poverty, society, or an abusive male, Mary showed strength and resilience in her ability to overcome obstacles. Because of her



Actors Mary Pickford and Charlie Chaplin seated on shoulders of Douglas Fairbanks, ca. 1915. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

small size, large eyes, and curly hair, Pickford was repeatedly cast as an adolescent. Even her much publicized divorce of Owen Moore and marriage to Douglas Fairbanks in 1919 did little to damage the luster of America's Sweetheart.

Her association with D. W. Griffith solidified her star status. Early movies and her successful stage run in *The Good Little Devil* (1913) established her charm and gentility. But it was with Griffith in *Tess of Storm County* (1914) that the Little Mary persona was firmly established. Griffith's strong direction and exceptional eye for editing captured the rebelliousness, independence, and energy of youthful freedom that was so appealing to moviegoers. While her later productions, such as *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* (1917) and *M'liss* (1918), demonstrated an actor of wide range and immense depth, she never strayed far from her central character.

In both her business dealings and screen roles, Pickford tapped into a growing awareness by American women of their potential for independence from men. Her contract battles, public appearances, weekly newspaper column, and national advocacy for women's suffrage demonstrated to America a new and self-aware modern woman. While she acted in films that were written and directed within the milieu of strong Victorianism (especially under Griffith), her star power and screen presence usually overshadowed the stagy morality of the stories.

Charlie Chaplin

Between 1914 and 1918, Chaplin not only dominated American cinema but also appeared in popular music, children's games, cartoons, and other forms of popular entertainment. In July 1915, New York City hosted 30 Chaplin amateur nights where dozens of Derby-wearing tramps waddled across local stages. By the end of the decade, Chaplin counted among his friends and professed admirers Albert Einstein, Winston Churchill, Mahatma Gandhi, James Joyce, and Pablo Picasso.[7]

Charles Chaplin was born in the slums of Lambeth, London in 1889. Charles and his half-brother, Sydney, earned jobs with the celebrated Karno pantomime company, which toured the American vaudeville circuit in 1911 and 1913. In May 1913, Mark Sennett offered him a lucrative one-year, $150-per-week contract with the Keystone Company, which lured a hesitant Chaplin to the slightly disrespectful movie industry.

While with Keystone, Chaplin made 35 films in which his character tended to mock the stereotypic English gentleman (a role Chaplin had perfected over the years). In his second film for Sennett, *Kid Auto Races at Venice* (1914), Chaplin displayed his tramp character for the first time. He assembled the outward appearance of the character—false mustache, loose and ill-matched clothes, the Derby hat—from castaway props found on the Keystone lot. The character evolved from an abrasive and slightly contemptible man to a lovable and honorable free spirit that captured the attention of moviegoers.

The combination of Sennett's productivity and the actor's skill established "Charlie" Chaplin as a star. While a January 1915 poll of readers of *Motion Picture Magazine* failed to cite him in their



Charlie Chaplin as the Little Tramp. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

top one hundred actors, competing production companies noted the packed theaters and rising anticipation for Chaplin's work. That month, he left Sennett for Essanay for $1,250 per week and a $10,000 signing bonus. One year later, Mutual signed him for $10,000 per week and a $150,000 bonus. In 1918, Chaplin signed with First National for $1 million and complete creative control as producer, director, writer, and star.[8]

Almost all of Chaplin's films of the era made large profits, and many are regarded as classics today. His best work during the decade stems from the Mutual years and includes *One A.M., The Pawnshop, The Rink, Easy Street, The Immigrant,* and *The Adventurer,* all released between 1916 and 1917. In each, Chaplin deepened and strengthened his character's empathy for the world around him. For example, in *Easy Street,* he examines social reform movements, and in *The Immigrant,* he examines the problems of capitalism. In these films, Chaplin was able to make his audience aware of class tensions and poverty without preaching or losing his ability to entertain.[9]

In many ways, the recognition of Chaplin's "genius" and the seemingly easy way in which he moved through society provided theorists with an example of how to connect the arts with the masses in ways that were meaningful for both. The lack of sound probably helped Chaplin, who was adept at using his expressions, body, and props to convey emotions. When sound did arrive in the movies, Chaplin was unwilling to put words in the tramp's mouth and continued to rely on his visual communication skills.

Chaplin interjected a subtle criticism of American society that resonated with the experiences of millions. In many of his films, Chaplin portrayed law enforcement officials as cruel and menacing rather than as agents of justice. Institutions such as businesses, the church, and government show little concern for the real suffering of the people. While Charlie applies a bandage to the problems—often with only a smile, some food, or a well-placed kick in the pants—frequently his movies ended with him departing honorably beaten, or with his character awakening from a dream. In either case, the problems were on public display and left to be solved by an audience which probably had only stopped in for a good laugh.

While Chaplin's personal life and opinions would distract from his international fame in the coming decades, in the 1910s the only dark cloud that hovered over him was World War I. As a British citizen (he never pursued U.S. citizenship) in a country that was decidedly anti-German, Chaplin was regarded as slighting his country in its hour of need. As a result, Chaplin became very active in wartime propaganda both in selling Liberty Bonds and in filmmaking. In May 1918, he released *Shoulder Arms* which had Charlie going through boot camp, in the trenches, and assaulting a German position. Significantly, Chaplin did not portray the Germans as subhuman beasts, but rather suggested that it was the war itself that was the root of human suffering.

THE POWER OF THE FEATURE FILM

Feature, or multireel, films also had a decisive effect on the collapse of the MPPC. By expanding the format of film, independents opened the door

to creative talents. The shift from strict rental fees to a smaller lease with a percentage of the box-office receipts ensured exhibitors that the new, longer films would always have the interests of the ticket buyers in mind. As a result, cinematic storytelling became more complex and the characters more real. In the case of the career of D. W. Griffith, this innovation allowed for radical changes in the ways in which films could be structured as well as how the public would receive them.

Not all feature films led to significant change. In the case of the portrayal of African Americans, for example, the feature-length movie simply amplified many of the prevailing biases. In *Confederate Spy* (1910), *For Massa's Sake* (1911), and the first version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1914), African Americans were categorized as acceptable only when they served whites faithfully and unquestioningly, and were quick to turn to God and not against racist America in order to deal with their suffering. In *How Rastus Got His Turkey* (1910), which spawned a host of serials, blacks were portrayed as simpletons without a care other than the next meal or the next song and dance.

When combined with the artistry of a director like D. W. Griffith, such imagery could be harnessed as a powerful incentive for whites to lash out at the powerless.

D. W. GRIFFITH

D. W. Griffith was a movie director who first gave meaning and artistry to the feature film. His editorial prowess, sharp eye for talent, and, above all, willingness to take risks in his films resulted in some of the most important movies of all time. Today Griffith is seen as the key to understanding the development of American *and* European narrative film; his movies are required viewing as sources of inspiration and enlightenment. Yet his social agenda included racism, a rejection of the modern independent woman, and an utter disregard for historical fact. When Griffith died in 1948 he was not only destitute, but also largely ignored by the cinematic community for his outdated prejudices and sappy Victorian morality.

Griffith, born in Kentucky in 1875, began his career in films by accident. Intending to write melodramatic plays for the stage, he turned to acting and screen writing out of financial necessity in 1907. Within a year, Biograph offered him the chance to direct. From his tentative beginning until 1913, Griffith produced more than 450 shorts for Biograph. While the scripts he followed were no better than others, his filming, editorial, and technical abilities were being honed. In addition, he became an astute judge of talent, surrounding himself with natural actors such as Pickford and the Gish sisters, and gifted cameramen like Billy Bitzer, who could translate his cinematic vision into actual film scenes.

Griffith made it easier for directors to tell complex and emotional stories which did not rely on dense written or verbal communication. Griffin frequently changed camera positions to give single-room scenes greater depth, panned across the room, or mounted the camera on tracks to achieve a rolling effect. He pioneered the use of close-ups and faraway shots, fades in and out, and variable lighting, and he used scenes consisting of three-dimensional props, the outdoors, buildings, and other objects to create mood. The dynamic emotional power unleashed by crosscuts, which allowed the viewer to see action taking place at several locations at the same time, were simply impossible to duplicate in live theater.

His novel approach to filming did not happen by accident. Griffith's experienced crews of actors and technicians remained with him for long stretches of his career. Billy Bitzer served as Griffith's chief cameraman from 1908 to 1924. Lillian Gish acted in most of his films of the 1910s and performed many of the duties of an assistant director. Griffith pressured his film companies to retain the services of these craftsmen as their market value increased over the years. He also held expensive and time-consuming dress rehearsals for his films, something undreamed of in an era when most movies were shot in about a week. Moreover, beginning in 1912, Griffith began to seek out longer, more difficult scripts and subjects to film. By late 1913, while he was acknowledged as a uniquely talented director, Biograph balked at the added expense of his films. Unlike movie stars, directors did not yet draw patrons to the cinemas. Griffith left for the independent Mutual Company, taking with him his entire cast

and crew, with an agreement giving him complete creative control over some films provided that he mass-produce others.

The Birth of a Nation

Griffin intended for *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) to consummate the merger of his technical virtuosity with the power of a modern epic. Knowing that European directors had experimented with monumental feature films, such as the eight-reel *Quo Vadis* (1913) released in Italy with a cast of thousands, Griffith began work on a similar project intended to dramatize the historic sweep of the Civil War and Reconstruction in the United States. Griffith chose for his landmark film a book written by Thomas Dixon Jr., titled *The Clansman: A Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan* (1905). The novel portrayed members of the KKK as heroes bent on returning the South to white rule. Racist to the core, the text was immensely popular with Southerners such as Griffith, whose father served in the Confederacy. Griffith shot the work in nine weeks, after six weeks of rehearsal. Costing $110,000 and running 13 reels, the movie premiered in New York under the title *The Clansman* on March 3, 1915. After viewing the magnificent epic, Dixon suggested that the title be changed to reflect the importance of the film's thesis.

The critically acclaimed movie was a great financial success for Griffith. Reviews nationwide suggest it was not Griffith's directorial organizational and editing, but rather the offensive racial stereotyping that affected white audiences powerfully. The "brutal black buck" typecast was everywhere, from sex-crazed crowds of freed blacks to an armed renegade named Gus who pursued a fair woman to her death, while black bumpkins used their time in the state legislatures to get drunk. Central to the drama was the assumption that there were "proper places" for blacks in America, and that the mixture of races inevitably led to chaos. Only the bravery of the Klan was able to restore white supremacy temporarily.

The response by fair-minded Americans was swift and loud. Progressives such as Jane Addams labeled the film an abomination. The NAACP organized massive demonstrations in Chicago and Boston, and the movie was eventually banned in five states and fifteen cities.

Griffith was stung by the criticism. To him, it was the unnatural conditions of Reconstruction, not innate depravity in blacks, that led to the fictional and devilish behavior on the part of his characters (all played by white minstrels). That this message was equally racist, historically incorrect, and never once made explicit in the two hour plus movie escaped Griffith's notice.

Intolerance and Beyond

Seeking to distance himself from the roiling domestic politics in the United States, Griffith made *Intolerance* (1916). Using four separate narratives—the trial and death of Jesus, the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre of Protestants in medieval France, the fall of Babylon, and the persecution of a reformed criminal in contemporary America—and an enigmatic mother rocking a cradle, Griffith hoped to draw historical

NOTABLE ACTORS OF THE 1910s

Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle, 1887–1933
Theda Bara, 1885–1955
Ethel Barrymore, 1879–1959
Lionel Barrymore, 1878–1954
Fanny Brice, 1891–1951
Charlie Chaplin, 1889–1977
George M. Cohan, 1878–1942
Douglas Fairbanks Sr., 1883–1939
W. C. Fields, 1880–1946
Dorothy Gish, 1898–1968
Lillian Gish, 1893–1993
Al Jolson, 1886–1950
Tom Mix, 1880–1940
Mary Pickford, 1893–1979
Lillian Russell, 1861–1922
Florence E. Turner, 1885?–1946
Ed Wynn, 1886–1966

connections between the common ways societies have overridden the rights of their citizens because of ignorance, hypocrisy, and, of course, intolerance. Running more than three hours, the film was amazingly complex with all four narratives combined together. Griffin's continuing mastery of editing, filming, understated acting, and lighting techniques nearly carried the film, but mixture proved too confusing for audiences to follow and the pacifist message ran counter to a period when the drums of war were beating loudly in the United States. The fortune that Griffith earned for *Birth* was lost.

Griffith's directed several more commercially successful films, including *Broken Blossoms* (1919) and *Isn't Life Wonderful?* (1924). Still, after 1916, his career went into a decline and in 1924, he lost creative control over his projects.

Griffith's eventual failure was largely due to the narratives he chose to film. *Birth* and *Intolerance* were stiff morality plays that favored Victorian sensibilities. In addition, his movies suggested that easy answers were possible if people would simply return to these values. Most of Griffith's popular films were remembered because of the actors who appeared in them, although *The Birth of a Nation* proved that Americans would accept complex (and long) movies that appealed to their intellect as well as their emotions. The power of his imagery and editing skills, so evident in *Intolerance,* was soon grafted to even the most formulaic Hollywood offerings.

Fashion

of the 1910s

In the 1910s, the newly rich sought ways to flaunt their wealth conspicuously through their clothing and accessories. Styles included the use of expensive ornamentation and accessories. While department stores and mail-order catalogs provided knockoff styles for the masses, those without disposable income strove for function, not fashion in their clothing.

By the close of the decade, fashion trends had abandoned much of clothing's layered garishness for a newfound freedom of movement and expression. The rise of international fashion trends and the expansion of popular entertainment made much of the old bundled look seem obsolete. In addition, World War I and the changes to notions of women in America contributed to the shift in fashion.

FASHION TRENDS

With the changing seasons, fashion trends fell into a regular pattern. Each year, new styles were introduced in the spring and fall and were adopted, rejected, or modified by the coming season. Clearly, not every American changed his or her wardrobe with every new design. Many used embroidery, appliqués, and accessories to modify existing clothing. Still, by 1910, it was considered unwise for most women to have a large inventory of clothing going into late summer, as the fashions were no doubt about to change.

In 1910, the Gibson girl S-shaped silhouette still held sway in American women's fashion. (See Fashion of the 1900s.) Designers highlighted small waists, large bosoms, and curved rears through the use of corsets and multiple layers of heavy fabrics. By the following year, the style was on the decline as the work of Paul Poiret, a Parisian fashion designer, focused on a lighter, more natural look. The hobble skirt, with its tight gatherings at the knees and ankles, enjoyed a brief popularity owing to its controversial design and a censure from the pope. In 1911, necklines were lowered, the "Greek" style was introduced, and full-length fur coats became popular in the wealthier crowds. Influenced by the movies, turbans and "tray hats" adorned with plumage were considered fashionable. Throughout these early years of the decade, men's fashion remained predictable: striped pants, vests, starched shirts, and high collars. Tweed jackets and other blazers were more common, but gloves, hats, a gold watch with chain, a cane or walking stick, studs, and tie pins were still required for all occasions.

In 1913, slits appeared on the sides of day skirts and on the backs of evening dresses, exposing more of the leg and leading to more interesting and comfortable stockings and hosiery. The dance

craze (led by the tango) had pioneered new "sensible" shoes, a flounced skirt, and pantaloon suits (with looser arms and legs to ease movement).

With the start of hostilities in Europe, Americans turned to more conservative fashion statements, including lower hemlines, natural waists, broader skirts and jackets, and simpler colors and prints. Military themes and khaki colors were also introduced. American female suffragists popularized dresses, suits, and coats with multiple pockets. The jumper-blouse (called simply a jumper by 1919) could be worn with a skirt or suit. In addition, men's fashion also became more relaxed. Jackets were rarely padded, trousers were slimmer, slash pockets replaced patch pockets, and, overall, there were fewer pleats.

During the war, men and women wore what was available and were less likely to buy new, seasonal clothing. The styles were dominated by function and comfort, and the colors were almost entirely muted (forced upon them by a lack of German-made dyes). After the war, the return of brighter colors and patterns, the use of formerly scare materials such as wool, leather, and silk, and the availability once again of ribbons, fringes, and feathers set the stage for a rebound in fashion.



Double ripple suit of tricotrine or serge (by Russek), March 22, 1918. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Women's Clothing

Women's attire during the 1910s was more formal, but also more daring. Unlike men, nonworking women from families of more than modest means changed their clothes three or four times a day in 1910. The phases were divided among specific duties that these women might perform. In the morning, women wore coordinated outfits of shirts and short jackets that provided functional yet stylish cover while they shopped, managed their homes, and made frequent yet informal social visits. In the early afternoon, tea dresses were donned. These were made of lighter fabrics and had long, free-flowing skirts that did not require corsets or other bulky undergarments. Women formally received guests in their tea gowns, but it was also a time for them to be more relaxed without the need to act in a certain way or to be seen in public (in most romance novels of the era, it was during tea time and in tea dresses that married women entertained their lovers). The afternoon break divided the day and led to the third and possibly fourth change of clothes. Women and men dressed for dinner. If there were guests or after-dinner activities were planned, wives often changed after eating. Many dresses were satin, silk, or taffeta and featured low necklines, pleats, extensive costume and real jewelry, elaborate beadwork, feathers, and furs.

Hemlines rose throughout the decade, revealing ankles that had traditionally been concealed. Tight sleeves and bodices showed a greater willingness by women to reveal their figures. The wardrobe of a truly wealthy woman might contain scores of outfits complete with matching accessories. Even for those of moderate means, a young woman would expect to begin her adult life with at least "[t]welve evening gowns, two to three evening wraps, two to four street costumes, two coats, twelve hats and four to ten house dresses."[1] The evening gown was the most public form of fashion for women and, as a result, it varied greatly throughout the years.

Women's Undergarments

In the 1910s, women's undergarments were restrictive and often painful to wear (by contrast, men's undergarments consisted of a sleeveless T-shirt, boxer shorts, and hose supporters or garters to hold up their socks, which did not yet contain elastic bands). Women's undergarments took quite a bit of time and, for the most, required the assistance of another woman (family member, friend, or servant) to fasten and align them properly. The first layer consisted of white cotton drawers and a short silk slip (chemise), which were fastened behind with dainty ribbons and adorned with lace and embroidery.

Next came a corset made of heavyweight cotton twill, reinforced with steel or whalebone, and held together with hefty stud and loop fasteners. These artificially contoured women's bodies to create the desired "S-shape," which accentuated the bust, minimized the stomach, and highlighted the rear. Achieving this "natural look" through the use of corsets led not only to discomfort but also disfigurement. Bones could break and internal organs could be malformed as a result of these bindings. The best corset makers tailored their product to avoid these problems, but for those who could only afford over-the-counter varieties, an ill-fitting corset could mean hours of pain. (See Fashion of the 1900s.)

Rounding out these hidden outfits were supporters or suspenders, which kept the stockings from falling. These were needed since once corseted, a woman could not bend to reach her stockings. The stockings, made of cotton, wool,



Women's fashions. A race gown, to be worn to a horse race, designed by Paquin, 1914. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

FASHION TRENDS OF THE 1910s

Fashion was still strongly dictated based on the time of day and the activity. The wealthy changed clothes numerous times a day; poorer people sought functionality.

Women: Gibson Girl's corseted look, but hemlines rose slightly; hobble skirts; dresses featured tight sleeves and bodices; large hats; girls wore long hair down until they turned 18; makeup started becoming acceptable for "nice" females to wear.

Men: suits and hats were worn for everyday wear, but were less formal; young men wore dusters, goggles, gloves and caps; moustaches popular among youth.

or silk, were often elaborately decorated with inlays and embroideries. Given that most of the leg remained hidden from view, the designs were usually concentrated on the foot and ankle, and they were coordinated with the cut, style, and color of the shoe.

Mary Phelps Jacob, a New York socialite, found that her corset prevented her from wearing the latest sheer fabrics being used in evening wear. In 1913, Jacob, with the help of her maid, devised a rudimentary brassiere using handkerchiefs, ribbon, and some cord. The following year, after requests from her friends for a similar article, Jacob patented the Backless Brassiere, but due to her lack of business acumen she could not profit from its manufacture and sale. She sold the patent to the Connecticut-based Warner Brothers Corset Company, who began to market the product successfully throughout the country. By 1920, there were dozens of suppliers using slightly modified designs. Women, especially young women, preferred the lighter, cooler, and less constraining brassiere.

Women's Accessories

Accessories that coordinated an outfit were also important for the fashionably dressed female. Affordable jewelry included hair combs made of tortoiseshell and adorned with feathers. Paste diamond (rhinestone) or glass earrings, tiaras, and choker necklaces were also common. Silver and bronze adornments such as buttons, lockets, and brooches were worn, but bracelets and rings were rarely worn. Purses, shoes, gloves, and bags in the 1910s coordinated or accentuated evening wear. Always matching the dress in color, purses were small and often made of delicate, impractical fabrics. Shoes rose just above the ankle and were secured with straps or buckles and had heels of middling height. Leather and suede gloves, also colored to match the dress, were either short or barely reached the elbow and often included modest glass, paste, or buttoned detail. For the true elite, these accessories were required for each of a woman's many outfits, extending to include furs, umbrellas, parasols, walking sticks, and fans. Most women, regardless of economic status, wore hats. Usually large (measuring nearly a yard across for the most radical), women's hats were adorned with a wide variety of plumage, beads, fringe, and pom-poms. The rage for feathers went so far as to prompt bird lovers, such as those of the Audubon Society, to attempt to limit the number and types of animals harvested to feed the fickle fashion industry.

THE GIBSON GIRL BECOMES THE NEW WOMAN

At the start of the decade, the "Gibson Girl" look was still the rage for most young women. Established by magazine illustrator Charles Dana Gibson in the 1890s, the look focused on the elegant and refined beauty of the well-dressed female. Corsets and other undergarments were required to generate the typical S-shaped curves. Hats, high collars, gloves, and other accessories framed a woman's face and body in ways that highlighted the "appropriate" features.

In the 1910s, this constructed image began to change in significant and long-lasting ways. Young women increasingly turned to more liberating undergarments. The "New Woman" was active, mobile, and more comfortable with her place in society. Other shifts in women's behavior added to this trend. For example, the spread of automobile travel gave rise to dusters, caps, and goggles. Sporting attire, which became popular for golf, tennis, croquet, and skating, allowed movement and flattered a woman's natural body shape, which the steel-and-whalebone construction of the Gibson look did not.

Ironically, one of the more prominent fashion crazes among young urban women was the "hobble skirt." With very tight gatherings at the knees and ankles, the dress was named for the way in which women were forced to walk when they wore them. When, by 1915, public dancing became the rage for this population, the hobble skirt faded from view. Dance also doomed the large hats, corsets, and voluminous dresses that had dominated women's fashions.

Hairstyles and Cosmetics

Hairstyles and cosmetics contributed greatly to fashion in the 1910s. While men's styles were

mainly conservative, grooming was very important. Hair was kept short and well trimmed. Moustaches were typical for young men and beards only for older gentlemen. Barbers applied dyes to color grey hair, and a variety of techniques were used to hide baldness or thinning hair. By contrast, women's coiffures were more creative. Girls wore their hair long until reaching their eighteenth birthdays. After "coming out" in society, young ladies curled, braided, and otherwise sculpted their long locks. For women who had thin hair, a postiche (hairpiece) was considered acceptable. These small wigs, often called "rats" by critics, were attached with ornate pins and combs. With the demise of large hats, hairstyles became of even greater importance.

Cosmetics and perfumes were also intended to be used as fashion accessories by the modern woman. The rise of cosmetics use in the United States followed a lengthy cultural battle over whether it was proper for a woman to "paint" herself or "put on a face" for public display; something, it was thought, that only prostitutes or lower-class women did. The heightened public presence of women in everyday life, including the stage, screen, and the many advertisements in pages of magazines and newspapers, made makeup acceptable. The cosmetics industry used medical terms to promote "beauty aids" that would highlight "natural" tone. Women such as Elizabeth Arden, Helena Rubenstein, Annie Turnbo, and the famous Sarah Breedlove (known to most by her marketing name of Madame C. J. Walker) were pioneers in the promotion, sales, and expansion of cosmetics in the modern era. Breedlove, an African American entrepreneur, created an economic empire through her employment of females who traveled door to door to meet the needs of the underserviced black population. Her pyramid marketing relied on trained saleswomen, often neighbors and family members, to lend legitimacy to the use of cosmetics in a large number of skeptical consumers. By the 1920s, cosmetics were enshrined in female culture.

MENSWEAR

While men claimed no less extensive of a wardrobe than women, the cut of their clothing was less varied. As a result, stylishness and fashion became even more important to distinguish a man from his peers, all of whom wore similar clothing to similar events. Unlike women, most men were not viewed as old-fashioned if they were seen in public wearing last year's styles (with the exception of the very wealthy, who closely followed the latest styles).

The average American male's typical dress consisted of trousers, shirt, collar, tie, and jacket. For formal occasions, gentlemen wore black morning coats (including tails which fell to the back of the knees), a heavily starched white shirt with studs and a high collar (some approaching three inches), a double-breasted waistcoat (vest), and striped grey or blue trousers, with a top hat, white gloves, and a grey or black frock coat for outdoor activities. The double-breasted frocks fell to or slightly below the knee and were made of a warm, durable material such as wool. Highly polished black patent leather shoes were worn by nearly all to formal occasions. An ornate cane, white boutonniere, or tightly wound umbrella often completed the ensemble. Some men still wore monocles, held by long and finely worked gold chains, but the practice was rare and certainly passed by 1919.

The style of lapels, the shape of collars, the number of buttons (on the coat and shirt), the cut of the cuffs (on shirts and pants), and the cut of the leg (baggy or straight) changed only slightly throughout the decade. Generally, men's attire became less formal and less physically restrictive. For example, the tighter lines of the double-breasted suit gave way—on informal occasions only—to the lounging suit (today called a business suit), which was tailored using a single-breasted style, without a vest, often with pants made of matching fabric. Tweed jackets and blazers were increasingly worn in public. These loose-fitting, pocketed lounge jackets remained popular in the United States despite being shunned by most men in Europe. Pants were generally cut narrow with small, half-inch cuffs. Even formal attire was toned down by Americans, who came to prefer the short and looser dinner jacket to the vest and morning coat combination.

Most men wore fur-collared Chesterfield overcoats or capes in cold weather. The Mack-

intosh, a raincoat imported from England, was popular because the waterproof garment did not exude the oily, rubber smell associated with other waterproof coats. The automobile duster, which consisted of a light cotton overcoat and usually extended to the ankles, was worn with matching caps, goggles, and gloves. Younger men began to wear the duster even when they were not driving. Sporting events, too, required a specific outfit depending upon the activity. Combinations of flannel trousers, blazers, knitted wool sweaters, and cotton shirts were used for outdoor casual entertainment. While men did not have a formal "tea" outfit, as did women, they wore velvet smoking jackets embellished with gold braided cord on the shoulders to lend the coats a masculine, military look. Silk ascot ties and cravats were common before 1914, but by the end of the decade were replaced by small, patterned bow ties and neckties made of silk or wool. Most men also carried a pocket watch (maintaining the need for vests), but by 1920 the trend was clearly moving toward the wristwatch.

FASHION IN STORES AND IN PRINT

The styles that were regularly worn by members of one's immediate social set generally set fashion trends. Ensembles and accessories would be standardized for at least the season (cold and warm weather months). Many popular magazines and newspapers of the era, such as *Life, McClure's, Good Housekeeping,* and *Ladies' Home Journal* helped Americans become comfortable with the quicker pace of change in the modern era. Many of their images highlighted the increased freedom in women's attire and suggested that the properly clad lady could achieve considerable social mobility. Fashionable women were viewed both as objects of desire and as individuals who had gained considerable control over men through their sexual power.

More traditional outlets for fashions were local dress shops, mail-order catalogs, and department stores, which had become common by 1910. Dressmakers adapted the fashion styles portrayed in the publications. Tailors to the very elite could command great prices, and access to their studios became limited by social status and time. In less elite settings, the dressmakers did the best they could to copy the latest styles, convince their patrons of the need for change, and adapt these patterns to different body shapes. Paper patterns and complex written instructions were followed to allow women to dress in the latest style. Mail-order catalogs provided ready-made dresses and accessories for the masses that could be amended at home to fit the needs of the consumer. "Trimming" stores were common, offering a variety of bows, ribbons, buttons, feathers, and other accessories with which to personalize their wardrobes. Rarely did the lower classes fully copy the styles of the elite. Not only were these fashions impractical and expensive, but many people regarded dressing beyond "one's station in life" as presumptuous and in "bad taste."

The most important source of fashion for the typical shopper was the department store. By 1910, stores such as Marshall Field and Company, the Boston Store, and Wanamaker's had dedicated several floors of their massive emporiums to clothing and accessories. B. Altman and Company's Fifth Avenue showcase was typical. Their first floor—the most public space of the building—housed silk and velvet goods, laces, embroideries, women's neckware, gloves, hose, millinery, notions, umbrellas, handkerchiefs, and jewelry, as well as men's hats, coats, and shoes. On the upper floors, Altman's sold ready-made clothing, attire for children and infants, outfits for maids and nurses, coats, furs, shoes, undergarments, and specialty sports or active wear. The busy hive of activity on each floor, complete with floorwalkers, salespeople, and patrons, only added to the excitement felt by shoppers.

FASHION'S INFLUENCES

Some shifts in fashion were sparked by events traditionally not seen as part of the fashion world. For example, the rise of automobile travel for the average American led to entirely new outfits comprising dusters, gloves, caps, and goggles for both men and women. The success of the Ballet Russe, which toured the country throughout the decade, and the Post-impressionist art movement led to a variety of fads, including a simplified "Greek look" featuring straight lines, a lack of adornment,

and vibrant colors. The movies popularized new styles that mirrored the childlike innocence of Mary Pickford or the sensual exoticism of Theda Bara. Even cigarette makers set fashion trends when they included picture postcards in their packs. While these tended to reinforce traditional styles such as the Gibson girl look, some introduced a more active, aggressive, and adventuresome female attire that cigarette makers thought more fitting for the woman who smoked.

The phenomenal popularity of dance partners Irene and Vernon Castle, after 1913, led to several changes to American fashion. In particular, the freedom and grace of Irene Castle's dancing provided women with new standards of beauty. The overdressed, staid looks of society matrons, who donned expensive clothing and accessories, were replaced by less constricting, certainly less layered styles. Castle's lithe body shape and youth also added to the new look. Younger consumers followed her wardrobe changes through the style magazines, and when Irene Castle cut her hair short before she underwent surgery, thousands of girls followed suit.

Such fashion trends had important social consequences in the United States. Women became more comfortable displaying their sexuality in public. While most sought to emulate the "wholesome and fresh" looks of the new woman portrayed in the popular periodicals, the looser clothing freed many women from the constricting confines of the corset. Even though most female performers, such as Irene Castle, maintained a studied pose of elegance while on stage (largely to separate themselves from the more "degenerate" forms of popular culture performed by women of color), their style allowed for a new sensuality. Even Vernon Castle, who rarely deviated from black formal wear, influenced men's wear by showing how the male dancer could be debonair without losing his masculinity. The trend toward wearing wristwatches (often considered bracelets by men) was accelerated when it became clear that Vernon wore his at all times.

Formal fashion designers also gave direction and legitimacy to these new trends. Most notable were Paul Poiret, a Parisian and the most influential fashion designer of the decade, and London's Lady Duff Gordon, also known as Lucille. Poiret, who began in 1903, popularized the leaner look of the 1910s, simplifying dress design, and added to the move toward more natural beauty. His design house is credited with helping to end the reign of corsets in women's fashion and initiating the use of new colors and patterns. Poiret broke the reliance on the traditional colors of cream or white, pastel mauve, pink, or sky blue, and black, grey, and purple for all serious occasions. His palette included a wide range of hues, including the natural tones that are more common today. Lucille, too, while less dramatic than Poiret (she wore corsets), erased many of the more artificial curves in women's designs in favor of more flowing, drape-like dresses. Poiret also introduced formal fashion photography as both a promotional and artistic tool for designers.

In the United States, fashion-conscious women such as Edna Woolman Chase, editor in chief of



Fashion photograph for *Vogue* magazine, 1920. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Vogue, helped promote these designers through their publications and social contacts. After the outbreak of war in 1914, Chase held a series of fashion fêtes to raise money for the stricken fashion houses of Europe. Held at Henri Bendel's New York department store, the gatherings did more to advance the work of young American-based designers, including Maison Jacqueline, Tappé, Gunther, Kurzman, and Mollie O'Hara, than they helped the French industry. While the war lowered the output of European fashion designers, Poiret, Lucille, Gabrielle "Coco" Chanel, and others remained active and largely unchallenged in their world leadership.

Food of the 1910s

The foods and eating habits of Americans during the 1910s did not change in any dramatic way. The appearance of new foods, new production methods, and new dining options were in keeping with trends that extended both before and beyond the decade. Prepackaged goods, popular sweets, and simplified cooking directions suggest that modernity was having a lasting effect on the way in which Americans fed themselves. Americans experienced public eating as a form of popular entertainment, and being seen eating was often as important as actually doing the eating. Taken together with other shifts in popular culture, food patterns of the 1910s support the notion that Americans were increasingly more comfortable with using the material culture around them to define who they were to themselves and to others.

DIETARY CHANGES

Americans during the 1910s came to appreciate food in new and highly modern ways. The nutritional value of foods—including calories, compositions, and benefits—was of increasing interest to researchers looking for the best diet. The most noteworthy new discovery was that of vitamins. A wide variety of diseases, including scurvy, rickets, beriberi, and pellagra, were caused not by infection but, it was learned, by the lack of certain nutrients in the diet. Work in Europe led the research into vitamin nutrition, but American biochemists such as Casimir Funk also contributed to the identification of both the water and fat-soluble varieties of these compounds. Funk isolated the chemicals known as B1, B2, C, and D between 1912 and 1915. Later, he connected vitamins with hormones in identifying several other common diseases and maladies. When World War I broke out in 1914, the knowledge of vitamins was incorporated into the food rationing that was soon required by many European nations. Hoping to prevent widespread malnutrition in their populations—it was found that 41 percent of English recruits were considered in poor health as a result of nutritional deficiencies—governments attempted to balance the types of foods needed to provide an adequate amount of calories, proteins, minerals, and vitamins. It was not until the 1950s, however, that nutritional research was underwritten by the U.S. government and that food analysis was professionalized in this country.[1]

More typical for the decade and the country were nostrums and pseudo-scientific studies of proper nutritional and eating habits. Diet and nutritional books were not yet common, but many

suggestions were adopted by the public. In 1910, Victor Hirtzler published *The St. Francis Cookbook*. Hirtzler was the head chef at the St. Francis Hotel in San Francisco where he became enamored of the lighter cuisine that was popular locally owing to the easy access to fresh fruits and vegetables. This California cuisine substituted salads, natural herbs, and vegetable and fish oils for the heavy meats, breads, and animal fats found in most existing fare. While not a best seller, Hirtzler's contribution began the development of a uniquely American style in cooking which would become an international sensation by the end of the century.

In general, the trend toward lighter dining was in keeping with more active pastimes, like dancing, which became popular during the decade. As social role models became younger and more energetic—such as ballroom dancers Irene and Vernon Castle or actors Mary Pickford and Douglas Fairbanks—the gluttony common at the turn of the century became passé. Perhaps no single man epitomized these old ways better than railroad tycoon "Diamond Jim" Brady. Eating as many as five or six meals a day, Brady's eating (as well as his clothing, female accompaniment, and jewelry, from which came his nickname) bordered on obscene. A typical breakfast for Brady included several quarts of orange juice, eggs, half a loaf of bread, a large steak, fried potatoes, onions, grits, bacon, muffins, coffee, and a full stack of pancakes. For Brady and his corpulent colleagues, eating was a public act intended to display their wealth. When Brady died in 1917, an autopsy showed that his stomach had enlarged to over six times that of an average man his height. By contrast, the lighter breakfast of toast and a single soft-boiled egg became the traditional morning meal of most chic diners in the 1910s.

Certainly, the contingencies caused by World War I contributed toward this trend in lighter eating. Shortages and rationing in the supply of certain foods—particularly meat, eggs, and wheat—led many to plant gardens at home. The introduction of fresh vegetables, herbs, and meatless dishes into the diet caused many cooks to rethink the traditional meals that they served before the war.

FOOD HIGHLIGHTS OF THE 1910s

1911 Procter & Gamble applies the relatively new process of hydrogenating liquid oils using hydrogen gas to produce Crisco, the first vegetable-based shortening that stays solid regardless of temperature. The Crisco can is sold in a white paper overwrap to emphasize its purity.

1912 The National Biscuit Company introduces Oreo Cookies, which are destined to become the best-selling American cookie of all time.

1912 Cracker Jack, already enshrined in the 1908 song "Take Me out to the Ball Game," begins inserting a toy in each package and using the slogan "A Prize in Every Box." Brand icons Sailor Jack and his dog, Bingo, appear on packaging four years later.

1916 James L. Kraft patents a processed cheese formula, based on milk solids, and calls it "American Cheese." He succeeds in selling 6 million pounds of the product to the U.S. Army.

1916 A schoolboy submits the winning drawing in a contest sponsored by Planters, and thus Mr. Peanut is born.

1916 In an effort to discourage copycat beverages, the Coca-Cola Company sponsors a contest to design a bottle so distinctive it could be recognized by feel in the dark. The Root Glass Company of Terre Haute, Indiana, comes up with the winning design for a "contour" shape still used by Coke in the twenty-first century.

FOOD CULTURE: HOW FOOD WAS USED

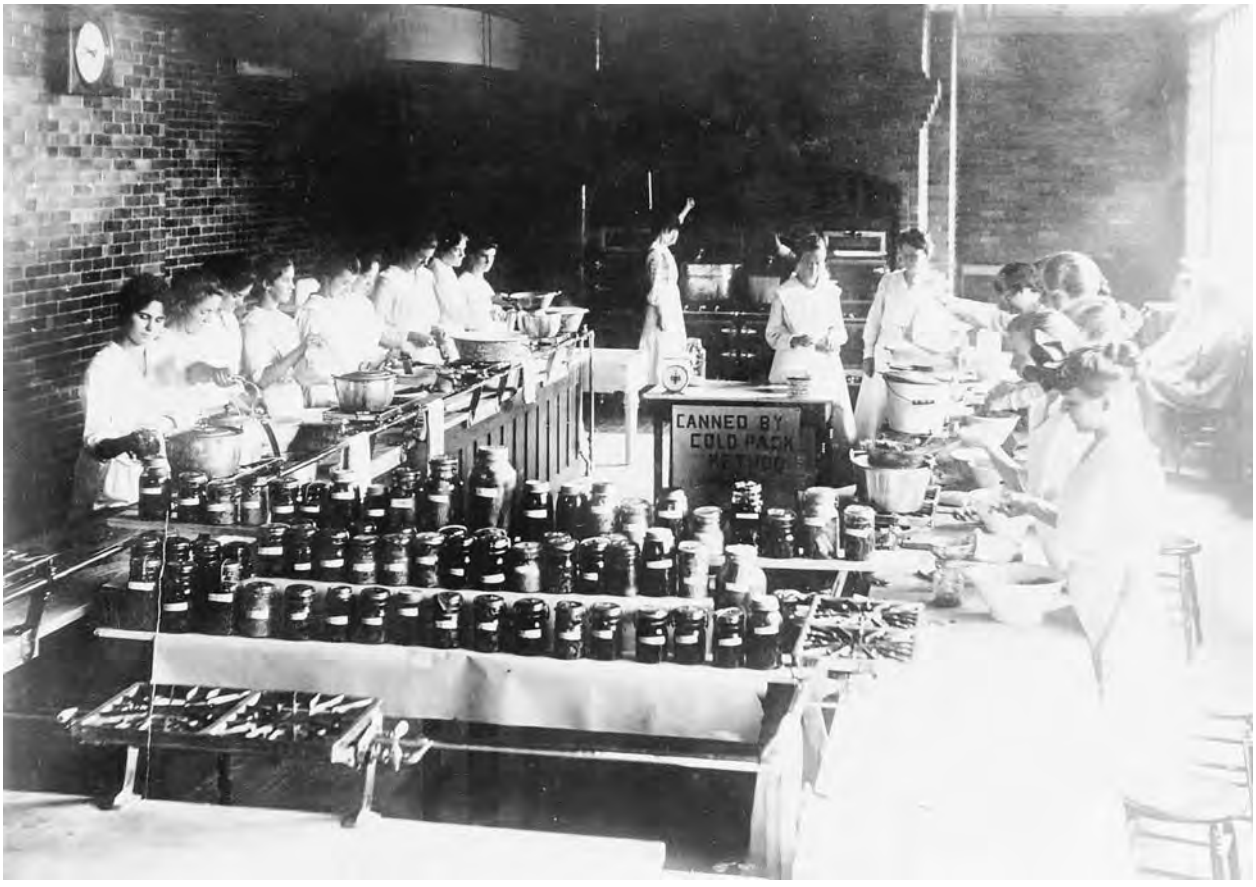
For the most part, changes to food culture in the home during the 1910s were incremental, but they did shift how food was produced and consumed. Improved devices for food storage and cooking, new prepared foods, and the growth of suppliers able to furnish these goods accelerated trends toward greater convenience, flexibility, and reliability in American foods.

Probably the most important change to how food was prepared in the 1910s was the spread

of electric devices for the kitchen. Following the Electric Exhibition at New York City in 1911, several new and innovative machines, including electric skillets, toasters, mixers, and waffle irons, became commonly available for affluent and upper middle-class consumers. The KitchenAid brand of noncommercial mixers, which combined rotating beaters with a bowl that moved in the opposite direction, was the most popular but far from an everyday convenience. Priced at nearly $200 when it debuted in 1919, it was not until the 1920s that the mixer was reduced in size and cost and mass marketed to the typical homemaker. Similarly, Frigidaire and General Electric introduced lines of electric refrigerators for domestic use by 1915.

New cooking devices also expanded the range of food options for the typical home cook. Thermostatic ovens (either gas or electric), introduced in 1915, enabled bakers to maintain a constant oven temperature. The introduction of new baking materials was also important. Most notable was borosilicate, or Pyrex, bakeware for the home. Pyrex, a trademark for a specific type of glass, is resistant to heat and electricity. Because its chemical properties allow Pyrex to expand about a third less than conventional glass, it is less likely to break when taken from the oven or refrigerator. These conveniences gave the typical cook the confidence to try new menus.

The rise of department stores and self-serve markets allowed shoppers to buy fresher foods and a wider variety of products. Department stores, as well as other providers, supplied consumers with these new kitchen products through installment credit plans. Installment credit expanded rapidly during the 1910s, causing many to question its effects on the average consumer. While



Women being trained in canning methods doing World War I. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

fears of excessive debt and class pretentiousness remained, by the end of the decade most Americans felt comfortable with and had acquired many of these kitchen "necessities" through installment credit.

More important was the spread of the self-service grocery store. These emporiums expanded the food options, while making shopping a more private and efficient process. The first of these, Piggly-Wiggly, was founded by Clarence Saunders in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1916. Saunders allowed his customers to roam the aisles of his store selecting products of their own choice rather than submitting a grocery list to be filled by a store clerk. Piggly-Wiggly developed a reputation for stocking a wide variety of named items—thousands of goods increasingly desired by America's more brand-conscious consumers. Saunders's success was quickly copied throughout the country.

Of course, these new products and outlets were only as good as the food that was available to cook, store, and sell. In the 1910s, Americans became accustomed to a wide variety of new convenience foods, ranging from food preparation products to new cooking oils.

Many of the food items first introduced in the 1910s became popular simply because they were packaged in new and convenient ways. The tea bag (1910) allowed consumers to brew a single cup of the beverage rather than an entire pot as



Shelves in a Piggly Wiggly self-service grocery store in or near Memphis, Tennessee, approximately 1917. Piggly Wiggly was the first grocery store to offer self-service so that customers did not have to ask for products from a clerk at a service counter. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

was customary. Other goods, such as Ocean Spray cranberry sauce (1912), fruit cocktail (1914), and Campbell's soups (Cream of Celery, 1913; Beef Vegetable, 1918), placed a previously perishable, time-consuming product within easy reach of the average shopper. While traveling with his family on a hunting expedition to the Labrador coast, Clarence Birdseye discovered that rapidly frozen foods (such as venison, which froze in a matter of minutes in the Arctic air) retained much of their original flavor. Birdseye perfected an artificial process which replicated these conditions, placing packaged foods in devices that could be quickly cooled down to −50 degrees Fahrenheit. While several ventures failed in the 1910s—owing to the lack of freezers in most grocery stores—Birdseye's method became wildly successful in the coming decades.

Other foods changed American eating and cooking habits more drastically. For example, the marketing of a granulated, "pourable" table salt by the Morton Salt Company in 1912 allowed cooks and restaurants to reduce the amount of salt used in their meals, allowing diners to salt their own food to taste. Similarly, Richard Hellmann began mass marketing his wife's Blue Ribbon mayonnaise in 1912. Hellmann, a German immigrant and deli operator on Columbus Street in New York City, had first tested his sandwich spread on customers, who then rated his varieties. To meet a largely local demand for his product, Hellmann opened his first factory in Queens in 1915 and a second one in Long Island in 1920 to supply the growing regional demand. His ready-made mayonnaise allowed many to turn ordinary bread and cold cuts into an appetizing specialty sandwich. It was not until 1927, however, when Hellmann sold his concern to General Foods, that the product became truly national in scope.

The introduction of Crisco in 1911 dramatically changed America's food preparation habits. Crisco, manufactured by Cincinnati-based Procter & Gamble, was a solidified shortening product made entirely of vegetable oils. A special manufacturing process allowed Crisco to remain solid yet soft throughout all seasonal conditions. By contrast, before Crisco, most cooks relied on butter or animal fats (lard) which quickly spoiled or frequently became too runny for many baking needs. The product was an instant hit for both domestic and commercial bakers. Crisco was so new that Procter & Gamble published their own cookbooks, recipes, and tips that made it easy to bake "from scratch" by standardizing and making predictable the key blending products in most baked goods.

Certainly no meal was changed more drastically during the 1910s than breakfast. Typically, before the 1900s, the morning meal consisted of leftovers from the previous night or, if one were dining out, fried clams, mushrooms, grilled plover, steak, or the occasional egg. The arrival of the active, healthy lifestyle of the era expunged the desire for such heavy fare. Suppliers of nutritious, quick, and lighter breakfast alternatives quickly became popular. Cereals offered under brand names, such as Kellogg's Corn Flakes (1915), 40 percent Bran Flakes (1915), and All-Bran (1916); Quaker Puffed Rice (1913); John Campbell's Malt-O-Meal (1919); or C. W. Post's Grape Nuts (1897) and Post Toasties (1904), soon created new morning rituals throughout the United States. (See Food of the 1900s.)

AMERICA'S SWEET TOOTH

Of course, not all of America's new eating habits fostered better nutrition. During the 1910s, the nation first gave evidence of a penchant for sweet snacks. Before then, most lovers of candies and cookies were content with a periodic visit to the confectioners or with a special batch of homemade treats. By contrast, the rise of "penny and nickel candies" sold at the counters of many shops and store-bought packaged cookies made this consumption more regular. Often advertised as "instant energy," the diverse confections of chocolate, caramel, nuts, dried fruits, and a variety of other products reflected the novelty of new processed foods.

Chocolate bars were not new in 1910. As early as 1875, Henry Nestlé and Daniel Peter had perfected the manufacture of milk chocolate, which could be processed, transported, stored, and sold without losing too much of its flavor. German chocolate making was displayed at the 1893 World Columbian Exposition in Chicago, where Milton S. Hershey observed chocolate-making

techniques and then began integrating them into his caramel factory in Lancaster, Pennsylvania in 1894.

Hershey's success in selling his milk chocolate bars in the late 1890s and early 1900s led many to experiment with ingredients and packaging. Frank Mars introduced the Milky Way bar in 1923. Peter Paul Halajian had more immediate success with his Konabar in 1919, a candy made of dried fruit, nuts, coconut, and chocolate. In 1922, Peter Paul introduced his most successful candy, the Mounds bar. Similarly, in 1919, Christian Nelson and chocolate magnate Russell Stover experimented with other ways to apply chocolate directly to ice cream. Using cocoa butter in the preparation, Nelson premiered the Eskimo Pie in 1921.

David Little Clark, who was selling gum to retailers in the early part of the 1910s, developed his own product, called the Clark Bar, which contained a core of roasted peanuts covered in milk chocolate. He mass marketed the candy to U.S. soldiers as a nutritious, quick energy food in 1917. The connection between candy sales and World War I was not accidental. The U.S. Army Quartermaster Corps shipped an average of 40 pounds of chocolate each week to the American bases in Europe. Broken into smaller lots on the battlefield, many servicemen grew accustomed to the easy availability of sweets. When they returned home, they not only provided a ready market for the goods but also sanctioned the practice of snacking as something that was acceptable for men.

Non-chocolate-based sweets were also introduced during the decade. For example, Clarence Crane, a Cleveland-based chocolate manufacturer, was looking for a product which was not as messy as chocolate but could still satisfy America's developing sweet tooth. In 1912, he developed a hard peppermint candy which he fashioned into a circle. Crane turned his product, called Pep-O-Mint, into a commercial sensation by packaging fourteen mints in easy to dispense rolls and naming them Life Savers, after their characteristic shape.

Perhaps the greatest novelty confection of the 1910s was the marshmallow. The appearance of the Moon Pie and Mallomars during the decade were the most successful of these. Found primarily along the East Coast, Mallomars were first sold in 1913 as a combination of cookie, marshmallow, and dark chocolate. The Moon Pie, which was a larger version of the same medley of goods, was introduced in 1917 by the Chattanooga Bakery Company in Tennessee; it has remained the favorite of Southerners. In 1917, Archibald Query began selling his Marshmallow Fluff door to door around Sommerville, Massachusetts. Hard sales work by Allen Durkee and Fred Mower, who bought the recipe from Query in 1919, landed their Toot Sweet Marshmallow Fluff on the shelves of local groceries. By 1927, the product was being mass produced.

Packaged cookies rounded out the list of new sweets that were available to American consumers. For example, Lorne Doone cookies, a simple shortbread, premiered in 1912. Novelty cookies sold more quickly. The greatest of these during the 1910s was the Oreo chocolate sandwich cookie, which was heavily promoted by the National Biscuit Company, later Nabisco. Probably the most novel of the new cookies was the fortune cookie, invented in the United States by David Jung, a Los Angeles noodle maker, in 1918. When production was mechanized in the 1920s, fortune cookies became standard fare at most Chinese restaurants and were soon exported from America to China and Hong Kong.

CIGARETTES

At the turn of the century, Americans were already consuming more than four billion cigarettes per year. Opposition to tobacco use was widespread, with many concerned that the product was adulterated, containing opium or arsenic. By 1912, Dr. I. Adler had demonstrated a strong connection between cigarette smoking and lung cancer. The American Society for the Control of Cancer, later the American Cancer Society, was founded in 1913 to promote antismoking campaigns. Business leaders frowned on the use of the product by their employees, and leaders such as Thomas Edison and Henry Ford openly prohibited smoking at their factories (Edison refused to hire smokers). Others feared for the safety of children and women, who were legally barred from smoking in many states. In 1909, baseball star Honus Wagner withdrew his name and image

from use by cigarette companies, including the baseball cards that came with their products. As a result, the Honus Wagner card remains today one of the rarest of collectibles.

Still, the tobacco industry, led by James B. Duke's American Tobacco Company, was a powerful force in American business and government. The tobacco lobby successfully kept nicotine off the list of controlled substances passed with the 1906 Food and Drug Act. Many began adding potency to their product by spraying the young plants with nicotine as an insecticide. Even after the American Tobacco Company was broken up as a trust into the American Tobacco Company, R. J. Reynolds, Liggett & Meyers, and Lorillard in 1911, the industry thrived. Driving these trends were two things. The first was the successful advertising campaigns of the 1910s. Liggett & Meyers's Chesterfield brand led the field when, in 1912, they pioneered the use of such simple slogans such as, "They satisfy." In 1915, R. J. Reynolds debuted Camels and, two years later, the American Tobacco Company brought out Lucky Strikes. By 1917, cigarettes were being targeted to women as a means for suppressing the appetite. World War I provided the second key component to the success of cigarettes. Along with candy, servicemen were provided cigarettes as part of their daily rations. The boost in U.S. production of tobacco—aided by a blockade of Turkish tobaccos—provided a market advantage which allowed most producers to lower their retail charge to either a dime or fifteen cents for a pack of twenty cigarettes.

DINING OUT

Growing public amusements—including vaudeville, dance halls, and the movie theater—provided Americans with additional reasons to consume food outside their homes. Restaurant menus and style of service changed markedly during the 1910s. These trends continued to alter the traditional form of public eating in ways that laid the groundwork for the rise of many fast food establishments in the decades to come. Nathan Handwerker opened "Nathan's" hotdog stand at Coney Island in 1916.

Most Americans did not frequent upscale restaurants; commonplace establishments continued to feed the majority of the nation's public. Known as chophouses, these locations typically specialized in steaks, chops, and other cuts of meat with a serving of potatoes, bread, and, nearly invariably, oysters and a schooner of beer. Many taverns offered patrons a free lunch included with the purchase of at least two drinks. Women found repast in tearooms and other women's restaurants which typically served omelets, light chicken dishes, and salads.

At more upscale, but still middle-class, establishments, a typical dinner in 1910 included at least two courses. The first included either turkey, duck, or chicken, a variety of sweets, smaller dishes of fruits (usually apricots or apples), and a starchy vegetable like corn or peas. The second, or main, course included a choice of soups, fish, a larger portion of meat, vegetables, and breads or pastries. While tame in comparison to the meals of the upper class, these dinners indicate that lighter dining was still just a trend.

Elite dining underwent more interesting changes. As early as 1860, wealthy Americans could find restaurants like Delmonico's where



The elegant Waldorf-Astoria Hotel offered exclusive dining for well-to-do New Yorkers in the 1910s. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

they could be treated and fed like royalty. As with the more pedestrian, middle-class restaurants, the elite diner could expect culinary excess. A typical meal might include an appetizer of clams or oysters, a clear soup, and a tray of rich hors d'oeuvres, including olives, canapés, caviar, and anchovies. A first course might contain fish, potatoes, and a cucumber salad, and often included terrapin, (more) oysters, crab legs, lobster, shrimp, and frogs. Concluding the meal were large servings of roasted meat, vegetables, bread, a fruit punch, and lighter side dishes. The post-meal dessert, served with coffee, topped off the dining experience. Many wealthy socialites would then set off to the evening's activity only to end—after the show—with a midnight banquet of champagne and lobster at the so-called lobster palaces that ringed the city's many theater and entertainment districts.[2]

Why the wealthy and affluent consumed food in this way is related to a number of factors. Most important, food consumption was a visible indication of one's status in society. The more one ate, and the more luxurious the dishes, the higher one could position himself in the social hierarchy. In addition, restaurants offered the younger elites new public places where they might interact, freed from the cloistered confines of the many balls and parties held by their economic peers. Finally, public restaurants provided new spaces for women to be freed from the confines of polite society.

While not an era for grand cuisine, the 1910s did see the expansion of more ethnic cooking across the spectrum of restaurants. Hungarian goulash and a wide variety of Italian pastas were sampled for the first time. With the growth in immigration, until the war prevented safe passage, came Italian, German, Chinese, and Jewish cooking. Many of these styles were loosely appropriated into American cuisine. As a result, the decade saw the introduction of a number of new types of foods and preparations, including chop suey, crab Louis, fettuccine Alfredo, and vichyssoise. In spite of their exotic names, all of these dishes originated in the United States. Vichyssoise, a chilled soup made from potatoes, leeks, and cream, was created by Louis Diat of the Ritz-Carlton Hotel in 1917.

Music

of the 1910s

Popular music was one of the first entertainment media to cross over successfully from distinct, usually class, cultural, and racially influenced styles, to a more generic and inclusive American format. In the pre-radio years, crossover artists relied solely on the interest generated from fusing the old with the new. From the concert hall to the nightclub, popular musicians integrated African American musical styles while, at the same time, they built upon the rich European heritage of notation, composition, and melody.

The acceptance of African American styles and performers created opportunities for new talent. African Americans found a means to excel in U.S. society—means that were acceptable to dominant white tastes. The arrival of radio in 1920 provided the technological breakthrough that was needed to catapult this fusion into a truly mass phenomenon.

THE EUROPEAN INFLUENCE ON AMERICAN MUSIC

The cultural importance of European academic training and the classical works of masters, such as Ludwig van Beethoven, W. A. Mozart, and J. S. Bach, influenced white musicians. This approach valued formal arrangements of traditional instruments to produce an appealing melody. By 1910, these influential European trends began to move away from the strong Romanticism of German composers such as Richard Wagner—who first introduced vernacular folk music into the academic realm—toward more subtle, impressionistic effects. French composer Claude Debussy was one of the most adventuresome of these innovators. From his first public performance in 1902 until his death in 1918, Debussy challenged European critics and audiences to listen to new styles and moods of music, which allowed performers to experiment with unconventional methods.

By accepting the vernacular tradition, academic composers in Europe made it possible for audiences to consider these "lesser" works as true art forms. Moreover, European arrangements forced composers to find ways to incorporate the nonconventional styles of folk music, which in the United States was driven largely by rhythm, into the highly structured and melody-based methods of academic notation. Throughout the decade, leading composers, such as Béla Bartók (*Allegro Barbaro,* 1911), Arnold Schoenberg (*Pierrot Lunaire,* 1912), and Igor Stravinsky (*Le Sacre du Printemps,* 1913), borrowed themes taken directly from the American vernacular tradition. By contrast, American composers such as Frederick Converse and Horatio Park continued within traditional patterns and, as a result, their

work is largely forgotten today. While Stravinsky was clearly distant from popular musicians in the United States—he had never even heard an authentic ragtime band before he wrote *Ragtime for Eleven Instruments* in 1918—the fact that European classicists were openly interested in American folk music gave credence to the work of public performers in the 1910s.

THE AFRICAN INFLUENCE ON AMERICAN MUSIC

African musical styles are unique in that the rhythm, and not the variation of pitch, dominates. Unlike a piano, which has a number of differing tones, the sound of percussion instruments, such as the drum, vary mostly by the beat. African performers were adept at using both hands to construct contrasting yet supportive rhythms on their instruments. In addition, artists relied upon an audience's ability to maintain a base rhythm, termed a "metronomic sense" (e.g., toe tapping, which keeps a beat even if the musicians do not play one), to add further complexity to their music.

The communal use of music in African culture was vital to the development of these intricate rhythms and the emerging American sound. Africans used musical performances in rituals and ceremonies, and while at work to build cohesion in the group as well as to communicate and establish a mood. As a result, the music is both participatory and extremely powerful in evoking emotional responses.

African styles are more elaborate than European styles. Where European artists relied on *either* a double or triple meter pattern within a single work, African stylists routinely mixed the two. Where European artists allowed the formal and noted melody to set the emotional tone for a composition, African performers shifted and improvised their works to respond to the audience in immediate and powerful ways.

Based on a seven-note, half-step European scale, musicians were unfamiliar and ill-equipped to write African sounds that were rooted in a scale of five notes with no halves. While European stylists were not ignorant of rhythm, they were unaccustomed to giving over so much control to the response of an audience.

Of course it was not African, but *African American* music that directly influenced popular music in the United States. The peculiar position of blacks in late nineteenth-century America—as a vital labor force living in large communities but as disenfranchised citizens who were ostracized from the mainstream culture by widespread racism—nurtured their distinct musical heritage. Segregation allowed African American music to thrive, and this style transformed the nation's music in the modern era.

African Americans conserved their African and Afro-Caribbean musical heritage as well as possible under slavery and through emancipation. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, blacks learned to sing or play a homemade instrument in order to earn additional income or simply to earn the respect of neighbors. Such training developed skills of improvisation and a heightened ability to respond to the changing mood of an audience rather than an ability to read music or perfectly recreate a tune time after time. Spirituals and work songs, the forerunners of the blues, relied heavily on call-and-response improvisation.

While African Americans fought against their second-class status in the United States, most white composers were willing to profit off of the rampant racism of the era. White minstrels singing "coon songs" exaggerated the "exotic" nature of African American lives. Coon songs portrayed black males as ignorant, cowardly, lazy, petty thieves, and women as shallow and sexually indiscriminate. While reprehensible and slightly pathetic, these white performers did introduce an element of African American music into the mainstream culture. As the popularity of lively rhythmic songs grew in the 1880s and 1890s, some black artists were allowed to perform more authentic versions of the craft. Musical pioneers like W. C. Handy, Bessie Smith, and Bert Williams all got their first taste of the white entertainment business through the minstrel shows.[1]

It was not the white misappropriation of African American music but rather the cumulative efforts of generations of black artists that eventually led to its acceptance and success. The New Negro movement of the 1910s supported the work of these artists by rejecting notions of cultural inferiority and an inherent submission to white

authority. Activists, inducing A. Phillip Randolph, Chandler Owen, and Hubert Henry Harrison, gave voice to a growing desire to reject assimilation and to support authentic black culture. Such an approach created great conflicts within the black community and placed many middle-class African Americans in the difficult position of either supporting the advancement of their race or the economic well-being of their families. Moreover, the heightened cultural consciousness of blacks no doubt added to the paranoia of many white Americans following World War I.

African and African American styles proved to be extremely significant to the development of popular music in the United States through the widespread use of syncopation—the musical practice of unequally dividing beats into long and short notes to create multiple cross rhythms within a musical piece.

ACADEMIC MUSIC

By 1910, European composers had provided academic artists with some leeway in the type of materials considered acceptable for performance. Moreover, from 1890 to 1910, urban Americans invested heavily in supporting local symphonies, conservatories to train musicians, and opera houses. European conductors and musicians, such as Anton Phillip Heinrich, Louis Moreau Gottschalk, and the renowned Antonín Dvořák, came to America in search of students capable and willing to explore the rich musical folk traditions of this country. The stage was set for American composers to expand their repertoire beyond the European masters and to include newer, domestic works.

Unfortunately, few composers proved willing or able to move beyond the classic symphonies. One of these was Harry Burleigh. An African American who studied under Dvořák, Burleigh became an accomplished soloist and composer who relied upon his knowledge of spirituals. Burleigh published a number of significant compositions, including *From the Southland* (1914) and *Southland Sketches* (1916) for violin and piano, before he became the music editor for Ricordi and Company. Burleigh also published a number of songs based on these works, including "The Young Warrior" (1916), which was eventually translated into Italian and became something of an anthem for Italian troops during World War I. Burleigh's greatest work was an anthology of spirituals, published under the title *Jubilee Songs of the United States of America* (1916), which he later performed before such luminaries as President Theodore Roosevelt and King Edward VII of England. Will Marion Cook, also a black man, studied first in Berlin and then at the National Conservatory of Music in New York City. Cook composed a series of musicals, many songs, and published *A Collection of Negro Songs* in 1912.

Lacking such a purposeful musical foundation, white academics struggled in their efforts to create a style that was not derived from their European masters. Arthur Farwell was one example of a white composer who understood the limits of his European education. Born in St. Paul, Minnesota, Farwell developed his skills as a violinist, pianist, and composer first at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, then in Germany and France. Farwell was deeply motivated by African American, Native American, and folk Western music, but he was unable to turn his fascination into a respected academic anthology of composition. (See Music of the 1900s.)

Edward McDowell and Charles Tomlinson Griffes also attempted to fashion a genuine indigenous classical style. MacDowell, born in New York and trained overseas, unsuccessfully sought to meld Native American songs with the romantic classics. Griffes published a variety of tone poems throughout the decade, including *Three-Tone Pictures* (1915), *Roman Sketches* (1917), and *Five Poems of Ancient China and Japan* (1917). His efforts at symphonic composition, which resulted in *The Pleasure-Dome of Kubla Khan* (1917), were first performed by the Boston Symphony in 1919 and occasionally ever since. Still, as compositions, the works of Farwell, MacDowell, and Griffes pale by comparison with those of such modern European composers as Debussy, Stravinsky, and Modest Mussorgsky.

Charles Ives is the era's one true lasting classical voice, partly because he did not fear the rejection of contemporary audiences. Growing up in an affluent home in Danbury, Connecticut, attending Yale University, and becoming successful as an insurance executive, Ives was free from the financial

pressures that could compromise an artist's creativity. Rarely did Ives perform his works (only one was ever played in public before 1919, and he stopped composing in 1923). His isolation allowed him to develop his own unique sound and produce a vast quantity of hymns, songs, tone poems, and symphonies, but he never had to face the criticism and rebukes of a hostile and provincial season ticket holder.

Building on his appreciation for sounds rather than harmonious tones or melodies, Ives created works of intense contrasts and jarring musical discord. Ives sampled from others' works, scored intentionally off-key sections, and interjected passages within his works using a variety of motifs. Much as the successful European modernists, Ives intended his works to be appreciated as organic wholes, but from a multitude of perspectives.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR POPULAR ORCHESTRAS AND BANDS

Perhaps because public orchestras and bands were less self-consciously patterned after the European ones, popular musicians displayed a greater freedom in performing a more American variety of sound in the 1910s. No artist more closely represented this difference than John Philip Sousa. Born in 1854 to immigrant parents, Sousa reveled in his role as a representative of the American Dream. Formally trained by the U.S. Marine Band, he took leadership of the ensemble in 1880 and for twelve years led the group in a number of world tours. As a composer, Sousa excelled at marches and other two-step numbers, including "Semper Fidelis," and his signature work, "The Stars and Stripes Forever" (1896).

Sousa's contribution to American music in the 1910s demonstrated that the white public had a taste for well-performed vernacular arrangements. His concerts introduced much of the country to ragtime and African American songs. He gave "black music" a national platform and included African Americans, such as Arthur Pryor, in his band. By using unconventional orchestral instruments, such as the banjo, Sousa lent legitimacy to the smaller ethnic groups.

Of these new performers, none was as talented and potentially revolutionary as James Reese



John Philip Sousa, right, in uniform, talking to Charlie Chaplin. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Europe. Born in Alabama in 1881 to a musically accomplished family, Europe moved to Washington, D.C. and then to New York City as a young man, where he gained both formal training and real-world experience. In 1910, he formed the Clef Club Symphony Orchestra, which was partly a band but also functioned as a union representing and finding work for black musicians and entertainers. As an African American, Europe was instrumental in staging authentic vernacular music played on the original instruments. When he played Carnegie Hall in 1912, Europe premiered ragtime marches and songs from black composer Will Marion Cook.

At the height of its popularity, the Clef Club earned more than $100,000 a year. By 1914, Europe was tapped as the bandleader for the influential

dance team of Irene and Vernon Castle. The Castles credited Europe with introducing many of the songs that led to their international fame. He was one of the first African Americans to secure a record deal, with Victor Records in 1913. When he and his famed vocalist, Noble Sissle, performed overseas during the war (Europe had enlisted in the 369th U.S. Infantry), the Old World was introduced to modern *American* music for the first time. Sissle later recounted how 60-year-old French women, German prisoners, and even other orchestra members spontaneously broke into dance when they heard them play.

Following his return to the United States, Europe continued to promote this new style. He either composed or cowrote such big hits as "Good Night Angeline," "On Patrol in No Man's Land," and "I Wish I Had Someone to Rock Me in the Cradle of Love." In performance, Europe was restrained and professional, rejecting the over-the-top behavior that characterized most black performers in the minds of many whites. It seemed that, by 1919, James Reese Europe was about to revise completely the role of African American artists in the United States. Unfortunately, in 1919 one of Europe's own musicians stabbed the bandleader with a knife after being scolded by Europe for crossing the stage during the performance. Europe either refused or was denied medical treatment, and he bled to death that evening.

TIN PAN ALLEY

While Europe and Sousa were able to borrow from vernacular traditions to give life to an anemic musical field, the same process elevated show music, termed Tin Pan Alley, from cultural obscurity to the pinnacle of popular music. (See Music of the 1900s.) Tin Pan Alley composers could not rely on the ready-made legitimacy afforded to writers of classical pieces. Intended to support popular theater and vaudeville acts, Tin Pan Alley artists needed first to entertain before they could be concerned with the formal arrangement or the artistic aesthetics of their music. As a result, these composers borrowed heavily from both white and African American vernacular sounds. Known for the "tinny" sound generated by the upright piano, the region became home to songwriters who wanted to tap into the new, lighter, and more urbane style. Melding catchy lyrics, melodies, and toe-tapping, syncopated rhythms, the sale of Tin Pan Alley sheet music brought stardom to a number of innovative writers, including Jerome Kern, Harry Von Tilzer, and Irving Berlin.

Hit songs were usually sold as sheet music in the lobbies of the theaters, clubs, and vaudeville acts that performed them. In an age when most children were taught to read music in school and when many American families owned pianos or other instruments, printed musical scores sold widely. Tens of millions of sheets were sold annually by 1910. The typical hit could expect to sell nearly 100,000 sheets. Priced from thirty to forty cents each, the royalties from the sale of a single hit sustained many performers for a lifetime. When 170 Tin Pan Alley writers organized the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP) in 1914, the recovery of royalties for the public performance of copyrighted materials increased the monetary value of their work.

Phonographs, which reproduced music through either recorded cylinders or discs, were a growing influence. By 1909, more than 27 million records and cylinders had been sold with royalties protected by the U.S. Copyright Act of 1909. Ten years later, two million players had been sold and nearly 100 million recordings. While not as influential as the spread of radio after 1920, the sales of sheet music and recordings brought the popular musical style of Tin Pan Alley out of the theaters, nightclubs, and brothels and into American homes.

The topicality of the songs was their key appeal. Unlike more structured works, popular tunes could be constructed in time to meet or anticipate the public's curiosity with current events. For example, inventions such as the airplane, telephone, and automobile became the subject of hit songs, including Fred Fisher's "Come, Josephine, in My Flying Machine" (1910) and Maurice Abraham's "He'd Have to Get Under, Get Out and Get Under, to Fix Up His Automobile" (1913). World War I provided composers with a way to combine their craft with patriotism and a sort of public relations boost. War songs such as "Over There," "It's



Advertisement showing composite of phonograph and portraits of Sophie Tucker, Stella Mayhew, Nat M. Wills, Victor Herbert, Lauder, Sousa, Sylva, Slezak, Carmen Melis, Anna Chandler, Ada Jones, and Billy Murray, 1912. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

a Long Way to Tipperary," and "Keep the Home Fires Burning" were performed numerous times on stage, at home, and in the foxholes.

Several artists from this genre stand out for their influence and success. Harry Von Tilzer, known as the "man who launched a thousand hits" wrote formulaic songs loved by the public. Introducing Latin American sounds into his tunes, such as "The Cubanola Glide" (1909), or African American styles into songs, such as "Under the Yum Yum Tree" (1910), Jerome Kern turned out catchy tunes with syrupy lyrics. His fame spread after a string of hit songs from 1912 to 1914. By then, Kern had moved to musical comedy. None of these have the polish or depth of emotions that Kern later would be remembered for, following the 1928 premiere of *Showboat*. While not the most talented composer of Tin Pan Alley, George M. Cohan was the most successful at turning his songs into national hits. His most popular songs, "The Little Millionaire" (1911), "Hello Broadway!" (1914), "The Voice of McConnell" (1918), and "The Royal Vagabond" (1919), were typical light entertainment of the era.

By far the greatest Tin Pan Alley composer was Irving Berlin. He was born in 1888 in Russia, as Izzy Baline, and immigrated to the United States with his family. By 1902, he was making a living in New York City as a singing waiter and piano player. Berlin had no formal training as a musician (he could neither read nor write music and played the piano using only a single key, F#), but by 1910, Berlin was emerging as a leading force in American popular music. Berlin tapped into the sentimental optimism that was so closely held by many Americans. His hits of the decade included "Alexander's Ragtime Band" (1911), "Everybody's Doin' It Now"(1911), "A Pretty Girl Is Like a Melody" (1919), and the wartime hit "Oh How I Hate to Get Up in the Morning" (1918).

The most likely reason for the success of Tin Pan Alley was that it drew upon the well-developed and mature vernacular styles that existed in the United States. The reliance upon ragtime piano pieces is a good case in point. Berlin's "Alexander's

HIT SONGS OF THE 1910s

Song and performer unless otherwise noted.

"Let Me Call You Sweetheart" (Peerless Quartet)—1910

"Some of These Days" (Sophie Tucker)—1911

"When Irish Eyes Are Smiling" (Chauncey Olcott)—1912

"Ballin' the Jack" (Prince's Orchestra)—1913

"St. Louis Blues" (written by W. C. Handy)—1914

"Carry Me Back to Old Virginny" (Alma Gluck)—1915

"O Sole Mio" (Enrico Caruso)—1916

"Poor Butterfly" (Victor Military Band)—1917

"Rock-A-Bye Your Baby With a Dixie Melody" (Al Jolson)—1918

"A Pretty Girl Is Like a Melody" (John Steel)—1919

Ragtime Band" and later "The International Rag" (1913) were ragtime *songs,* but not ragtime music. Ragtime music was formally structured and syncopated, and used conventional European harmonies. By contrast, ragtime songs were much looser, intending to give *feeling* to the music without being tied to its arrangement.

Tin Pan Alley musicians borrowed an emotive sense of African American music without attempting to create a lasting work of art. For example, when Berlin composed "Alexander's Ragtime Band," he revitalized the original style for a number of years. Tin Pan Alley songs aided black artists by shunning the derogatory coon-song style of previous white composers.

RAGTIME

"Ragtime" means the timing of a traditional piece of music is "ragged" through the inclusion of syncopated rhythms and an informal playing. The style was common for unschooled African American musicians who played by ear, taking well-known melodies and performing them in their own way. The key to a rag was how well the music merged with vernacular dance—the so-called cakewalks and reels that were common to African American gatherings. Ragtime is a combination of African American styles and European methods of notion and melodies. When innovators such as Scott Joplin, Joseph Lamb, Tom Turpin, Eubie Blake, and James Scott began the process of writing ragtime composition, they also initiated the first true musical fusion of international styles into a uniquely American sound. (See Music of the 1900s.)

Combined ragtime styles became immensely popular in the United States from 1900 to 1920. Coinciding with the growing sales of home pianos (which peaked in 1909) and the maturing sheet music industry, ragtime emerged as the sound for urban performers in a nation that was increasingly looking to cities for its evening entertainment. The development of the player piano helped ragtime, for the machines could effortlessly reproduce the difficult sound of the works. That ragtime was seen as fresh "youth music" only added to its attraction.

Hit ragtime songs of the 1910s include Jay Roberts's "The Entertainer's Rag" (1910), George Botsford's "Grizzly Bear Rag" (1911), Edward B. Claypoole's "Ragging the Scale" (1915), and George L. Cobb's "Russian Rag" (1918). The fact that all of these men were white and that the subject matter had shifted away from African American culture or derogatory coon songs suggests how far the medium went toward providing black artists with national respectability.

Of course this acceptance did not occur without dissent. Legitimate opponents included educators, critics, and performers who simply did not like the new musical style when compared to the old European masters. The ironic reality—that modern European musicians were also deeply impressed by ragtime—was missed. Moreover, the line between an honest dislike of the new style and hidden racial prejudice was hard to distinguish.

More common were foes who openly admitted their prejudice that the rise of African American culture posed a threat to white domination and control. Such cultural critics believed that the acceptance of black music displayed a loss of critical judgment in the public that would eventually lead to a population that could not distinguish between good and evil.

Still, in spite of these concerns, ragtime fundamentally shifted the nature of popular music in America away from European sources and toward our own domestic vernacular roots. Ragtime was the first true America genre, a fusion of Old World styles into a modern, New World sound. Moreover, it opened the doors for African Americans to perform before people who were less likely to see them as caricatures and more as cultural educators about everything from clothing styles to dance steps. Ragtime also ushered in many other modern musical styles, especially jazz and the blues, as artists such as "Jelly Roll" Morton and others took the stage as rag artists but finished their careers as jazz pioneers.

Scott Joplin, known as the "King of Ragtime," wrote chart-topping music throughout the 1900s. In doing so, he influenced many others in the 1910s, most notably James Scott and Joseph Lamb. Scott, aided by Joplin, published numerous bestsellers, including "Ragtime Oriole" (1911), "Efficiency Rag" (1917), "New Era Rag" (1919), and the most acclaimed "Pegasus: A Classic Rag"

HOW OTHERS SEE US

Ragtime

While it drew on some of the conventions of European music, ragtime is seen by most historians as the first truly American popular music form to find widespread commercial acceptance, and the first to be exported. The rousing syncopation of ragtime, owing much to the marches of John Philip Sousa but written mainly for piano, lent itself to dancing, and early American hits like Scott Joplin's 1899 "Maple Leaf Rag" helped establish the modern music industry with huge sales of its sheet music—75,000 copies in the first six months.

Within a few years, British music hall performers were singing American ragtime hits in their acts, and in 1912 a band called the American Ragtime Octette toured England in response to a full-blown craze that soon spread to the Continent. By 1913, American visitors to Europe were reporting that, going by all the ragtime songs that could be heard in London, Paris, Vienna, or Berlin, they could have sworn they'd never left home.

Some critics, such as J. B. Priestley, expressed alarm that Europe's importation of such a patently American musical form could only mean one thing: eventual American cultural dominance. But there was no stopping the flood tide of popular culture, especially not when there was money to be made (London established its own "Tin Pan Alley" style music publishing industry toward the end of the 1910s). Composers like Claude Debussy incorporated ragtime conventions into new piano suites; poets like T. S. Eliot quoted popular ragtime lyrics in such works as "The Waste Land." Such widespread acceptance of ragtime laid the groundwork for the future introduction of jazz, blues, and other American musical innovations.

(1919). Lamb, who was white, learned ragtime from Joplin's sheet music. Lamb's style, published by John Stark (based on a recommendation by Joplin), led to a ragtime craze along the Eastern seaboard. From 1908 to 1919, Lamb published twelve rags for Stark, most notably the "Ragtime Nightingale" (1915) and "Top Liner Rag" (1916).

THE BLUES AND JAZZ

While the links between ragtime, the blues, and jazz are still debated, it is certain that the formation of the blues and jazz was influenced by the growing commercial and artistic acceptance of ragtime. Fortunately, neither the blues nor jazz suffered the fate of ragtime—that of being absorbed and weakened by commercial composers on Tin Pan Alley. This was probably true for the blues because the medium was so closely linked to African American performances. Using distinct "blue notes," a flat third and seventh, few chord changes, odd modes, and only three-line verses, the blues remained a strongly vernacular sound that was nearly impossible for composers to capture on paper. The trembling blue notes were particularly discernible in black performances, a characteristic tracing its lineage back to African and Caribbean roots. Always deep in meaning, the style was intended to be used to combat depression, not wallow in it.

The ability to manipulate the same song into many unique forms was typical of the improvisational character of the blues. When the blues were finally published in 1912, the genre created a line of popular music which was both separate from and connected to that of ragtime.

William Christopher (W. C.) Handy is credited as being the "father of the blues," in large part because he was able to compose music that retained the ephemeral qualities of the style. Because recordings of blues performances did not begin until the 1920s, Handy's compositions provide the earliest evidence of the format free and clear of commercial influence. Handy was a formally trained musician who learned as much from his everyday performances as he did from his instructors. While he began his career playing marches, rags, and popular orchestral pieces, he soon earned local fame from his renditions of "authentic" African American music. In 1909,

while performing in Memphis, he was asked to turn one of these into a campaign song for a local politician. The result, first termed "Mr. Crump," was later polished and rechristened "The Memphis Blues." Although not published until 1912, this date serves as a useful starting point for the birth of the blues. Throughout the decade, Handy continued to produce compositions that sold millions of copies, including "St. Louis Blues" (1914), "Joe Turner Blues" (1916), and "Beale Street Blues" (1917). While these received great attention from white entertainers, Tin Pan Alley proved incapable of bottling the lightning of black performers.

The blues were also unique in that they provided an opportunity for African American female singers to flourish. Women such as Ma Rainey, Bessie Smith, Chippie Hill, and Ida Cox dominated the early blues market. With a wider vocal range and a greater ability to shift between blues notes and traditional major notes, women were able to navigate the difficult performances while still articulating the all-important lyrics. Bessie Smith was probably the best of this strong group. Smith's fame and fortune had to wait until the 1920s, when the recording industry began to take the genre seriously and the listening public developed an ear for the new sound.[2]

Jazz, too, gained popularity in the 1910s. Whether generated from ragtime or, as many claim, more directly from the blues, jazz soon developed a style all its own. The connection to ragtime is less secure, as the formal structure and strict composition of rags were contrary to the improvisational style of jazz performances. In addition, ragtime performances were limited to those who could read music and, usually were performed before mixed or all-white audiences. By contrast, jazz musicians typically played by ear, with no two renditions exactly alike, and before crowds more likely to be dominated by African Americans. As a result, the tunes were played "hotter," with a faster pace that was, like the blues, difficult for white composers to copy and exploit on Tin Pan Alley. Still, the careers of ragtime, blues, and jazz composers hint at the intricate ways in which these three threads of African American music were woven together.[3]

Jazz certainly originated in the urban black subculture of New Orleans. Based on the "hot," performances of African American musicians hired to entertain customers at the local bars and brothels of Storyville, "jazzed" tunes were highly improvised. The city aided in the development of this sound in several ways. The tolerance of red-light districts such as Storyville provided steady work for a large number of musicians. The Creole culture of New Orleans also gave blacks greater freedom to intermingle with whites, which translated into greater access to their entertainment dollars. Finally, the port city provided a source of cheap brass instruments, many left over from the Spanish-American war, for impoverished but talented black musicians.

Musicians not native to the region had a hard time imitating the effect. The style favored combos containing a trombone, cornet, clarinet, drums, and piano—each capable of syncopating and improvising. Jazz was also a performing art rather than a written or composed one. Virtuoso performances, not sheet music sales, were the mark of a great performer. Finally, early jazz bands developed almost accidentally as talented musicians moved from gig to gig, looking for steady pay and reliable partners. As a result, most jazz bands of the 1910s rarely lasted long. It was not until 1915 that "Jelly Roll" Morton cut the first jazz records, and not until the 1920s that these recordings began to provide enough money to support professional jazz bands.[4]

Around 1909, New Orleans jazz bands began to migrate north, first to Kansas City and Memphis and later to Chicago, Oklahoma City, and Detroit. When in 1917, during World War I, the U.S. Army ordered the closure of most brothels in Storyville, the slow but steady trickle of musicians became a torrent. From 1918 until the mid-1920s, distinct jazz styles (such as Chicago jazz) evolved in many of these secondary cities. It was largely from these regional expressions that white performers such as Jimmie McPartland, Lionel Hampton, Bix Beiderbecke, Gene Krupa, and Benny Goodman learned their jazz sounds.

The first recorded jazz band, the Original Dixieland Jazz Band, was composed of white musicians. Leaving New Orleans in 1915, the band became a sensation in Chicago and was "discovered" in 1917 while playing at Reisenweber's Restaurant, in New York City. Recorded on

February 26, 1917, and led by cornetist Dominic James LaRocca, the Original Dixieland Jazz Band sold over a million copies of their songs "Livery Stable Blues" and "Dixieland Jass [*sic*] Band One-Step." While later recordings by the group showed little originality or improvisation, their early work certainly was the product of, and accurately reflected, the New Orleans sound. Although it may be unfair that the quintessential contribution of America to world music was originally credited to white musicians, the music that they produced was the product of African American artists.

Regardless of who was recorded first, black performers soon dominated the field. Sidney Bechet, a Creole from New Orleans, toured the country, and went on to Europe and worldwide fame. Joseph "King" Oliver, also a product of New Orleans, played cornet with Storyville legends such as Bunk Johnson before achieving stardom in Chicago. Oliver's departure opened the door to a young prodigy by the name of Louis Armstrong, who redefined and further elevated the genre in the coming decades. "Jelly Roll" Morton probably best defines the African American jazz performer of the 1910s. A product of rag, blues, and jazz traditions, "Jelly" experimented with a variety of sounds, techniques, and arrangements before settling on a recognizable (and marketable) jazz style. A product of the New Orleans urban subculture, Morton was a Creole who worked as a pimp and a gambler before settling on music. His first composition, "Jelly Roll Blues" (1915), was a hit that contributed to an irregular but generally productive career which lasted for the next twenty years. Still, Morton's broad-based musical background included ragtime, blues, classical, jazz, spirituals, and opera; he performed from New Orleans to California in clubs ranging from two-bit brothels to some of America's greatest halls.

Sports

and Leisure of the 1910s

During the 1910s, Americans displayed, through their participation in or consumption of these sports, games, and fads, a greater commitment to individual expression than in previous generations. These activities validated the broader Progressive ideals of fair play, democracy, and civic advancement, thus redefining what it meant to participate in American life.

SPORTS AND RECREATION

In the 1910s, Americans continued to debate and redefine what sports and recreation meant. Earlier generations had found exercise in their daily lives (if from no other activity than walking), and they considered play and recreation to be a waste of time. By 1910, play was regarded not only as a useful pursuit, but as an essential one in the training of young minds. The focus on children was especially sharp, as the drive to expand recreation and sport merged with efforts made by reformers to save immigrant children from the harsh environmental conditions of the inner cities. Proper civic values, such as a respect for fair play, self-help, and an avoidance of class biases, were thought to be foreign to the millions of immigrants and their children.

Armed with a greater awareness of inner-city social problems—the direct result of the reports by muckrakers and Progressives like Lewis Hine and Jane Addams—advocates believed that opportunities for "organized play" would have a significantly positive effect not only on America's youth, but also on the ability for others to accept these new citizens as equal members of society. In 1911, when Milwaukee residents were asked to describe the typical day of the urban child, more than half assumed that they were "doing nothing" with their time. Two years later, a similar poll in Cleveland showed that 40 percent of respondents believed that youth were wasting the day, possibly leading to juvenile delinquency. In the 1900s, many towns and cities had passed ordinances prohibiting any type of child's play on city streets.[1]

The rising fears of gang activity also supported the need to take a second look at recreation and sports. Social reformers had found that teenagers generally joined gangs as a way to achieve an independent identity that was separate from parental (or state guardian) authority. While in these gangs, youths were educated to believe that their particular race, ethnicity, religion, or social status was the single most important social characteristic in their lives. As they aged into young adults, many gang members proved unwilling to accept their place within a society of equal individuals because of the values instilled by the gang.



A maypole dance, a common event for children, in celebration of May Day, May 1. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

By contrast, reformers claimed that organized play and team sports undermined the tendency to form factions and supported the idea that fair play and respect for others were rewarded in modern society. Individual transgressions of the rules penalized the entire group.

Finally, international events reinforced these efforts to extol the virtues of play. The revival of the Olympic games in 1896—along with the 1904 St. Louis Olympics—merged nationalism with physical skills in ways that suggested the positive good of sports. The activities of American servicemen in World War I also promoted the organized play movement. To develop physical fitness, inductees and volunteers spent countless hours at military bases playing volleyball, baseball, hockey, and basketball. Boxing, wrestling, and swimming were also championed by the U.S. Army. As a result, Americans became more accepting of claims that sports and physical fitness would lead to decency and honor.

Ultimately, proponents of organized play tapped into these fears and opportunities in an effort to reform a child's "wasted time" into useful, civically beneficial activities. The play movement was essentially a progressive reform intended to save children from the vices of the inner city and to develop the civic values many believed the immigrant culture lacked. This was not an insignificant shift in the minds of many native-born Americans. Cooperation and group development ran counter to many of the intellectual trends of the past fifty years. In addition, many opposed the Progressive notion that environmental conditions of poverty were the leading causes of vice.

PARKS, PLAYGROUNDS, AND THE PLAY MOVEMENT

The challenge of dealing with overcrowded tenements, crime, and inner-city pollution gave rise to recreation and sports facilities. Certainly, some

efforts had been made before the 1910s to develop parks and recreational facilities. Landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted constructed New York City's Central Park in 1867 to provide contemplative, natural settings for urban citizens. Unfortunately, these facilities were rarely accessible to the working class, nor were they friendly to those who wanted to use them for exercise. As late as the 1900s, many municipal parks expressly forbade walking on the grass, much less organizing a baseball game on the grounds. In 1910, Boston had only 14 places for the public to swim and seven public gymnasiums. Similarly, small, local playgrounds were appearing in the inner city, but usually in regions that were populated by wealthier Americans—and only when the land was not claimed by developers interested in erecting more housing.

Still, urban reformers convinced of the social benefits to be derived from organized play were planning facilities that could be used by those of more moderate economic means. Chicago's South Park System, begun in 1903, comprised 10 separate parks, all located in the poorest parts of the city. Funds were made available for the maintenance of these grounds and for the construction of a number of playgrounds, tracks, pools, and gyms. It was estimated that in its first few years of operation, the South Park System serviced nearly five million people annually.[2]

Such concentrated efforts remained rare, however; less than 40 parks had been constructed nationwide. Moreover, the movement lacked a coordinated, national voice. This changed in 1906, with the rise of the Playground Association of America (PAA). Led by Henry Curtis, Joseph Lee, Jane Addams, Jacob Riis, and Luther Gulick, and funded from money provided by the Russell Sage Foundation, the PAA combined the moral suasion of the settlement house movement, the medical profession, and the presidency (Theodore Roosevelt acted as the honorary leader of the PAA until 1908). With its organization centered in New York City, the PAA focused their efforts on the larger, industrial cities with amazing success. By the 1910s, the group coordinated the work of 744 full-time and more than 5,000 part-time play directors. They oversaw the construction of thousands of playgrounds, costing localities a combined $100 million, which arranged age-specific activities for children from 4 to 18 years old. By 1917, the PAA claimed it had initiated 3,940 playgrounds and recreational programs with 8,748 directors in 481 cities and towns throughout the country.[3]

CLASS AND THE RISE OF MODERN SPECTATOR SPORTS

The aspiring middle class exerted great influence on the development of modern sports. Increasingly, by 1900, white-collar workers and professionals could find the time and money to spend on leisure pursuits. The meritocracy of sports, which valued the best player on the field, not the wealthiest one, worked well with the mindset of the increasingly confident middle class. The rationality of sports—as well as its strict organization, set rules, equality of competition, and fascination with statistics—was in keeping with the search for order craved by many new professionals. Finally, sports seemed to provide the middle class access to new and largely open opportunities for social advancement. One could hobnob with industry leaders, discussing noncontroversial sports-related topics that were the focus of such popular new magazines as *Field and Stream, Sports Afield,* and *Outing,* or demonstrate their skills on the golf course or tennis court without having to discuss one's parents, occupation, or country of origin.

Such activities had interesting and unintended consequences in the field of spectator sports. For example, golf was long held as an elite pursuit as it required time, equipment, and access to rural or suburban courses. But with the rise of the upper middle-class professional, golf began to emerge as a more popular pastime in 1910. Soon, every good-sized town could boast of a local golf course, especially in the suburban areas lining the great cities on the Eastern seaboard.

In 1913, at the U.S. Golf Association Open, golf became a national sensation. The unlikely star of the tournament was Francis Ouimet, the 20-year-old son of a recent immigrant who had learned to play golf as a caddie and by sneaking onto the exclusive Brookline Country Club in a Boston suburb. He had won six amateur events



Champion golfer Marion Hollins, swinging a golf club in 1916, was typical of wealthy Americans who enjoyed golf. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

and legitimately qualified for the selective Open. Ouimet stunned the sports world when he tied British stars Harry Vardon and Ted Ray after three rounds. The following day, Ouimet fell behind, but rallied to force a fifth round the following day. He then bested Vardon by five strokes, and Ray by six.

Working-class Americans did have popular pastimes, but rarely were they accorded the respect given a "sport." The need for time and some disposable income were significant determinants of who participated or watched sporting events. While real wages were rising by 1910, the typical industrial laborer still worked 10 hours per day, 6 days a week. As a result, the sports that originated in neighborhood saloons, like boxing, pool, and illegal blood sports, expanded quickly in the working-class regions of the city. The growth of pool halls throughout the decade was phenomenal. More than 42,000 halls were legally registered by 1920. Although less numerous, bowling alleys were popular with the upper working classes because they allowed for family entertainment that included both men and women.

PROFESSIONAL BASEBALL

Baseball emerged as the first true mass spectator sport intended for the average American. Professional baseball survived a difficult decade: numerous splits in the professional leagues, a world war, and a scandal that included one of its greatest players in the World Series.

Baseball owners were quick to catch onto the ideals of organized play that were capturing the attention of reformers. It was argued that following baseball could make one a better citizen. Its rules, sense of fair play, meritocracy, and honesty made buying a ticket to the ballpark nearly a civic duty. Rooting for the home team helped recent immigrants develop a greater sense of civic pride.[4]

One important component ball clubs needed to make this argument more persuasive was a sense of permanence. A club that moved from town to town was unable to attract and retain a base of fans. The construction of modern parks went far to provide this stability. As a result, the decade saw new fields constructed in Pittsburgh (Forbes Field), Philadelphia (Shibe Park), Boston (Fenway Park), Detroit (Tiger Stadium), New York City (the Polo Grounds), Brooklyn (Ebbets Field), and Chicago (Comiskey and Wrigley Fields). These ballparks were not just monuments to the team's stability and commitment to the locale. They also assuaged the fears of many fans. Fires in Chicago, Cleveland, and New York stadiums were well chronicled in the newspapers, and old wooden stands occasionally collapsed under the weight of the crowd. Given the heightened competition from movies, vaudeville, and dance halls, improvements were required for baseball to continue growing in the 1910s.

The mammoth size of these modern arenas created a new type of public space. The Polo Fields, when opened in 1911, seated more than 32,000 people before it was expanded to hold 54,000.[5] One result of these large structures was that the baseball crowd tended to be more diverse and representative of America than almost any other popular sport. Women regularly attended the games, as did people of color. The arrival of the American League in 1901 opened play on Sundays, giving access to workers who were otherwise occupied on Saturdays (leading to a middle class–working class split between the fans of National and American League teams). While the game was still played only by white men, outsiders felt more comfortable within the

anonymity of the large parks. As a result, baseball crowds tended to be much more orderly than those of almost any other sport.

By 1912, there were 46 minor leagues and two major leagues with teams throughout the United States. Nearly 6.8 million people attended a baseball game each year by 1910 (double that of the previous decade). This grew to 9.3 million per year by the close of the decade.[6]

The greatest direct threat to the professional leagues came in 1913, when the Federal League was born. This professional association was created by entrepreneurs who felt they had been excluded from the game by the current owners of National and American Leagues. By and large, the new teams were created in markets where clubs already existed. Many tried to attract the biggest talents of the established leagues through higher salaries or other incentives. This gamble proved to be too risky, and by 1915 the Federal League agreed to disband. The established professional club owners offered each Federal League club that agreed to fold $600,000, the possibility of buying into an established club at a discount at some future date, and admission to their league for the two most successful Federal clubs: in Chicago and St. Louis. In 1919, the Federal League franchise in Baltimore sued, claiming that the American and National Leagues constituted a national monopoly, or trust, over professional baseball and therefore should be regulated by the federal government as any other interstate business. In a landmark decision for professional baseball, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1922 that while teams certainly traveled between states, the "product" of baseball (i.e., games) did not cross state lines. Baseball was not subject to federal oversight.

A second potential problem during the decade was the owners themselves. Their commitment to winning and sharing their success with the players varied greatly. For example, Frank Farrell and Jacob Ruppert were both owners of the New York Highlanders, soon to be renamed Yankees, during the 1910s. Farrell bought into the new American League using the proceeds from his network of more than 200 gambling outlets and pool halls. While he proved to be one of the most financially resourceful of all owners, many suspected that his connections to illegal wagering held potentially explosive problems for the game. When Ruppert, a millionaire socialite and brewing magnate, purchased the team from Farrell for $460,000 in 1915, he wanted to rename it after a line of his beer. In the end, both men proved to be beneficial to the organization. Indeed, Ruppert's lavish spending on his players and facilities—for example, on January 5, 1920, he "purchased" George Herman "Babe" Ruth from the Boston Red Sox for $125,000, and in 1923 he built Yankee Stadium—created the baseball dynasty. Less wealthy owners soon found themselves at a disadvantage. Moreover, owners ruled without opposition and, as was the case with the Chicago White Sox, their personal biases and intransigence could have disastrous consequences.[7]



Floyd "Rube" Kroh, Chicago Cubs, National League, 1910. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Ultimately, it was the rise of the star system in baseball that secured its success. With the arrival in 1901 of the American League, and then in 1913 of the Federal League, the best ball players could market their services to a larger pool of bidders. By 1910, the average major leaguer was making a respectable $3,000 per year; that rose to around $5,000 by the end of the decade. The best players' salaries topped $10,000 per year, on par with doctors and lawyers. Each year, individual contracts kept driving the prices higher. Honus Wagner signed with Pittsburgh for $18,000 in 1910,

Ty Cobb was paid $20,000 annually by Detroit, and in 1922 Babe Ruth made $56,000 for his service to the Yankees.[8]

It appears that these salaries were well spent. The 1910s saw some of the best players in the game, including Cobb, Wagner, Ruth, Christy Mathewson (New York Giants), and Walter Johnson (Washington Senators). In 1919, Ruth hit 29 homers, shattering the old record (the next year he hit 54, more than any single *team* had previously) and become a national sensation. Many consider Johnson to have been the greatest pitcher in the game. While Cy Young won more games throughout his career (he retired in 1911 with 511 wins), Johnson earned his victories with a team that was a perennial loser. Johnson had ten consecutive 20-win seasons and twice topped 30. In 1913, his record was an astonishing 36–7; he pitched 56 consecutive scoreless innings, delivered 243 strikeouts, gave up 38 walks and an average of 1.09 runs per nine innings. Mathewson was an outstanding pitcher, but it was his behavior on and off the field made him a role model for baseball. At the peak of his career, Mathewson volunteered for duty in World War I, was gassed in combat, and died in 1925, largely as a result of related injuries. When the Baseball Hall of Fame was established in 1936, the five "Immortals" selected on the first ballot were Cobb, Wagner, Ruth, Mathewson, and Johnson—and all but Ruth made their most lasting mark playing during the 1910s.[9]

Stars, high pay, and modern stadiums led to escalating interest and attendance. Good players were lauded for how well they exemplified American values. Rising salaries and, in 1912, the formation of a new player's union (the Fraternity of Professional Baseball Players of America) gave strong encouragement for others to avoid brawls and obvious alcohol abuse. Managers began to require that their players dress and act as professionals while in the public eye. Clubs looked to hire college-educated athletes, many of whom—like Jim Thorpe—had already made a name for themselves nationwide. By 1920, nearly 20 percent of all rookies came from the college ranks.[10] Umpires were paid better and abused less. This professionalism boosted the faith that middle-class Americans put into baseball.

When viewed in this light, the 1919 "Black Sox" scandal could have been potentially lethal to professional baseball. The Chicago White Sox were owned by Charles Comiskey, a former player and manager who toiled all his life under cheap owners. When Comiskey himself became an owner, first in Sioux City, Iowa, and then, in 1900, in Chicago, he proved to be even more petty. Joining the fledgling American League in 1901, Comiskey's team (which took the name White Sox after it had been discarded by the National League's Chicago team, which shifted from White Sox, to Nationals, to Colts, and finally the Cubs) won pennants in 1901, 1906, 1917, and 1919. While the team was well supported by the city, Comiskey paid his players less than half of the national average and much less to his star players. The greatest player of the White Sox was "Shoeless" Joe Jackson. A lifetime .356 hitter, Jackson came to Chicago in 1916 after a stellar career in Cleveland. His batting stance was thought to be nearly perfect, and numerous major league players (including Babe



Ty Cobb and Joe Jackson, two of the best baseball players of the era. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Ruth) patterned themselves after the consummate hitter. His skills were so well regarded that Comiskey was forced, in 1919, to extend a three-year guaranteed contract to Jackson. That year, supported by a strong team, Jackson propelled the White Sox to the World Series, where they were heavy favorites to beat the Cincinnati Reds.

The links among organized crime, professional gamblers, and baseball had always been close. Baseball offered gamblers many ways to wager, and collusion by only a few players could have great consequences. After winning the pennant, White Sox first baseman Chick Gandil was approached by a professional gambler named Arnold Rothstein and offered $100,000 to throw the series. Gandil agreed and was helped by seven of his teammates, including Jackson, who later admitted to taking $5,000. While Jackson played well, batting .375 and driving in six runs, the White Sox lost the World Series three games to five (in a best of nine contest).

Many, including Comiskey, suspected that the "fix was in" by the second game. Comiskey had evidence of a bribe only weeks after the series ended. He said nothing. It was not until 1920, after a Chicago Cubs regular-season game was thrown, that Illinois Attorney General MacClay Hoyne impaneled a grand jury to investigate gambling and baseball in the state. Hoyne subpoenaed eight suspected White Sox players. In their testimony before the grand jury, Gandil, Jackson, and the others admitted they had taken money. This was enough to convince the jurists that a felony had been committed, and Hoyne was advised to press charges. The trial had the potential to ruin the White Sox, smear the reputation of baseball, incarcerate Rothstein and the players, and drive Comiskey from the game. Yet when the trial began, the incriminating testimony mysteriously disappeared. When the eight refused to testify in open court, the prosecution was left without evidence and the "Black Sox" were acquitted.

The damage to the reputation of baseball went to the core of its self-professed values. Only the heavy hand of the baseball commissioner—a former federal district judge—Kenesaw Mountain Landis prevented the situation from deteriorating further. In spite of the acquittal, Landis permanently banned the players from professional baseball. Jackson was also permanently barred from admission to the Hall of Fame as a result (to date, he has the third highest lifetime batting average in all of baseball and the highest of any player not currently enshrined at Cooperstown). Landis's swift and decisive action, coupled with the hitting prowess of Babe Ruth, allowed baseball to emerge relatively unscathed by the incident.

Many believe that Comiskey was the man in the center of the controversy. Had he paid his players even an average salary or treated them with the respect that entertainment professionals earned in the United States by 1919, the team members in all likelihood would not have been tempted by the numerous gamblers who loitered around America's ballparks. Comiskey's character deficiencies were revealed more fully in 1924 when, after being sued for his failure to honor Jackson's guaranteed contract, he produced the "lost" grand jury confession. By proving that Jackson had admitted taking a bribe, Comiskey showed that Jackson had breached his contract

WORLD SERIES

1910 Philadelphia Athletics (AL), 4 games; Chicago Cubs (NL), 1 game

1911 Philadelphia Athletics (AL), 4 games; New York Giants (NL), 2 games

1912 Boston Red Sox (AL), 4 games; New York Giants (NL), 3 games

1913 Philadelphia Athletics (AL), 4 games; New York Giants (NL), 1 game

1914 Boston Braves (NL), 4 games; Philadelphia Athletics (AL), 0 games

1915 Boston Red Sox (AL), 4 games; Philadelphia Phillies (NL), 1 game

1916 Boston Red Sox (AL), 4 games; Brooklyn Dodgers (NL) 1 game

1917 Chicago White Sox (AL), 4 games; New York Giants (NL), 2 games

1918 Boston Red Sox (AL), 4 games; Chicago Cubs (NL), 2 games

1919 Cincinnati Reds (NL), 5 games; Chicago White Sox (AL), 3 games

and therefore was not entitled to the remainder of his salary. Many have concluded that Comiskey and Rothstein planned and carried out the pilfering of these confessions in 1920. Comiskey never admitted his role in the crisis nor did he change his tightfisted ways.

BOXING

Prize fighting represented one of the rare instances in which a once disreputable working-class pastime was transformed into an accepted national spectator sport. The emergence of respectable fighters, including Jack Dempsey, the "Manassa Mauler," and Gene Tunney, who perfected his boxing skills while with the American Expeditionary Force in World War I helped lead to this acceptance.[11]

Jack Johnson continued to be one of the most prominent boxers of the decade, following his earlier successes beginning in the later 1890s. One of the first African American heavyweight champions of the modern era, Johnson earned his title in 1910 with a fifteenth-round knockout of James Jeffries. (See Sports and Leisure of the 1900s.) After Johnson earned $60,000 for winning the fight, Johnson's mother proudly claimed that her son "said he'd *bring home the bacon,* and the honey boy has gone and done it,"[12] thereby adding a new slang phrase to the American language. In an era of overt racism, Johnson stood as a proud symbol for African Americans: able to excel as a champion based on merit, second to no one regardless of his skin color. Johnson's drinking and womanizing, typical for prizefighters of that era, and his marriage to an 18-year-old white actress and model, Lucille Cameron, however, stoked racial hatred. Nearly every competitor of Johnson's was labeled a "great white hope," and race riots broke out across the country when Johnson sent his opponents reeling. Johnson, exiled from the United States for supposedly violating the Mann Act through his marriage to Cameron, lost his crown in 1915 to Jess Willard while fighting in Havana, Cuba.



Jack Johnson (right) and James Jeffries (left) at the World Championship Battle, Reno, Nevada, July 4, 1910. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

BASKETBALL

Essentially a new sport, created by Dr. James Naismith in 1891, basketball showed signs of growth in the 1910s, but remained small compared to baseball and football. Much of the enthusiasm for the game grew out of collegiate contests. Several college conferences began play in the 1900s, and more established games in the following decade, including the Southwest (1915) and Pacific Coast (1916). Wisconsin, under the tutelage of innovative coach Walter "Doc" Meanwell, stood as national collegiate champions in 1912, 1916, and 1917.

Professional basketball did not have a central organizing body in the decade. The Original Celtics, founded in 1918 by promoters Jim and Tom Furey, helped consolidate the hodgepodge by luring the best players to one team. The Furey brothers signed star players, such as Henry "Dutch" Dehnert and Joe Lapchick, to individual contracts based on play for an entire season, thus limiting a player's ability to switch to another league or team midway.

FOOTBALL

Football was originally a sport of the upper class; the game was the chosen recreation of most college-bound sons of America's elite. Despite these aristocratic roots, by 1900 football was found throughout the country and was vying for recognition as *the* national game.

Football's popularity on college campuses was primarily due to the fact that the typical college

student at the time was male, young, affluent, and in a relatively uncontrolled environment for the first time. These sons of the rich, well trained to sacrifice for the good of the group, were eager to show the world that they could lead the "strenuous life" needed to take control of an emerging industrial giant like the United States. The rituals of the weekend games, either as a player or as a spectator, also served to release pressure after a week's worth of classes in which one's place in the future social order was being determined. Accordingly, America's most prestigious universities had some of the fiercest and most selective football programs in the country, followed closely by the large Midwestern universities that now make up the Big 10 football conference.

A large part of the appeal of the game was the violent release of energy that occurred on the field. Unfortunately and probably inevitably, young men driven to such levels of excitement were often unable to contain this violence. At times, the game turned deadly. Fortunately for the hundreds of student athletes, Walter Camp, the head of the American Collegiate Football Rules Committee (the precursor to the National Collegiate Athletic Association, NCAA), set to work modify the basic rules of the game. Among other changes, Camp wanted to create more opportunities to score and, in 1912, he changed the number of points for a touchdown to six and reduced the scoring of field goals to three points. (Before that the average score for most games had been in the single digits.) He legalized the forward pass and separated the teams by a line of scrimmage to give the players more time to develop complex scoring strategies. Camp also outlawed the unstoppable, bone-snapping, flying wedge as being simply too dangerous.

Almost immediately, these changes had their intended effects. Deaths became less and less common, and the fans were treated to a more wide-open, enjoyable game. In some ways, scoring became too easy for the better schools. Georgia Tech's impressive 1916 and 1917 teams rolled up massive margins against their opponents, including a 41–0 win over Pennsylvania, and a 222–0 victory over Cumberland (Tennessee), a game in which Tech's kicker booted 18 extra points in the first half alone. The changes also allowed innovative and daring football tacticians to take on the giants of the game. Most noteworthy was the small, wholly outmatched team from Notre Dame, a little and largely unknown Catholic college, who utilized the forward pass to stun Army 35–13. Their quarterback, Gus Dorais, relied on the quickness and intelligence of his key receivers, including Knute Rockne, to befuddle the impenetrable wall that was Army's defensive line. That same year, University of Chicago's Amos Alonzo Stagg began numbering his players' jerseys as an aid to the public, who were beginning to take an intense interest in the revived sport.

During the 1910s, the immense popularity of football began attracting fans across the nation. Colleges began constructing large stadiums: The newly constructed Yale Bowl, in New Haven, Connecticut, held 60,000 fans when it opened in 1914. That same year, colleges invested over $2 million nationwide for new arenas. The decade also saw the growth of football stardom for such players as Rockne, George Gipp, Jim Thorpe, and coaches including Stagg and Glen Scobie "Pop" Warner. In 1915, the second Tournament of Roses football game was played in Pasadena, California. The first, held thirteen years earlier, was a failure. After 1915 the Rose Bowl became an important and much discussed contest between the best teams of the East and West, and it signaled the arrival of college football as a national preoccupation.

While no doubt aided by the innovative tactics of his coach, "Pop" Warner, and the skills of his fellow teammates at Carlisle Indian School, Jim Thorpe's exceptional athletic skills set him apart from all others. During his freshman year, Thorpe's smaller teams defeated such goliaths as Pennsylvania, Chicago, Army, and, in one of the greatest upsets of all time, Harvard in 1911. Thorpe solidified his reputation as "the world's greatest athlete" at the 1912 Olympic Games held in Stockholm, Sweden, where he won nearly every event in both the decathlon and pentathlon and won gold medals in both. When it was later reported that Thorpe had earned $15 a week for playing semi-professional baseball in the summer of 1909, a common practice for most college athletes, the Olympic Commission stripped him of his medals, an offense that was not corrected

until 1980, 27 years after his death. Regardless of this slight, Thorpe popularized football as Babe Ruth did in baseball. His professional football career motivated many Americans to attend their first spectator sport.

OLYMPICS

Stockholm, Sweden hosted the 1912 Summer Olympic Games. Nearly 2,500 athletes participated from 28 countries. The host nation won the most total medals (65), followed by the U.S. (63), and Great Britain (41).

The 1912 Games caused an international uproar when officials decided to include women's swimming and diving events. James E. Sullivan, the powerful head of the AAU, forbade American women from competing in the Stockholm festival. Despite the puritanical reaction of the U.S., many nations allowed women to compete.

The 1916 Summer Games scheduled for Berlin were cancelled when war broke out in Europe. Despite calls to change the venue, founder of the modern Olympic movement Pierre de Coubertin would not change the location.

JIM THORPE

Jim Thorpe, born with a twin brother, Charles, in the Oklahoma Territory in May of 1888, was primarily descended from the Sac and Fox tribes. After the sickly Charles died at age eight, Thorpe went on to excel in sports at a young age, earning All American honors at Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania. A member of the Olympic team in 1912, Thorpe won gold medals in the pentathlon and decathlon and set a 200-meter hurdling record that stood for 36 years. During the awards ceremony the king of Sweden, Gustave V, exclaimed, "Sir, you are the greatest athlete in the world." Later, Thorpe was stripped of his medals in 1913 due to his playing professional baseball in 1909 and 1910 in the East Carolina league. Thorpe went on to play baseball for the great New York Giants under the irascible John McGraw. When his manager hurled a racial slur at him one day, Thorpe chased him across the infield, and only his teammates prevented him from giving his manager a severe beating. At the beginning of the 1919 season, Thorpe decided to quit baseball, deliberately striking out with a smile on his face. McGraw fired him on the spot. During his baseball career he played professional football as well, ultimately becoming the American Professional Football Association's first president in 1920. Thorpe played pro football for 14 teams including one composed of mostly Native Americans. Thorpe was the first of the two-sport athletes who came later, such as Bo Jackson and Deion Sanders. His achievements in sports as a Native American during the pre-civil rights era became legendary.

From Mike Coppock, "The 20th Century's Greatest Athlete," *American History* 42, no. 5 (2007).

GAMES AND TOYS

In the fall of 1917, the Council of National Defense held hearings in Washington, D.C., to debate a topic that was a child's worst nightmare: whether to cancel Christmas. The council, made up of powerful industrialists and policymakers, was not debating the merit of observing the Christian celebration. Rather, given America's entry into World War I in April of that year, the council was questioning the rampant consumerism that had grown in conjunction with the holiday. The council hoped to conserve critical war materials, such as steel and copper, as well as to instill the need for personal sacrifice.

The production and sale of toys were not significant components of the U.S. economy in the 1910s. Most stores did not even carry toys regularly on their shelves; nearly two-thirds of toy purchases were made around the Christmas holiday. It was the toy industry's lobbyists, not children or their parents, who were most vocal about the potential ban.[13]

For the most part, up to 1910, typical toys and games were constructed at home or were limited to small, relatively inexpensive purchases. Homemade dolls, blocks, jigsaw puzzles, and dice were the basis for most children's toys. For girls, cutout dresses for paper dolls taken from newspaper advertisements or last year's catalogs were common. For boys, a rare figurine or wheeled miniature was standard—and these typically were handed down through the generations.

The vast majority of purchased toys were made in Germany, England, or France. There, suppliers had perfected the process of working tin into a variety of shapes and styles. Tin plate provided a smooth, flat surface that was easy to bend and could easily be assembled using either solder or metal tabs. More important, tin allowed for metal lithographing, which applied a variety of colors and patterns to a toy's surface.

American manufacturers did excel, however, in the production of cast-iron toys. Perhaps because of their weight, which prohibited easy overseas transport from Europe, the market for cast-iron goods remained under the control of U.S. suppliers. Initially these goods were cruder than the European imports, but they were easier to mass produce and hence cheaper for the consumer. The quality of these goods varied greatly. Expensive toys were finely finished and packaged in handsome wooden boxes. Cheaper goods, much cruder, were packed in cardboard or not at all.

During the 1910s, as prices fell and casting techniques improved (allowing for greater detail), consumers became mesmerized by sturdy mechanized banks and the spring-driven vehicles. Cast-iron replicas of boats, fully functioning steam engines, miniature sewing machines, and other mementos of the machine age became increasingly easy for manufacturers to mass produce. The craze for all things on wheels, from automobiles to fire engines, helped spur the growth of sales. When the war broke out, miniature cast-iron airplanes, dirigibles, and artillery pieces became popular among children. By the end of the decade, the Arcade Manufacturing Company (Freeport, Illinois) was issuing an annual catalog, listing over fifty pages of cast-iron toys.

Stuffed toys also became increasingly popular in the 1910s. While rag dolls and stuffed animals



Teddy bears, made in New York, 1915. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

had always been made for children, the popularity of the teddy bear drove the markets to new heights throughout the decade. The toy, named for Teddy Roosevelt, who in 1903 refused to shoot a tethered grizzly bear cub, became the rage after the *Washington Post* promoted the incident. Typical of the period, it was a German toymaker, Margarete Steiff, who produced the first teddy bears in 1904. It was estimated that more than a million of the toys were sold by 1910. In the United States, Morris and Rose Michtom, Russian immigrants and toy retailers, began manufacturing the stuffed bears domestically in 1907. By 1910, the Michtoms had closed their store to focus on production and founded the Ideal Novelty & Toy Company. Ideal was one of the first suppliers to begin using cotton for their stuffing, rather than the traditional straw, kapok (a silky fiber imported from Malaysia), or granulated cork. As a result, they developed a reputation for quality that previously had been reserved for European imports.

Stuffed dolls kept pace with the teddy bear. Cute figurines such as Baby Bumps, Negro Baby Bumps, and dolls representing the Campbell Kids—a cherub-faced boy and girl who were depicted on the popular soup labels—were promoted in newspapers and the periodicals. The advertising tie-in between one product and a seemingly unrelated toy, as was the case with Campbell's campaign in 1911, was an early indication of the profound changes that were driving choices of many consumers. When Rose O'Neill began marketing her Kewpie dolls, chubby dolls with a topknot of hair, in 1911, it was not to toy stores or other retailers but directly to the readers of the *Ladies' Home Journal.*

The single most influential new doll of the decade was Raggedy Ann, introduced in 1918. The creation of Johnny Gruelle, a political cartoonist, Raggedy Ann (and her friend Raggedy Andy, unveiled in 1920) was patented in 1915 through a series of children's stories written and illustrated by Gruelle. The doll was based on a rag doll created by Gruelle's mother, to which the son added the characteristic button eyes and triangle nose. Gruelle found a publisher willing to package a doll with each book sold. The firm, Volland Publishing Company of Chicago, found that the product tie-in greatly enhanced their sales. By the end of the decade it was the doll, and not the story, that drove Raggedy Ann's popularity.

Board games were also played by children and young adults, but with an important difference. In the 1910s, board games were regarded as ways in which to instill proper values which would prepare youngsters for the responsibilities of adulthood. These goals included fair play, rational thought, and honest competition—meaning that the winner was determined based solely on his or her merits.

The Singer Sewing Machine Company did much the same thing in marketing a toy sewer that was fully functional. They advertised the child's diversion as both "Practical and Instructive." Such functional thinking was typical of the era's approach not only to games and toys, but also to children's recreation and sport.[14]

One popular board game of the decade—Ouija—was diametrically opposed to this trend. The game was not really intended for children, but rather for adults. The title combines the French and German words for "yes" (*oui* and *ja*). Ouija was first created in the 1880s following an occult craze. The game was played by two people who, eyes closed, placed their fingers lightly on a three-cornered "planchette," which held a pencil. After asking the board a question, the planchette allegedly moved across letters or to a "yes" or "no" corner to indicate a response. William Fuld, a Baltimore toy maker who marketed Ouija in the United States, sold more than a million copies of the game in 1918 alone.

The most innovative and inventive children's games of the era, however, stayed true to educational goals. The Erector Set, developed by A. C. Gilbert, was the most significant. This construction toy was intended to allow a child to develop his imagination. Introduced in 1913, the Erector Set was sold under the slogan, "Hello, Boys! Make Lots of Toys!" Born in Salem, Oregon, Gilbert excelled at sports, including track, gymnastics, wrestling, and football, earning both an Olympic gold medal in 1908 and a scholarship to Yale. While at Yale, Gilbert focused on physical education, studied medicine, and eventually earned an M.D. Although well steeped in the Progressive values of a strenuous, healthy lifestyle, Gilbert also enjoyed practicing magic. He used this skill to earn

additional money as a performer and to start a small mail-order business that catered to amateur magicians. Gilbert's prospering magic supply business led him to open retail establishments selling these and other toys. In 1911, while traveling from New Haven to New York City, Gilbert was intrigued by the steel girders used to support the electrical lines that propelled the streetcars. He envisioned manufacturing a set of small construction pieces, including electric motors, cogs, and other moving parts, which would allow children to build their own toys. After experimenting with a number of designs throughout 1912, he finally arrived at a working solution which he patented and began to market the following year.

Gilbert's partners in magic were unwilling to participate in this gambit. Meccano, a rival construction set manufactured in England, had already sold poorly in the United States. Nevertheless, Gilbert believed that proper promotion and the inclusion of moving parts would ensure success. Venturing out on his own, Gilbert spent more than $12,000 to advertise the toy in such national magazines as *American Boy, Good Housekeeping,* and *Saturday Evening Post.* Gilbert highlighted the educational features of his product, and his Erector Set became an overnight sensation. Over the next twenty years, Gilbert expanded the options available through the sets and forayed into other "educational toy" markets such as microscopes, telescopes, and chemistry sets.

Other creative toys followed throughout the decade. Most notable was the arrival of Tinkertoys in 1914 and Lincoln Logs in 1916, which were originated by John L. Wright, son of architect Frank Lloyd Wright.

FADS AND HOBBIES

Most fads were initiated by the need to be the first on one's block to own new products, such as washing machines, floor sweepers, hair dryers, and pop-up toasters. Probably the most innovative was the handheld camera perfected and marketed by George Eastman. His first Kodak camera, which retailed for $25, was available for only $2 in 1913 and provided higher quality and better reliability than almost any other camera on the market.

Being the first to recognize cultural trends was also prized by many. Following the expansion of popular musical forms, ranging from Ragtime to Tin Pan Alley, dance crazes swept the country in the 1910s. By 1912, there were dozens of particular dance steps—including the fox trot, horse trot, crab step, kangaroo dip, camel walk, fish walk, chicken stretch, turkey trot, grizzly bear, and bunny hug—which rose and fell from popularity.

Fads during the 1910s were usually closely connected to new products or services rather than to new ideas or behaviors, and most were popular across racial, class, and gender lines. In addition, for the first time, American fads were exported around the globe. Americans developed a cultural pride, a sense of themselves as being separate from Europe through their unique manias. The fact that others could belatedly share in these passions lent strength to their movement through U.S. society.

Given the immense popularity of the automobile, it is not surprising that the car developed its own culture throughout the 1910s. More important, the popularity of Ford's Model T turned this once elite luxury into an everyday desire. When unveiled in 1908, the Model T retailed for $850, a modest price for a typical automobile. But when mass production lowered the cost of Ford's cars to $600 by 1912, middle-class Americans and the higher-paid working class were able to join in the fun. By 1914, every other new car purchased was a Ford.[15]

While still a major acquisition, Ford's consumers quickly personalized the Model T to suit their own style. Particularly for the young, riding clothes, goggles, running boards, rumble seats, cloth tops, and other accessories became mandatory to differentiate their (or their father's) Model T from the thousands of others. Model T joke books, which focused on the frequent breakdowns or slow speeds of the vehicle, soon proliferated across the country.

The speed of automobiles also took hold of America's imagination, although poor roads and congested urban traffic limited most speeds to ten to twenty miles an hour. Still, the potential for rapid transportation captured the minds of many. As early as 1906, Fred Marriot navigated a steam-powered automobile (called the Stanley Steamer)

over Daytona Beach at more than 127 miles an hour. More expensive internal combustion cars, such as Pierce Arrow or Panhards, could travel over fifty miles an hour on good roads. As a result, the 1910s saw the development of ways to limit the eagerness of drivers to drive fast. Most cities established speed limits (usually twenty miles per hour); in 1914, Cleveland became the first city to employ traffic lights to force drivers to yield to others at major intersections. Probably most indicative of America's love of speed was the Indianapolis 500, inaugurated in 1911 and won by Ray Harroun, who averaged 74 miles per hour.

Pilots also competed in popular time trials which were often sponsored by newspapers. Flight records were repeatedly set and broken throughout the decade. In 1912, Captain Albert Berry became the first American to jump successfully from an airplane aloft using a parachute. In 1919, an English pilot and an American navigator became the first to perform a nonstop transatlantic flight. After the war, former military aviators toured the country recreating perilous dogfights and performing death-defying tricks with their biplanes. The fad reached its height in the decade when, in 1919, couples began taking their wedding vows while riding on planes.

Travel

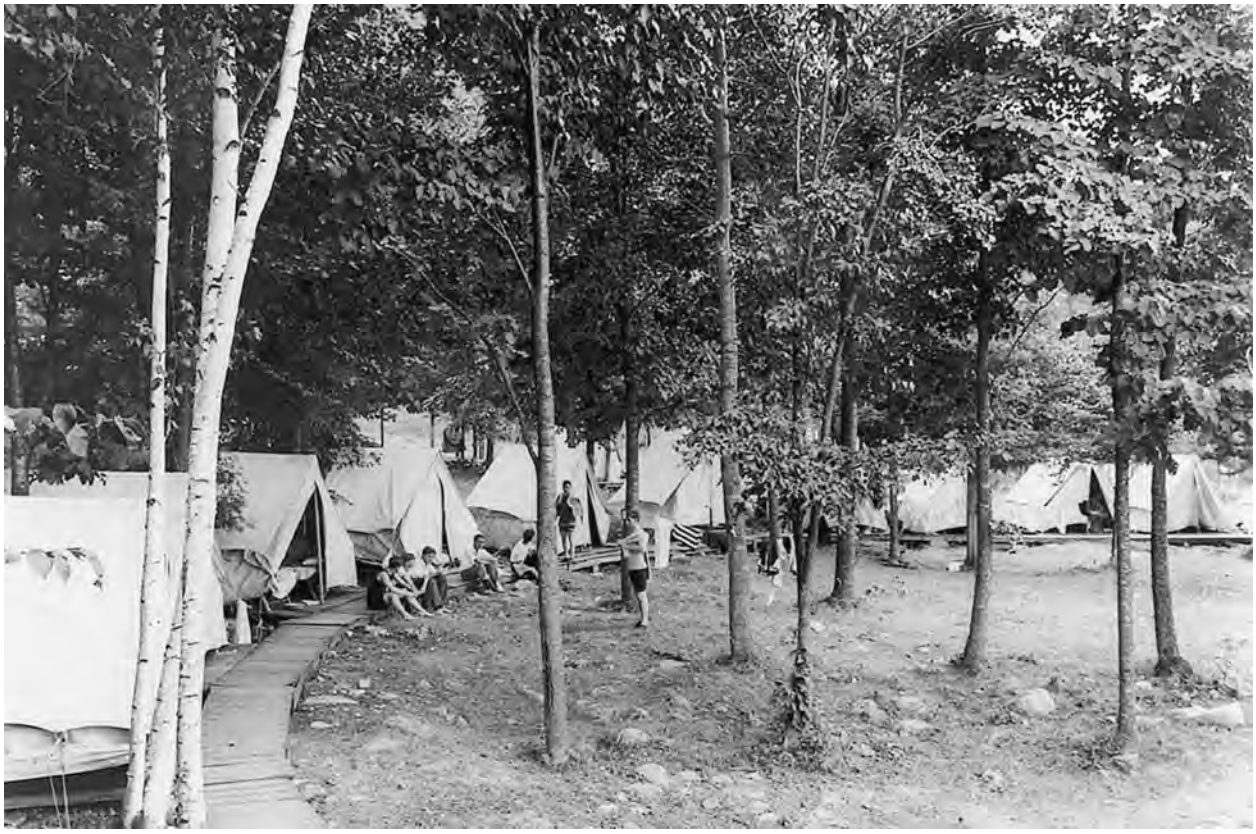
of the 1910s

A number of significant innovations and long-lasting changes were made to the ways in which Americans traveled during the 1910s. From the novelties of the airplane to the everyday travel of streetcars, getting from one place to another was easier and quicker. The variety of transportation ranged from the automobile and ocean liner to traditional horse carts and railroads. Soon, driving a car or taking an elevated train came to represent one's relative status in society. Even when disaster struck, such as during the infamous maiden voyage of RMS *Titanic* in 1912, Americans read into the tragedy criticisms about modern society and culture rather than the seaworthiness of the White Star Line's massive flagship.

DESTINATIONS

People still planned weekend visits to relatives, day trips to local amusements, and annual vacations to regional resorts. By the end of the decade, however, these visits were increasingly farther away from one's home and required more cash outlays. For example, in 1910 a typical vacation ocean cruise could be purchased for less than $60 per person (a price well within the range of the typical worker), which included a berth and meals for a 12-day round-trip voyage from New York City to Halifax, Nova Scotia. Similar trips were available for runs along the Atlantic seaboard to Florida and the Caribbean. For more money, one could travel to Europe or Latin America via regular, and increasingly quicker, boats. Railroads provided access to a number of popular attractions, including Niagara Falls and the Grand Canyon, which previously had been visited by those within a relatively small radius. In conjunction with the growth of these junkets was the spread of hotel accommodations. For around one dollar a day, travelers could find comfortable lodging in most American cities.

Cars also gave Americans access to a growing movement known as the Chautauqua. The Circuit Chautauqua, which first appeared in the 1870s in southwestern New York State, was a traveling troupe of actors, motivational speakers, and religious revivalists. Largely independent of formal associations, the Chautauquas varied greatly by region and local economy, but in general appealed to families seeking educational and cultural entertainment. A typical Chautauqua might last three days and include a selection from a Shakespeare play or a dramatization of Dickens, a noted speaker (such as William Jennings Bryan), music, movies, poetry readings, and social commentary by both humorists and reformers. The popularity of the events (estimates range as high as 30 to 45 million people attending by the



Camping became more popular in the 1910s because there were more options for transportation. The National Park Service was created in 1916. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

mid-1920s) led to great competition between the tours. The movement ebbed by the 1930s, largely due to radio, which provided similar entertainment in the home, the Great Depression, and the automobile, which provided a wider array of entertainment options.

Camping, too, became more widespread as a result of growing transportation options. The desire to experience the great outdoors became almost a national passion in the 1910s. The combined effects of Progressive reformers, who spoke against the poor quality of life within the cities, the growing access to unspoiled natural environments throughout the country, increased promotion by railroad companies hoping to spur a tourism boom, and the interest generated by the formation of a National Park system led many to strike out for the wilds. While Congress had set aside parts of the Yosemite Valley in California, as well as parks in Yellowstone in Montana and Wyoming, in the nineteenth century, protected regions expanded greatly in the 1910s. The creation of a National Park Service, in 1916, gave control of more than 14 preserves, mostly in the West, to the Department of the Interior. The service built roads, hotels, museums, and camping facilities within these domains to control the environmental impact of the thousands of new park visitors.

THE AIRPLANE

Air travel had come far since Orville and Wilbur Wright made their first flight in 1903. By the close of the 1910s, air travel was no longer a novelty and had become a key strategic technology for modern military forces.

In 1910, most airplanes were flimsy crafts allowing short journeys and carrying only a limited amount of weight. By 1913, the biplane (which used two sets of staggered wings) had become the standard model. The increase in lift and decrease in drag, due to the streamlined, enclosed fuselage, was accompanied by an engine that steadily increased in power. In England, in 1913, A. V. Roe

and Tom Sopwith constructed the first military training aircraft, a move that furthered the drive toward greater speed and agility. By the start of the war, Sopwith's "Camel" could climb more that 15,000 feet in less than 10 minutes, carry an effective military payload, and travel at over 200 miles per hour.

Pilots quickly gained experience throughout the decade. Novelty displays, which were popular with the public, led to a greater knowledge of what the plane could do. Parachute drops, water landings, loop-de-loops, inverted flight, and endurance flights (of speed, distance, and height) all were pioneered in the 1910s to the gaping awe of the audience.

When, in January 1914, P. E. Fansler used a Benoist flying boat to ferry passengers and freight from Tampa and Saint Petersburg, Florida, he launched the first commercial airline. While Fansler's firm lasted less than three months, more than a thousand people took the 22-mile excursion. On the ground, legal battles between the Wright brothers and Glenn H. Curtiss were being closely followed. Curtiss, a public aviator and builder, made his fame by setting speed records and winning a distinguished flying contest from Albany to New York City, in 1910, sponsored by Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World.* He converted his motorcycle factory to airplane production, but was blocked by patents held by the Wrights. In 1913 and then again in 1914, the federal courts upheld the Wright patents (in the process, recognizing them as the "first in flight"). In response, Curtiss began working closely with English and French designers, incorporating their modifications into his American planes, including the first gyroscopic automatic pilot, retractable landing gear, and a number of useful instruments.

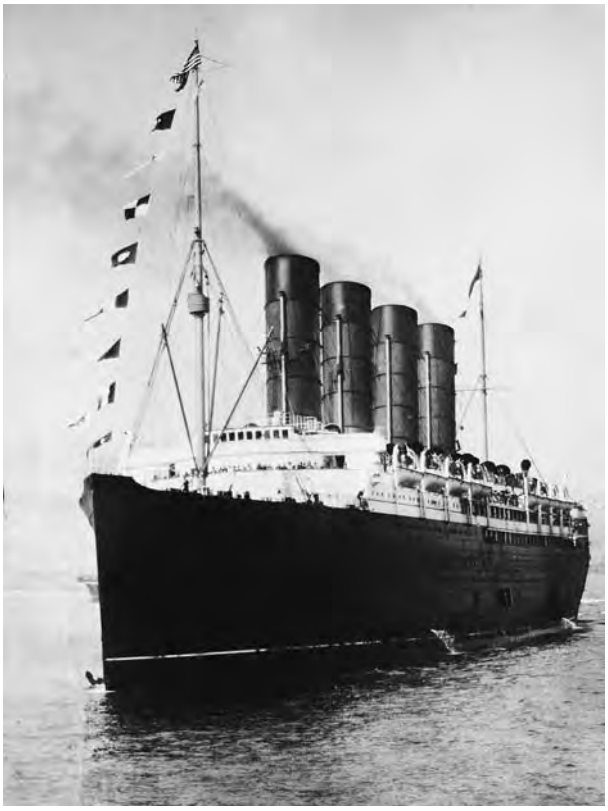
The outbreak of war in 1914 profoundly affected the evolution of air travel. While the American military was initially hesitant to invest heavily in combat-ready aircraft (partly because the United States was not at war until 1917), European fighters like Frenchman Roland Garros and Germany's Lt. Manfred Von Richthofen (the "Red Baron") established the lethal and strategic advantages gained by an air force. Aircraft provided direct visual reconnaissance of an enemy's movements and their reinforcements. They could deliver minor, but strategic, attacks against an enemy's most vital positions (such as supply depots or command centers). They could sustain numerous hits while remaining aloft and capable of landing in many locations (on August 2, 1917, E. H. Dunning became the first pilot to land a plane on a *moving* ship, on the deck of HMS *Furious*). The only real threat to these aircraft was other pilots. Richthofen was credited with more than 80 kills before he was killed himself, in 1918, in a dogfight with Canadian pilot Roy Brown. American Eddie Rickenbacker shot down 26 enemies in the short time he saw action.

During the war, the American military chose a standard military training plane: the Curtiss Model JN (or Curtiss "Jenny") in 1914. The Jenny, a sturdy biplane, remained a standard for American aviation for nearly a generation. With America's entry into the war, Congress appropriated more than $640 million to "darken the skies" of Europe with more than 20,000 aircraft. While only a fraction of these were ever commissioned, the American war effort lent the aircraft industry the technical and financial justification to begin the construction and operation of a safe and affordable civilian air fleet in the 1920s.[1]

TRAGEDY AND CLASS IN OCEAN TRAVEL

In the decade that saw the sinking of the *Titanic,* the *Lusitania,* and the *Eastland* (which, technically, was a boat designed for lake travel and capsized rather than sank), ocean travel had become regarded by many as the ultimate example of the arrogance of Progressive society. The "unsinkable" designs of these mammoth ships relied on science and technology to provide patrons with the latest in consumer conveniences, including speed, at supposedly no cost. Of course, such thinking was not confined to the great ships, as World War I proved. But still, the opulence and strong class lines reflected in these liners suggested to many that the wealthy were willing to take great risks in order to maintain their place in society.

The luxury cruise ship the *Titanic* sank overnight on April 14–15, 1912, with more than 2,200 people on board. More than 1,500 died. The *Eastland*



Lusitania out in harbor, 1908–1914. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

was a lake excursion ship that carried more than 2,500 passengers on a Chicago company picnic in Lake Michigan. It capsized in 1915, killing 841 of its passengers. The *Lusitania,* a luxury ocean liner owned by the Cunard Steamship company, was torpedoed by a German ship on May 7, 1915, off the coast of Ireland as it approached Liverpool. It sank, killing 1,193 people, including 128 Americans, and turned public opinion in the U.S. against Germany, although the U.S. did not enter World War I until 1917. (See Overview of the 1910s.)

EVERYDAY TRAVEL

Streetcars

Although less glamorous, rail travel in the 1910s was certainly more important to the average American than the opulence of the ocean liners. For the very wealthy, cross-country rail travel did not require a sacrifice of comfort. Personal cars ordered from the Pullman Company offered magnates like James B. Duke all the luxuries of home without the need to rub shoulders with the common folk. For average Americans, rail transportation improved in quality and regularity while generally decreasing in cost. The introduction of safety features, such as the air brake and stronger alloys for key parts, decreased the likelihood of fatal accidents.

Within cities, horse cars and cable cars transported the masses on a daily basis. Horse cars seated about 20, and during peak hours, people hung from the sides and stood in the aisles. Pulled by teams of two to six horses, the service was slow and dirty. It was estimated that the horses in service in a typical city the size of Milwaukee produced over 133 tons of manure a day. When the overworked beasts collapsed and died, their bodies were left alongside the road for days. In 1912, the city of Chicago reported the destruction of nearly 10,000 draft horses per year.

Cable cars, introduced in 1883, used an underground system of steel cables to pull the attached vehicles at a fixed rate of speed. Suffering from mechanical failure, high expense, inefficiency, and an inability to speed up service during times of high usage, cable cars were only briefly the popular choice for municipal mass transit. Still, more than 373 million passengers per year used cable cars throughout the country by the turn of the century.

The arrival of the electric streetcar, or trolley, in the late 1880s added to the growth of the modern city. Trolleys were clean, safe, dependable, and cheap. At a speed of over twenty miles per hour, the streetcar was faster than other forms of urban travel, and capable of accelerating and slowing to accommodate open or congested areas. Terminating at ballparks, race tracks, beer gardens, or beaches, the trolley lines saw more than a doubling of service during the weekends, suggesting that Americans used the utility in ways that allowed them to access new usable spaces within the city.[2]

During the 1910s, America's light rail system was more developed and serviced more people than any other transportation system in the world. In 1911, New York City had ten times the mileage of Tokyo, a city that was over twice its size in population. In 1919, New York's peak year of trolley service, more than 1,344 miles of track were in use. Nationwide, more than 70,000 miles serviced



The beautiful interior of the Chicago and Alton Railroad cars. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

billions of passengers annually.[3] In the largest cities, Americans rode the trolley an average of once every other day of the year. Unfortunately, the pressure to retain the nickel fare overrode the need of most lines to keep up with inflation, which ran rampant during the war years. Moreover, automobiles and auto manufacturers (who purchased trolley lines only to replace service with motorized buses) soon undermined the monopoly held by electric rail in the cities.

Automobiles

Automobile travel grew relatively slowly in the United States before 1910. Most cars were primarily intended for use by the wealthy. As late as 1905, there was only one car for every 1,078 Americans.[4]

There were many reasons for the slow growth of the U.S. auto industry before 1910. The size of the country and the rapid growth of public transportation were certainly factors. In addition, restrictive legislation, the generally poor state of roads, the lack of directional signs and maps, and the need for filling stations made automobile use inconvenient for any travel beyond one's immediate neighborhood.

In the 1910s, the relationship between Americans and their cars fundamentally changed. By 1913, there was one car per eight people.[5] There were more cars registered in Michigan than in all of England and Ireland. Henry Ford is credited with leading to this transformation. Ford's desire to "build a motor car for the great multitude," and his ability to do so made him a legend. (See Travel of the 1900s.)

Ford faced an auto industry that had not standardized a single source of power. Electric and steam-powered automobiles were widely available



Woman boarding a New York City streetcar by jumping onto the running board, 1913. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

and offered competitive advantages that were not easily addressed by the internal combustion device. Steam cars, led by Francis and Freelan Stanley, who in 1906 built a Stanley Steamer that traveled at 127.66 mph, were simple and relatively cheap to own.[6] While inconvenient to operate, once underway the steam car far outperformed its gasoline-powered rivals. Electric cars were quiet, clean, and favored by wealthy women, both for their ease of operation and for the status (the best electric cars ranged in price from $2,600 to $5,500). However, electric cars were limited in range and power and required a new charge every evening. The massive batteries and boilers

for both styles made the cars heavy and hard to maneuver in the heavily rutted roads. In the end, neither platform met the needs of the average consumer: low cost *and* ease of operation.

Patent laws were a third obstacle to Ford's vision of a "universal car." The patent for the internal combustion engine (actually, for a two-cylinder device that was never used to power a car) was held by the Association of Licensed Automobile Manufacturers (ALAM), which charged a nominal royalty for all gasoline-powered engines. Ford was bothered by the infringement and sued the ALAM in 1903. When, in 1911, he won his case (ALAM retained the rights for the nearly useless two-cylinder product), Ford Motor Company was able to develop future lines of cars without the need for prior legal approval.

By 1911, Ford had already developed his universal car in the Model T. Experimenting with a number of combinations of cylinders, chassis sizes, and production methods, the Model T was introduced in 1908 and was, in many ways, the culmination of Ford's engineering talents. The success of the "Tin Lizzie" or "flivver" lay in the fact that the car was relatively affordable (it premiered at $825), easily repaired by the average operator, could traverse poor roads well, and could be modified by farmers to perform a variety of tasks. Three foot pedals, two hand levers, and a throttle switch were needed to operate the vehicle. In order to start the car, one needed to set the hand brake, set the spark and gas throttle to their "proper" positions (which varied by climate and even by car), hand crank the engine until it caught, then race back to the cabin to reset the spark and fuel mixtures. One of the endearing qualities of the "Lizzie" was its powerful reverse gear. Given that the gasoline flowed from the rear tank to the engine by gravity alone, it was common to see Ford drivers backing up hilly roads at a lively pace.

While reliable, affordability made the Model T the vehicle of choice for many first-time buyers. Ford was able to lower the price of his car by developing a system of production previously unseen in American manufacturing. Called "Fordism," or the just-in-time moving assembly line, which delivered parts to workers just as they needed them in the assembly process, the technique was pioneered at his new plants in Highland Park (1910) and River Rouge (1919), Michigan. Unlike Ford's earlier efforts, which produced between 2,000 and 3,000 cars per year, the miles of conveyor belts at his new factories allowed production at a scale previously unimaginable. In 1910, before Highland Park was in production, Ford could build only hundreds cars per day and had to raise the price of his cheapest car to $900. In 1914, he



Busy traffic in Detroit. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

was producing 300,000 cars per year and the price fell to $590. By 1916, it was $345. While the war caused a brief jump in prices, by 1924 Ford Motor Company was manufacturing more than 9,000 cars per day and had lowered the price of a new car to $290.[7]

Pivotal to Fordism was the level of control Henry Ford exerted in his plants. He had bought out all other investors by 1919. One minority investor, who had purchased $1,000 of stock in the original firm, sold his ownership to Ford for $30 million. Ford Motor Company remained a privately held concern until 1956, making it uniquely manageable.

Ford also recognized the need to reduce employee turnover. He wanted a labor force that could turn out quality work in record numbers. Traditionally, younger industrial laborers would change jobs several times per year. In January 1914, Ford announced an eight-hour work-day and a pay raise for employees with at least six months of experience on the job to $5 per day (more than double that of the best paid industrial worker).[8] The offer instantly galvanized many workers to Ford. While he demanded loyalty, and even used a variety of underhanded means by which to test this loyalty, Ford created a stable workforce that could produce his product the way that he wanted. The fact that the average Ford worker earned $1,500 per year, when his neighbors averaged only a third of this, and when even white-collar professionals earned only slightly more, made his employees remarkably agreeable.

Visual Arts

of the 1910s

Visual arts in the 1910s displayed a tremendous variety. Visual artists used images to communicate messages that both reinforced and challenged American society. While disparate, these visual arts reinforced the processes of modernization that were underway throughout American culture and served to blend many of these cultural trends in new and provocative ways.

As with the other expressive humanities in the decade, realism was the dominant theme in the visual arts. The sensibilities of realism were quite provocative, given the general genteel traditions that dominated American culture in the 1910s. Showing life "as it is" meant portraying the harsher qualities of modernity, including vice, poverty, and a growing sense of alienation.

Realist painters and illustrators believed their work was a direct refutation of the fawning stance taken toward European standards by most leading American institutions. The exclusive National Academy of Design (NAD), which could make or break the career of a young artist, jealously guarded its cultural authority and passed its approval only onto those willing to follow its lead.

Realist portrayals gave viewers easy access to art through the use of familiar images and emotions, which helped educate and reassure the country. Trends, social problems, and other elements of mass culture could be seen, talked about, and better understood through the realists' work. Although by 1920, the realist style was considered obsolete, throughout the decade it remained the most influential and popular form of expression.

MAGAZINE ILLUSTRATIONS

The 1910s are seen by many as a golden era in magazine illustration. Wider magazine circulation and a commitment to print advertising had reached their peak, while radio and television were still in the future. Most important, the technical process of mass producing high-quality and often colored illustrations had been perfected by the start of the decade. While the shift from wood engravings to photographic engraving had occurred by the early 1900s, it was not until the first decade that "line" or "halftone photoengravings" were made affordable.

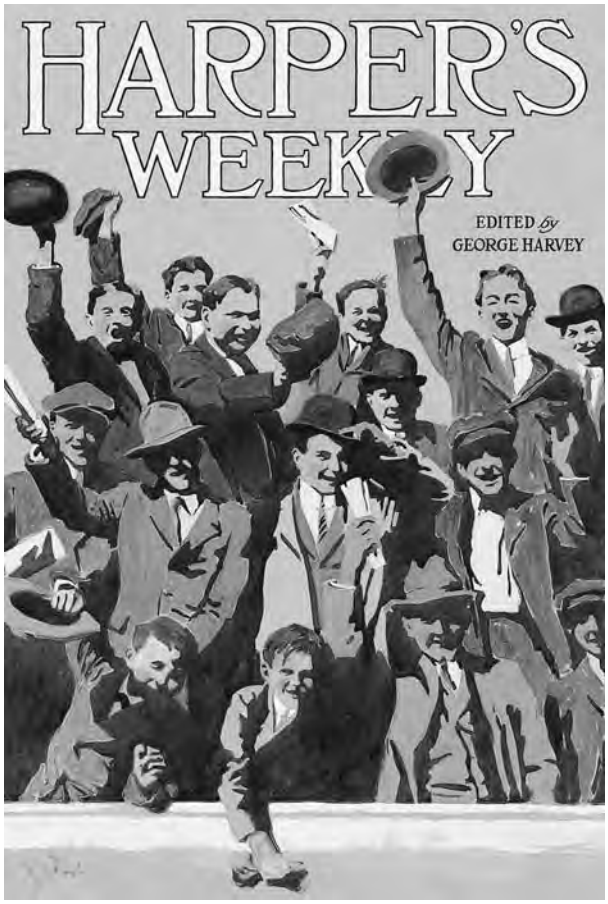
In addition to technological improvements, soaring magazine circulation provided greater exposure and more work for graphic artists. Established fiction and opinion magazines, such as *Harper's* and *Atlantic Monthly,* were joined by a host of fashionable women's and popular literary magazines. By 1910, the most notable illustrated magazines included *Century, Harper's, McClure's,* and *Scribner's. Good Housekeeping, Ladies' Home Journal, Pictorial Review, Collier's, Saturday Evening Post, Youth's*

Companion, and the humorous weeklies *Life, Puck,* and *Judge* included dozens of illustrations in each week's issue. Adding to the demand was the growth in print advertising. More than half of these 100-page monthly publications were purchased by the advertisers who used illustrations to draw attention to their products.[1]

Finally, the literature that provided inspiration for these illustrations was becoming more engaging and lively. Realist writing gave artists an opportunity to delve into images and subjects thought to be beyond the staid traditions of previous illustrators like Charles Dana Gibson, whose Gibson Girls were immensely popular in the 1900s. The strong emotions of realistic literature were captured by the illustrators as they looked to find the essence of life's highly dramatic moments.

Illustrators received fan mail and were often considered celebrities in high society. Top illustrators could earn tens or even hundreds of thousands of dollars per year. By 1919, at the age of 25, Norman Rockwell was a millionaire as a result of his magazine and advertisement illustrations in the *Saturday Evening Post* and other popular publications.

The most prominent magazine illustrators of the 1910s included Arthur William Brown and Frederic Gruger (*Saturday Evening Post*), Coles Phillips and Jessie Smith (*Good Housekeeping*), George Plank (*Vogue*), Harrison Fisher (*Ladies' Home Journal*), Maxfield Parrish (*Collier's*), Wallace Morgan (*Collier's* and *Saturday Evening Post*), and James Montgomery Flagg. Gruger developed the medium to its full potential, injecting life, emotion, and meaning into his work in ways that escaped the camera. The fact that Flagg, Gruger, and many others were exhibited by the NAD as



Drawing for magazine cover shows men, some possibly holding racing forms, in a grandstand cheering, 1912. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.



"Fact and Fiction" (old man reading newspaper beside young woman reading book) by Norman Rockwell, 1917. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

NORMAN ROCKWELL

Norman Rockwell was the best-known magazine illustrator to get his start during the 1910s. Born in New York City to affluent parents in 1894, Rockwell demonstrated an aptitude for drawing early in life. In 1912, he was commissioned for his first professional illustrations in the newspapers. Soon, he was contributing to the popular children's *Tell Me Why Stories* and *Boys' Life* magazine. By 1913, he was a regular contributor to *Youth's Companion, Everyland, American Boy,* and *St. Nicholas* magazines, and produced more than 100 drawings for the *Boy Scouts' Hike Book*. From 1914 to 1916, Rockwell became a major illustrator, garnering work in *Collier's, Life, Leslie's, Judge, Country Gentleman, Literary Digest,* and, at age 22, the cover of *Saturday Evening Post* in 1916. By 1919, Rockwell was a featured artist for the publication and began illustrating a series of Christmas covers that would continue until 1943. The illustrations were remunerative, but Rockwell made his greatest wealth as a named illustrator for such products as Maxwell House coffee, Encyclopedia Britannica, and Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance.

Rockwell's images told stories that were easily understood by his audience and created an immediate sense of empathy for his subjects. These visual narratives were almost invariably optimistic, inoffensive, and nostalgic for an age of innocent youth. His style spotlighted the minor, awkward moments when people are faced with their own fallibility. Tempering these episodes with youthful subjects (90 percent of his *Post* covers included children before 1919), Rockwell was able to balance the painful feelings of loss with an emotional hope for learning and growth.

Rockwell's commitment to technical realism remains at the heart of his artistic legacy. For example, his first *Post* cover depicted a boy wearing his Sunday best, pushing a baby in a carriage. The youth's pained expression, as he passes his friends on their way to playing baseball, those of his tormenters, and even the bottle of milk stuck hastily in his breast pocket all convey the strong yet simple emotions such a child might feel. Rockwell's sentimental assemblage of stock emotions and nostalgia for family, country, and youth's innocence proved to be the most successful combination of artistic realism and commercialism of the decade.

serious artists underscores the respect they provided the medium.

World War I provided unique opportunities for these illustrators. Many, like Harvey Dunn, Wallace Morgan, Harry Townsend, and Walter Jack Duncan, were commissioned in the American Expeditionary Force, lived on the Front, and conveyed to the country the striking realities and horrors of the war. Others, like James Montgomery Flagg, remained at home to lend their talents to the Committee on Public Information, a federal propaganda program intended to promote patriotism at home. Flagg's famous portrait of Uncle Sam declaring, "I Want You" (actually a self-portrait) remains the most famous of these efforts. He also created less publicized work on Liberty Bonds, local advertising campaigns, and billboards and posters. The power of these images, especially those depicting the brutality of the German-led enemies, was based largely on the talents of illustrators, well-honed by years of magazine work.

THE FINE ART REVOLUTION

The fine arts witnessed what can only be described as a revolution in the 1910s. Given that the decade experienced a collision among the conservative yet powerful NAD, members of the modern American realists (the so-called Ashcan school), works by the most influential modernist painters of Europe (such as Picasso and Cézanne), the public, and a host of critics, it is not surprising that art historians regard the 1910s as *the* decade in which modern American art was born. When the Armory Show of Modern Art was staged in February 1913 at the 69th Infantry Regiment Armory in New York City, these contradictory forces

were compelled to resolve the growing gulf between their divergent aesthetic sensibilities. The effects of the Armory Show, probably the single most important exhibition of fine art in American history, were profound.

This clash was contingent on the efforts of a number of individuals, groups, and trends of the 1910s. Efforts by leading American artists, such as Robert Henri, Arthur B. Davies, and Alfred Stieglitz, figured greatly in determining when and how this conflict would be resolved. Moreover, World War I served as a critical backdrop to the rise of modern art in the United States—first in shaping the work of the European artists, then by validating their vision and providing U.S. artists with time to absorb these values into their own distinctive style.

Origins

While American visual artists took their cue from the European art world, rarely were they comfortable with pioneering new forms. The NAD was no exception. First established in 1825, the NAD split into several rival groups in the 1870s, and then re-emerged united in 1906. Members of the academy were American artists whose works were deemed to best represent classical European styles: rigid compositions, strict representations of form and color, and traditional models of the past (particularly Greek mythology or biblical allegory). NAD membership was required for artists to secure commissions, to be included in exhibitions, and to attract the attention of wealthy patrons.

Not all American artists were comfortable with the NAD. Robert Henri was the most important opponent of the NAD and the reason for the growing acceptance of realism in the fine arts by 1910. An accomplished artist, Henri studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of Art, was familiar with the Impressionist style, and had exhibited and sold his work in the Old World. In 1901, Henri joined the New York School of Art and began recruiting other promising realists to his classes. Henri tapped into talents that were being developed not by the NAD but by the popular newspapers and magazines of the day. By 1906, these included George Luks, John Sloan, William Glackens, Everett Shinn, George Bellows, Arthur B. Davies, Rockwell Kent, Glenn Coleman, Edward Hopper, and Walter Pach.

Henri implored his students to simply "observe and record," to build upon the skills they had learned as newspapermen and illustrators, and to work quickly to capture the feeling of a scene rather than to worry about formal composition.

By 1907, Henri was the most influential teacher in New York City In 1908, Henri organized a showing at the Macbeth Gallery in New York City of "unknown and experimental" art by American painters. The show highlighted the work of Henri, Sloan, Glackens, Luks, Shinn, Davies, Ernest Lawson, and Maurice Prendergast. Known as "the Eight," the painters formed the core of what was later to be termed the Ashcan school. While critics were merciless in their censure of their work, the popularity of the show ensured that other exhibitions would be staged. By 1910, Henri's students seemed to be everywhere, and the spirit of change was in the air.

Henri might have been the first to call for the NAD to open its eyes to the new art, but he was not alone. Americans abroad, who were exposed to and could appreciate the trends in European Post-Impressionism were aware of the "storm on the horizon" for the visual arts in the United States. More than anyone, Alfred Stieglitz created the conditions whereby this modern art could be critically regarded by Americans. Under Stieglitz, American modern artists such as Marsden Hartley, Max Weber, John Marin, Arthur Dove, Charles Demuth, and Georgia O'Keeffe (who later married Stieglitz) were not only introduced, but also "Americanized."

Stieglitz established a magazine of photography and modern art, titled *Camera Work,* in 1903, and then in 1905 opened a gallery in New York City named The Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession but referred to as "291," the street address on Fifth Avenue, by almost everyone. As a result, 291 introduced the American art community to some of the most revolutionary and influential artists of the era: the first exhibition or one-man shows of Auguste Rodin (1908), Henri Matisse (1909), Francis Picabia (1913), and Constantin Brancusi (1914). For American artists, 291 debuted John Marin and Alfred Maurer (1909),

Oscar Bluemmer (1915), and Elie Nadelman (1915); staged comprehensive shows of Marsden Hartley, Arthur Dove, and Max Weber (1910), Gino Severini (1917), and Stanton Macdonald-Wright (1917); and introduced the work of Georgia O'Keeffe (1916). Following the Armory show, which led to the collapse of the NAD and the triumph of modernism, Stieglitz half-joked that he would be willing to show the work of older, conservative artists if they found no exhibition space available elsewhere.

The Armory Show

The Armory Show in New York City not only completely overturned the conservative NAD but also swept aside the modern American realists. The staid academic artists in America were easy targets for a style that had already overturned the European conservatives, who had enjoyed even greater social prestige than their Western counterparts. Yet Henri, the other members of the Eight, and their converts were completely unprepared for the lasting transformation that was unleashed upon them. Milton W. Brown, a distinguished historian of the era, noted that, by the close of the Armory Show, the one-time mavericks were "blind to the fact that [their work] had already become irrelevant."[2]

The bitter irony was not lost on these contemporary artists. The Armory Show was organized by the Association of American Painters and Sculptors (AAPS), supporters of the Ashcan movement, to highlight the many changes wrought by American realists. It was assumed that patrons would be found for and canvases sold by these American visionaries. Their success would force the NAD to recognize the significance of their contribution. But the intense comparison brought about by the show between the Americans and the Post-Impressionist Europeans marginalized their work, seemingly aging the compositions overnight.

The AAPS was founded in November 1911, by Jerome Myers, Elmer McRae, Walt Kuhn, and Henry Fitch Taylor. Joined by Henri, Glackens, Lawson, Bellows, Davies, Alden Weir, Gutzun Borglum, and Jonas Young, the association represented some of the finest and most respected artists in the country (seven of the 25 founders were also members of the NAD). They resolved to field an exhibition of the best modern works, regardless of nationality and NAD membership. Fearing an open war with the powerful NAD, Weir declined the presidency in January 1912, and the office fell to Arthur B. Davies.

Davies was an exhibited painter with strong connections to American and European art patrons and dealers. In the late summer of 1912, Davies, aided by Walter Pach, traveled throughout Europe securing the loan of modern works and the cooperation of a number of galleries in The Hague, Munich, Paris, and Berlin. Returning in November, Davies and the AAPS set about funding the project, arranging the various halls, printing more than 50,000 catalogs and pamphlets, and scheduling delivery for and hanging more than 1,300 works of art (a third of which were produced by foreign artists).

More than 4,000 people attended the show's opening on February 17, 1913. When it closed in New York, conservative estimates suggested that at least 75,000 had seen the exhibit. The show's motto—The New Spirit—was evident in the breadth of the display. The first galleries displayed the "Old" modern masters van Gogh, Paul Gauguin, Seurat, and Cézanne; the mood then shifted toward the more daring works of Picasso, Matisse, Georges Braque, Marcel Duchamp, and Wassily Kandinsky. The American modernists were numerically superior and included the works of the Eight as well as such later notables as Edward Hopper, Joseph Stella, and Charles Sheeler. Still, the American pieces seemed more provincial and derivative than they had realized when compared to more mature, daring, and brazenly confident European offerings. Given the lack of knowledge of the European movement, it was amazing that the AAPS was capable of presenting such a high-quality breadth of works.[3]

On March 15, the New York show closed and about 500 pieces moved on to the Art Institute of Chicago. The exhibit was seen by another 200,000 people in less than 25 days. By the end of April, approximately 250 works continued on to Boston's Copley Hall where they were shown to dwindling audiences. When the Boston exhibition closed, on May 19, the organizers agreed to end the tour.

Internal dissent over the (generally negative) effect of the show on American artists had split the AAPS by 1916. The association never staged a second exhibition after the Armory Show. Its one production had fundamentally transformed the fine arts in America.

The Critics

Most individuals who attended the Armory Show were impressed by the magnitude of the display. A few were openly supportive of the new and modern aesthetics. The majority of critics, however, were unsure of exactly *what* to think; it was all amazingly new. The new visual culture challenged America's tastes and personal assumptions about art. When evaluating the evaluators, then, we look not only for their artistic interpretation, but also their cultural biases and reactions.

Grudging acceptance or hidden bemusement might best describe the typical response of the Armory Show visitor. Characteristic was Theodore Roosevelt, who attended the New York showing on March 4, not coincidentally the very same day that his rival for the presidency in 1912, Woodrow Wilson, was being inaugurated. Roosevelt published his response in *Outlook,* titled "A Layman's View of an Art Exhibition." In the essay, Roosevelt showed considerable flexibility and a liberal spirit for most of what he saw. Yet Roosevelt was also uncomfortable with what he regarded as a lack of common reference points for the viewing audience. For the former president, and many others, the work of these avant-garde artists was too far afield to even be considered art.[4]

Many other critics simply tried to laugh at what they did not understand. Marcel Duchamp's *Nude Descending a Staircase, No. 2* (1912) was described by many as an explosion in a shingle factory, and it inspired popular jingles and cartoons. Many came to the show simply to see the canvas and laugh.[5]

Many critics took special comfort in the odd personal histories of the leading artists. For example, Cézanne was an incompetent businessman before turning to painting, van Gogh had mutilated himself by cutting off an ear, and Gauguin had deserted his family and friends for a life in Tahiti. Clearly these individuals were as "mad" as their paintings suggested them to be "failures" both as artists and men. Many noted that the relative sanity of the American works spoke well for this country's reputation around the globe.

By far, the responses of the instructors and students at the Art Institute of Chicago were the most acrimonious. Because of the intense criticism emanating from the New York debut, Chicago's artists were primed to hail the newcomers as "fakers," "madmen," and "degenerates." Near the show's close, students were further incited by their teachers to burn images of Matisse, Brancusi, and Walter Pach in effigy. It was not the professionals but the laymen who believed that the immediate condemnation of the show and burning of artist images was simply un-American.

Ironically, while most Americans defined themselves as an individualistic society, modern painters earned the wrath of the American art community for taking this same spirit into the visual arts.

Elitism and the Fine Arts

The question of elitism has shown great longevity in the ways in which the American public embraced or rejected the fine arts since 1913. The new styles seemed to be all subjectivity and perspective. Moreover, for fans of the American modernist movement, these temperaments were decidedly European and undemocratic.

Most modern artists had (and have) a different interpretation than these critics. Many would claim that the new art more clearly relates the individualistic world around them than those works that use "common images" heavily laden with symbolic meaning, often created by those in power for their benefit. The modernists' conclusion, that science and modernity had killed realistic representation, is best seen in the ready-made art of Marcel Duchamp. Duchamp displayed everyday items in galleries and at exhibitions, simply calling them works of art. His most (in)famous was *Fontaine,* displayed at 291 and the Independents' Exhibition (1917). The item was once a working urinal, but by placing it on display Duchamp hoped to show how life and art were one. The public, according to Duchamp, does not need

critics, art academies, or their biased aesthetic filters to recognize that "art" surrounds them.[6] In this way, the new art could claim to be radically democratic and emancipated from the control of others.

By contrast, charges of elitism emerged. Nowhere was this sentiment more pronounced than on the pages of the *Masses.* The magazine, home to many influential American realists, believed in a clear connection between art and social uplift. Much like Stieglitz, who held that the new art could change the world, contributors to the *Masses* were concerned when they saw the Armory Show diverge so forcefully from accessible visual culture. If artists were simply taking stock of their own irrational and functionally useless opinions of the modern world, what reason would the real masses have to seek their council? To them, the Postimpressionists spoke in a foreign language wholly indecipherable by anyone else. Such elitism ran counter to their basic values and was soundly condemned by established American modernists.[7]

The Post-Armory Years

The success of the Armory Show spawned numerous exhibitions and new modern art galleries. Large museums, such as the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh, the Taylor Galleries in Cleveland, and the Carroll Gallery and National Arts Club in New York City, and many smaller ones now spent their energies and resources in developing American artists with Postimpressionist styles. In 1916, the Forum Exhibition at Anderson Galleries on Park Avenue held its second major show of American modernism, followed, in 1917, by the Independents' Exhibition of more than 2,500 works by 1,300 artists. Most of the major collectors (including John Quinn, Arthur Jerome Eddy, Lillie P. Bliss, Walter Arensberg, Albert C. Barnes, and Stephen C. Cook) purchased aggressively during the show. Of the 250 works sold, however, more than 200 were by foreign artists. By 1918, most "official" American academies (such as the NAD) and art schools had lost their prestige and, with it, their power to control the content of exhibitions. The central fatality of this change was the modern realist style of the Ashcan school. Ostensibly the reason for the Armory Show, these artists were quickly marginalized and often forgotten in the immediate aftermath of the show.

Judging from the output, cubism, abstraction, and expressionism became the dominant form of most fine artists in America. Max Weber, Marsden Hartley, Man Ray, John Covert, and Arthur Dove were the most notable of a large group. Stuart Davis became the most original and inventive. A former Ashcan artist and contributor to the *Masses,* Davis merged expressionism with ready-mades into a form that heralded the pop art movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Thomas Hart Benton, Joseph Stella, Morgan Russell, and Stanton MacDonald-Wright all experimented with synchromatic art, and were exhibited at the Carroll Gallery in 1914. Stella's *Battle of Lights, Coney Island* (1913) and *The Bridge* (1918) remain testaments to the group's talents and ambitions. Georgia O'Keeffe, the youngest of the new artists, melded synchromism, abstraction, and Southwestern themes. She was one of the few artists who developed a particularly American style in the 1910s. Unfortunately, the Armory Show led many artists simply to copy the newer European styles. Still, the show and the subsequent war jumpstarted American modern art, enabling domestic painters to equal and then surpass their colleagues overseas.

ENDNOTES FOR THE 1910s

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1920s

Timeline

of Popular Culture Events, 1920s

1920

January 2: Department of Justice agents arrest some 4,000 suspected communists and radicals in 33 American cities as part of what becomes known as the "Red Scare."

January 16: The Eighteenth Amendment, prohibiting the manufacture, transportation, and sale of alcohol, goes into effect.

February 12: The Negro National Baseball League is founded.

April 20: Grand Canyon National Park is dedicated.

August 26: The Nineteenth Amendment, granting women the right to vote, is ratified.

September 17: The American Professional Football Association is founded (renamed the National Football League in 1922).

September 28: Eight members of the Chicago White Sox are indicted for conspiring to throw the 1919 World Series, resulting in the so-called "Black Sox Scandal."

November 2: Warren G. Harding is elected the twenty-ninth president of the United States.

November 2: Station KDKA, East Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, inaugurates regular radio broadcasting.

F. Scott Fitzgerald publishes his first novel, *This Side of Paradise.*

The Baby Ruth candy bar is introduced.

Transcontinental airmail service begins between New York and San Francisco.

1921

February 6: Charlie Chaplin's first feature-length film, *The Kid,* premieres.

March 10: The first White Castle hamburger restaurant opens in Wichita, Kansas.

May 23: *Shuffle Along,* the first all-black Broadway musical of the decade, opens.

May 31–June 1: A riot erupts in Tulsa, Oklahoma, during which white mobs kill at least 85 African Americans and burn to the ground much of the black business district.

September 8: Margaret Gorman wins the first Miss America Pageant in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

September 15: Silent film comedian Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle is indicted for manslaughter after aspiring actress Virginia Rappe dies under suspicious circumstances in a San Francisco hotel.

October 31: *The Sheik,* starring Rudolph Valentino, premieres.

November 2: The American Birth Control League is founded.

November 9: President Harding signs into law the Federal Highway Act, providing states

with matching federal funds to construct a national network of two-lane highways.
November 11: The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier is unveiled in the Rotunda of the U.S. Capitol.
The polygraph, or lie detector, is invented.
The Washburn-Crosby Company of Minneapolis creates Betty Crocker, a fictional model homemaker, to promote its Gold Medal brand flour.
Wonder Bread is introduced.
The Eskimo Pie ice cream bar sells more than one million units during its first year on the market.

1922

February 5: *Reader's Diges*t publishes its first issue.
April 15: The U.S. Senate launches an investigation into the alleged illegal activities of Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall, in what becomes known as the "Teapot Dome Scandal".
May 5: French fashion designer Coco Chanel introduces her signature perfume, Chanel No. 5.
May 23: *Abie's Irish Rose,* the longest running Broadway play of the 1920s, opens.
May 30: The Lincoln Memorial is dedicated in Washington, D.C.
October 3: Rebecca Latimer Felton, age 87, of Georgia, becomes the first woman to serve as a U.S. senator, when she is appointed by the governor of Georgia to fill the remaining term of Senator Thomas Watson, who died in office; her term lasts only one day.
November 4: Archaeologist Howard Carter and his excavation team discover King Tutankhamen's tomb in the Valley of the Kings, near Luxor, Egypt.
Fruit, Garden and Home begins publication (renamed *Better Homes and Gardens* in 1924).
George Squier invents Muzak, first developed in order to calm anxious elevator riders.
Emily Post publishes *Etiquette in Society, in Business, in Politics and at Home,* which becomes a national best seller.
Sinclair Lewis publishes his most famous novel, *Babbitt.*
The first A&W Root Beer stand opens in Sacramento, California.
The Klondike (ice cream) Bar is introduced.

1923

February 16: Bessie Smith makes her first recordings, "Down Hearted Blues" and "Gulf Coast Blues," for Columbia.
March 3: *Time,* the nation's first weekly news magazine, publishes its first issue.
April 1: Alma Cummings wins the first American dance marathon, held at the Audubon Ballroom in New York City.
April 5: Louis Armstrong makes his first recording, "Just Gone," as a member of King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band, for the Gennett label.
April 18: Yankee Stadium opens.
August 2: President Warren G. Harding dies in office.
August 3: Vice President Calvin Coolidge succeeds Harding as president of the United States.
October 29: *Runnin' Wild,* an all-black musical revue, introduces the song "Charleston" and the dance of the same name.
December 4: Cecil B. DeMille's epic biblical film *The Ten Commandments* premieres.
John D. Hertz founds the Hertz Drive-Ur-Self Company.
Neon advertising signs are introduced.
Mars Candies markets its first candy bar, the Milky Way.
Jacob Schick receives a patent for the first electric razor.
Reese's Peanut Butter Cups are introduced.
The nonsensical "Yes! We Have No Bananas" becomes a major hit song, to the annoyance of countless Americans.
The Bell and Howell Company introduces a 16-mm camera, marking the advent of home movies.

1924

February 14: The Computing-Tabulating-Recording Company, founded in 1911, formally changes its name to International Business Machines (IBM).
February 24: George Gershwin's jazz concerto *Rhapsody in Blue* premieres at Aeolian Hall in New York City.

March 10: J. Edgar Hoover is appointed acting director of the Bureau of Investigation (later renamed Federal Bureau of Investigation).

May 26: The National Origins Act passes, restricting the annual number of European immigrants to 165,000 and prohibiting all Asian immigration to the United States.

August 5: *Little Orphan Annie* comic strip debuts in the *New York Daily News.*

September 19: Nathan Leopold Jr. and Richard Loeb are sentenced to life imprisonment for the kidnapping and murder of 14-year-old Bobby Franks.

November 4: Calvin Coolidge is elected the thirtieth president of the United States.

Macy's department store sponsors its first Thanksgiving Day parade.

The Kimberly-Clark Company introduces Kleenex, the first disposable facial tissue.

Flagpole sitting becomes a national fad.

Richard Simon and Max Schuster publish *The Cross Word Puzzle Book,* launching a major fad.

Wheaties breakfast cereal is introduced.

The Popsicle is invented.

1925

January 5: Nellie Taylor Ross is elected governor of Wyoming, thus becoming the first woman governor in U.S. history.

February 16: The corpse of Floyd Collins is recovered amidst a national media frenzy. Collins died after being trapped underground for 18 days in Sand Cave in Barren County, Kentucky.

February 21: *The New Yorker* begins publication.

June 26: *The Gold Rush,* starring Charlie Chaplin, premieres.

June 26: Walter Chrysler incorporates the Maxwell Motor Car Company as the Chrysler Corporation.

July 21: High school science teacher John T. Scopes is convicted in Dayton, Tennessee, of violating a state statute prohibiting the teaching of evolution in public schools.

August 8: Forty thousand Ku Klux Klan members hold a mass rally in Washington, D.C.

September 3: The navy dirigible *Shenandoah* crashes in a storm near Ava, Ohio, killing 14 crew members.

November 28: The *WSM Barn Dance* (renamed *The Grand Ole Opry* in 1927) begins its Saturday night broadcasts in Nashville, Tennessee.

Alain Locke publishes the Harlem Renaissance collection *The New Negro.*

Bruce Barton publishes *The Man Nobody Knows,* a pseudo-biography of Jesus that becomes a national best seller.

The Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company launches its first advertising blimp, *The Pilgrim.*

F. Scott Fitzgerald publishes his most acclaimed novel, *The Great Gatsby.*

1926

May 9: Rear Admiral Richard E. Byrd and Floyd Bennett become the first aviators to fly over the North Pole.

May 23: Western Air Express, later renamed Trans-World Airlines (TWA), begins passenger service.

August 6: Gertrude Ederle becomes the first woman to swim the English Channel.

November 15: The National Broadcasting Company (NBC), the nation's first radio network, premieres.

The Book-of-the-Month Club is founded.

The Butterfinger candy bar is introduced.

Ernest Hemingway publishes his novel *The Sun Also Rises.*

1927

April 7: The first demonstration of long-range television transmission, from a signal in Washington, D.C., to a receiver in New York City, occurs.

May 21: Aviator Charles Lindbergh completes the first solo, non-stop flight across the Atlantic Ocean.

August 12: Paramount's *Wings,* which later wins the first Academy Award for Best Picture, premieres.

August 23: Italian anarchist immigrants Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, convicted of murder in 1921, are executed in Massachusetts.

September 18: The Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) begins broadcasting.

September 22: Gene Tunney defeats Jack Dempsey to retain his heavyweight boxing title in a match made famous by its "Long Count."

September 30: New York Yankees slugger Babe Ruth hits his 60th home run of the regular season, a major league record that will stand until 1961.

October 6: Warner Brothers' *The Jazz Singer,* the first feature-length motion picture with synchronized speech and music, premieres.

December 2: The Ford Motor Company introduces its new Model A automobile.

December 27: The Broadway musical *Showboat* premieres.

Kool-Aid (originally spelled Kool-Ade) is introduced.

1928

November 6: Herbert Hoover defeats Alfred E. Smith to become the thirty-first president of the United States.

November 18: *Steamboat Willie,* Walt Disney's black-and-white animated cartoon featuring Mickey Mouse and synchronized sound, premieres.

Peter Pan peanut butter is introduced.

Gerber baby food is introduced.

Dubble Bubble, the nation's first bubble gum, is introduced.

Kraft introduces Velveeta, a processed cheese food.

1929

January 7: The first science-fiction comic strip, *Buck Rogers in the 25th Century A.D.,* debuts.

January 17: Cartoonist Elzie C. Segar introduces a sailor character named Popeye in his *Thimble Theatre* comic strip.

February 14: Six members of "Bugs" Moran's gang, along with a mechanic, are gunned down in a Chicago garage in what becomes known as the "St. Valentine's Day Massacre."

May 16: The first Academy of Motion Pictures Arts and Sciences Awards ceremony is held in Hollywood, honoring films for the years 1927 and 1928.

August 19: The comedy radio series *Amos 'n Andy* premieres on the NBC network.

October: The New York Stock Exchange crashes on "Black Thursday" (October 24), with 13 million shares sold, and again on "Black Tuesday" (October 29), with 16 million shares sold.

The Museum of Modern Art opens in New York.

Overview of the 1920s

The Jazz Age (coined by F. Scott Fitzgerald)
The Roaring Twenties
The New Era
The Dry Decade
The Lawless Decade

NICKNAMES FOR DECADE

While everyday life in the 1920s became more comfortable for most Americans, it also became increasingly complicated and harried. A consumer goods revolution fueled the nation's flourishing economy, and increasing reliance on new technologies and mass media transformed the daily lives of millions of ordinary Americans.

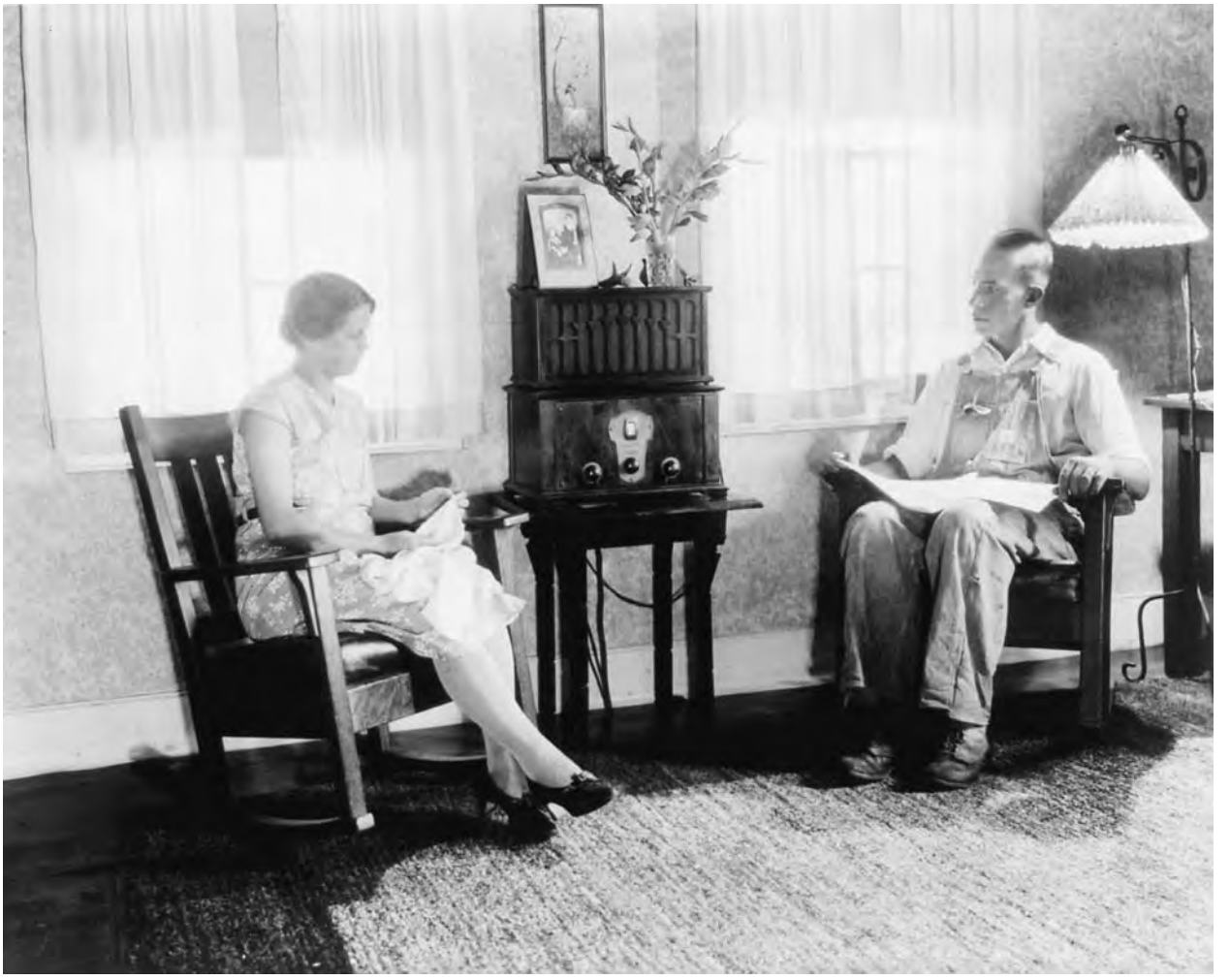
Middle-class consumers enthusiastically embraced the newfangled accoutrements of modern life, from automobiles, refrigerators, and electric razors to motion pictures and radios. However, others yearned for a simpler world where their lives moved at a slower pace and there was less pressure to keep up with others.

THE AGE OF REPUBLICAN DOMINANCE

Three Republican presidents led the United States during the 1920s, and each had to confront the repercussions of a modern mass society that was expanding and changing faster than ever before. Each administration strongly encouraged cooperation between government and big business, thus contributing to an era of extraordinary production and consumption.

Warren G. Harding, elected in 1920, had appealed to a nation weary of war, foreign policy squabbles, and progressive reforms by campaigning with the slogan, "Back to Normalcy." Unlike his idealistic, intellectual predecessor, Woodrow Wilson, Harding was a friendly, good-natured man who liked to play poker and, it was widely reported, to drink bootleg liquor. Unfortunately, Harding's administration was riddled with scandal and corruption. Several political cronies he appointed to high-level cabinet positions accepted bribes and committed fraud.

Harding's successor, Calvin Coolidge, was more solemn and introverted, which earned him the nickname "Silent Cal." Coolidge presided over a nation that was rapidly expanding its industrial production and consumer wealth. Coolidge approved legislation that assisted corporations and lowered income tax rates, especially for the wealthy. When he declined to run for reelection in 1928, Herbert Hoover, his secretary of commerce, accepted the Republican nomination and assumed the presidency after handily beating New York Democrat Alfred E. Smith, the first Roman Catholic to run on a major party ticket. Hoover's administration, begun with optimism and promise, soon saw the stock market crash of 1929 and the onset of the Great Depression. Hoover's mishandling of the crisis, coupled with his seeming lack of sympathy for the homeless and unemployed,



A couple listening to the radio, ca. 1925. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

ruined his reelection bid in 1932 against New York Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt.

THE RISE OF BIG BUSINESS

Although often remembered for its unprecedented prosperity, the 1920s began with the nation gripped in a serious economic recession. After the end of World War I, industrial productivity declined, unemployment rose, and consumer spending dwindled. The sluggish economy rebounded in 1922, due in part to the manufacturing industries that produced automobiles, radios, and other consumer goods. Throughout the rest of the decade, industrial production nearly doubled. Purchasing merchandise on credit lost its stigma as millions of Americans bought big ticket items such as cars, furniture, pianos, and radios on credit. Modern advertising, a nearly $3 billion-a-year business by 1929, encouraged shoppers to purchase newly invented products or ones that previously seemed unnecessary, including vacuum cleaners, electric razors, canned soup, mouthwash, and deodorant. Rising rates of mass production and consumer sales propelled the American economy into a spectacular period of prosperity.

The Coolidge and Hoover administrations' pro-business policies, combined with the support of federal and state governments, also fueled the nation's economy. In 1921, Congress reduced taxes on corporations and then, the following year, raised tariffs on imported goods. Federal regulatory agencies, which had been established during the Progressive Era to oversee and control big business, instead cooperated with these

corporations. The Supreme Court and the Justice Department protected businesses from unions by striking blow after blow against organized labor. Lobbyists hired by professional organizations, manufacturers, retailers, and other special interest groups intensified their efforts to gain support from legislators at every level. Not all Americans reaped the benefits of the booming economy. The nation's farmers, textile workers, and coal miners did not generally share in the prosperity of the 1920s. Neither did railroad and streetcar employees, since revenues generated by these forms of transportation declined with the widespread ownership of automobiles. Many small merchants lost business or were driven into bankruptcy by the rise of chain grocery stores, drugstores, and department stores. Nevertheless, the overall standard of living rose for most Americans, as salaries and wages increased in many occupations, and the length of the average workweek shortened.

SOCIAL CLIMATE

During the 1920s, the lives of most middle-class Americans improved as a result of mass production and technological advancements, but other powerful forces also influenced the attitudes and behaviors of ordinary Americans. Millions of native-born, white Americans harbored intense fears that communism would spread to America, immigrant hordes would seize their jobs, and African Americans would integrate their racially homogeneous communities. These anxieties heightened pre-existing racial and ethnic tensions and led to the outbreak of repressive and often violent clashes between Americans of different races, religions, and political beliefs.

The Red Scare

Between 1919 and 1920, escalating ethnic and political tensions in the United States erupted in a wave of mass paranoia and repression known as the "Red Scare." The Bolshevik Revolution of November 1917 in Russia sparked fears that a communist coup was imminent in the United States. The American economy was in recession, unemployment was high, and living costs were even higher. More than 3,300 labor strikes broke out across the nation in 1919, including a nationwide strike by steelworkers, many of whom were Southern and Eastern European immigrants. The Boston police force also went on strike, forcing Governor Calvin Coolidge to enlist the state militia to protect the city and prevent looting. Several highly publicized bombings and attempted bombings of politicians and business leaders, including an explosion on Wall Street in September 1920 that killed 38 people, fueled the public's general sense of pandemonium. Most Americans blamed these incidents on communist and socialist aliens.

In January 1920, the General Intelligence Division of the Bureau of Investigation (renamed the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1935), operating under orders from Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, launched what became known as "Palmer Raids." Federal agents, in cooperation with local police officers, raided homes, newspaper offices, and meeting halls in 33 cities across the nation without search warrants, and arrested more than 4,000 alleged radicals on the suspicion that they threatened national security. Many of those arrested were held in custody without access to counsel for weeks and even months, and while most were eventually released without ever being charged with a crime, almost 600 aliens were deported. Although the Palmer Raids drew criticism from those Americans who recognized that these tactics violated basic civil liberties and even the Constitution itself, many groups and organizations, including the American Legion (founded in 1919), supported any government action, however drastic, that combated the perceived threat of communism in the United States.

Immigration Patterns

Between 1890 and 1914, more than 17 million immigrants came to the United States, many of them from Russia, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Poland, and Germany.[1] The outbreak of World War I severely reduced the number of immigrants arriving from Europe. After the war ended, immigration levels returned to prewar levels, but new concerns about continued strike waves and radical aliens, coupled with anti-foreign resentment and demands for "One Hundred Percent

Americanism," prompted the federal government to clamp down drastically on immigration. In 1921, Congress passed the Quota Act, which capped the total number of immigrants allowed to enter the United States at 385,000 per year. Three years later, the passage of the National Origins Act imposed an annual immigration ceiling of 165,000, and gave preference to applicants from Northern European, chiefly Protestant countries. Asian immigration was entirely prohibited. In 1929, Congress restricted annual immigration to only 150,000 people.[2]

HOW OTHERS SEE US

Storm of Protest: The Sacco and Vanzetti Case

The trial, conviction, and execution of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti was a cause célèbre in the Boston area and throughout the United States. Sympathizers in Canada, Europe, Asia, and South America also rallied to the defense of the two Italian immigrants accused of armed robbery and murder on flimsy evidence. Neither defendant had a prior criminal record, but both were members of anarchist organizations.

In the years between the men's 1921 trial and their 1927 deaths, their case united political activists around the world—particularly those connected with the anarchist, socialist, or communist movements—in a common cause fed by intense newspaper coverage. Protesters denounced the American judicial system, as well as a judge and jury that were said to be biased against both immigrants and those on the political left (the accused were followers of the Italian anarchist Luigi Galleani).

Tokyo's activists, for example, posted leaflets throughout the city calling for boycotts of American goods and the expulsion of American missionaries; they urged the Japanese people to join against American imperialism and capitalism. Threatening letters, one written in blood, arrived at Tokyo's American embassy and warned of bombings and other violence. This pattern was repeated in city after city: Brussels, Prague, Sofia, Lisbon, London, and Paris. American consulates in Buenos Aires and Montevideo were bombed.

RACE RELATIONS

During the 1920s, at least 700,000 African Americans left the South for northern urban industrial centers like Harlem, Chicago, St. Louis, and Detroit.[3] Most of these migrants moved north to find higher paying jobs and to escape segregation, sharecropping, and racial violence common in the South. The flood of African American newcomers heightened competition with white workers for jobs, housing, and public facilities, and set off a surge of race riots.

Unfortunately, well-paying jobs were scarce for black workers in northern and Midwestern cities, and racist practices led to segregated schools, theaters, housing, and other facilities. Although the 1920s saw a tremendous flowering of African American arts, particularly in Harlem, the decade overall was one of tense, turbulent, and sometimes violent relations between black and white Americans. In 1921, for example, two days of rioting engulfed Tulsa, Oklahoma, where white mobs killed at least 85 African Americans and torched much of the city's flourishing black business district. In 1923, a mob of white racists wiped out the small, predominantly black community of Rosewood, Florida. Between 1918 and 1922, according to records kept by Tuskegee Institute, mobs lynched almost 300 African Americans, more than 90 percent of them in the South, for a wide range of real and alleged crimes, including murder and sexual assault. After this surge, the number of lynchings dropped off throughout the rest of the 1920s to an average of around 17 per year,[4] but racist mobs employed increasingly brutal methods to execute African Americans, including setting their victims on fire, torturing and dismembering them, and sexually mutilating their corpses.

The Revival of the Ku Klux Klan

The resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan during the 1920s aggravated already strained race relations in the United States. The original Klan, which emerged shortly after the end of the Civil War, was a racist organization dedicated to terrorizing

recently emancipated African Americans and their white Republican allies. This organization disbanded after 1870, but in 1915, an Atlanta evangelist and businessman named William J. Simmons revived the Klan in a cross-burning ceremony on Stone Mountain, Georgia. This resurrected Klan preached that white supremacy was under assault and that the increasing diversification of American culture was serving to "mongrelize" and therefore undermine native-born, white Protestant dominance. The Klan targeted not just African Americans but also immigrants, communists, union leaders, Catholics, and Jews. They pledged their devotion to protecting the American family, and meted out vigilante justice to bootleggers, wife-beaters, adulterers, and other perceived threats. By 1924, at the height of its power, the Klan boasted two million members nationwide, many of whom were small urban businessmen and recent rural migrants. The Klan dominated the political scene in Oklahoma, Texas, Colorado, and particularly Indiana, where an estimated 10 percent of the entire population belonged to the organization. Every one of Indiana's 92 counties contained a Klan chapter, and Governor Ed Jackson was himself a Klansman. But in 1925, David C. Stephenson, the Grand Dragon of Indiana, was arrested and convicted of the rape and murder of a 28-year-old state welfare worker. The conviction of such a high-ranking Klan officer decimated popular support for the organization, and Klan membership in Indiana plummeted from 350,000 to 15,000 within a year.[5] By 1926, the Ku Klux Klan was in serious decline nationwide. Many Klansmen elected to office in 1924 had not proven particularly effective, and the general prosperity of the nation made it difficult to continue to scapegoat African Americans, Jews, Catholics, and immigrants. Furthermore, strict immigration quotas had been passed—a major victory for white supremacists. Nevertheless, actual or threatened violence by Klansmen continued to influence American race relations throughout the rest of the 1920s.

Marcus Garvey and Black Nationalism

During the 1920s, hundreds of thousands of African Americans joined black nationalist organizations that celebrated race pride and racial self-determination. The most powerful of these groups was the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), founded in 1914 by Marcus Garvey, a charismatic Jamaican immigrant. Garvey promoted the UNIA by publishing a black-oriented newspaper, *Negro World,* and founding the Black Star shipping line to assist African Americans in emigrating to Africa. By the early 1920s, the UNIA claimed more than one million members worldwide. In 1922, when the Black Star line floundered, thousands of investors lost their money, and charges of corruption and the mishandling of funds tarnished the organization's reputation. Garvey was arrested for mail fraud in 1923, convicted and imprisoned two years later, and finally deported to Jamaica in 1927. The UNIA collapsed, but Garvey's message of black pride and separatism inspired hundreds of thousands of working-class African Americans to strive for fiscal and social independence from white society.

The New Negro

Although the phrase "New Negro" dates to the late nineteenth century, it was not until the 1920s that this label gained currency as a description for middle-class African Americans who advocated a new sense of militancy and racial pride. Alain Locke, an African American philosopher, critic, and editor, titled his Harlem Renaissance literary anthology *The New Negro* (1925) to signal these powerful currents of black artistic consciousness, renewed civil rights advocacy, and racial solidarity. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and other organizations waged court battles in an attempt to secure African Americans' civil and political rights. Black writers, musicians, and artists, especially those who resided in Harlem, used their work to celebrate African American culture and challenge racist stereotypes. Above all, "New Negroes" attempted to participate fully in American culture, while resisting white America's attempts to cast them as a "problem" that somehow needed to be solved.

NATIONAL PROHIBITION

On January 16, 1920, the Eighteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution went into effect.



Group of policemen posed with cases of moonshine, Washington, D.C., 1922. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

The amendment, passed in 1919 and also known as National Prohibition, prohibited, "the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States." In 1919, Congress had also enacted what became known as the Volstead Act, which defined "intoxicating liquor" as any beverage containing a minimum of one-half of one percent alcohol. So-called "padlock laws" allowed enforcement agents to close down any illegal drinking establishment for one year, and the government could seize and sell any vehicle used to transport liquor illegally. However, the Prohibition Bureau, a division of the Treasury Department created by the federal government to enforce its anti-alcohol laws, remained underfunded and understaffed throughout the 1920s, and most cities and states refused to appropriate enough money to hire additional officers to enforce these laws. In fact, 30 states appropriated no money at all to support the Volstead Act, choosing instead to leave the entire responsibility of law enforcement to the federal government.

Drinking During Prohibition

Although beer, wine, and spirits became more difficult to obtain during National Prohibition, and many people did drink less, Americans could still usually obtain liquor. Illicit bars called speakeasies sprang up in cities and towns across America, and moonshiners (producers of homemade distilled spirits), rumrunners (alcohol smugglers), and bootleggers (alcohol distributors) quickly found a lucrative market. The cost of

liquor skyrocketed—drinks that once cost a nickel before Prohibition could cost 50 cents or more.

Although the price of alcoholic beverages rose, the quality declined. Bootleggers frequently adulterated genuine scotch, rye, and gin by diluting them with water and adding coloring, flavoring, and more alcohol. As a result, cocktails became popular during the 1920s, as drinkers used ginger ale, tonic water, or fruit juices to mask the unpleasant taste of low-grade liquor. Cocktail parties also became fashionable during Prohibition, since hosts could serve alcohol in their homes without much fear of being raided by Prohibition agents. People who could not afford bootlegged liquor often drank homemade beer, wine, or moonshine, and some desperate people resorted to concoctions of Sterno, aftershave lotion, hair tonics, over-the-counter medicines, and other alcohol-based household products. Adulterated alcohol poisoned or blinded tens of thousands and even killed people—mostly poor and working-class drinkers who could not afford to buy their liquor from reliable bootleggers.

Americans could purchase illegal liquor at underground commercial establishments. The urban saloon evolved into the popular "speakeasy" that hid in plain sight among legitimate businesses in most cities and towns. According to one study, New York City contained more than 30,000 speakeasies by 1927.[6] Some were located in elegant upscale surroundings and catered to the fashionable society set. For example, the 21 Club operated in a posh Manhattan townhouse and sold authentic—and expensive—smuggled Canadian liquor. Most speakeasies, however, were modest establishments that operated behind locked doors in apartments, out-of-the-way commercial properties, or the back rooms and basements of legal businesses. Prior to 1920, most women who entered working-class saloons were prostitutes, but after the enactment of Prohibition, it became acceptable and even fashionable for respectable middle-class women to drink in speakeasies, as long as a male companion accompanied them.

PROHIBITION AND POPULAR CULTURE

National Prohibition influenced virtually every aspect of American culture during the 1920s. Hundreds of new words entered the American language to describe drinking, drinkers, and various forms of alcohol. Terms such as *happy sally, yack yack bourbon,* and *cherry dynamite* referred to various kinds of moonshine, and terms such as *shellacked, fried, potted,* and *crocked* described being drunk. Prohibition inspired dozens of popular songs, many of which parodied already familiar tunes. Among the most memorable titles were "If I Meet the Guy Who Made This Country Dry" (1920) and "It's the Smart Little Feller Who Stocked Up His Cellar (That's Getting the Beautiful Girls)" (1920). Until the late 1920s, when the motion picture industry began to self-censor movies with questionable moral content, Hollywood films frequently showed glamorous young men and women patronizing a speakeasy or attending a cocktail party.

Prohibition and Crime

Prohibition laws led to a dramatic rise in the scope and scale of organized crime, motivating powerful gangsters, including George Remus in Cincinnati, Al "Scarface" Capone in Chicago, and Salvatore "Lucky" Luciano in New York, to exploit bootlegging as a new and lucrative business. George Remus—allegedly the inspiration for F. Scott Fitzgerald's character Jay Gatsby in the novel *The Great Gatsby* (1925)—made so much money from bootlegging that he would leave $100 bills under his guests' plates at dinner parties and once even gave brand-new Pontiac automobiles to all 50 of the female guests who attended one of his social gatherings. In 1928 alone, Al Capone made an estimated $105 million—reportedly the highest income in the United States—from his bootlegging, gambling, and prostitution rackets. Gangland bootleggers occasionally paid for their crimes through jail time and fines, but to a great extent they lived beyond the reach of the law. Mob bosses would pay corrupt police, federal agents, and even judges in exchange for protection from interference and prosecution. Gang-related violence repeatedly made headlines during the decade, and Americans were especially shocked by the 1929 "St. Valentine's Day Massacre," in which

Capone's henchmen, disguised as police officers, mowed down six members of rival George "Bugs" Moran's gang and an innocent bystander at a Chicago garage.

The Repeal of Prohibition

By the early 1930s, widespread disregard for the law, combined with the added social and economic pressures of the Great Depression, made the futility of the Prohibition laws evident to all but the most ardent temperance supporters. On December 5, 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed into law the Twenty-First Amendment to the Constitution, repealing the Eighteenth Amendment (the only constitutional amendment ever repealed).



A happy young flapper putting a flask in her boot, Washington, D.C., 1922. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

WOMEN'S ROLES

While many women, especially young women, broke from tradition when it came to hairstyles, clothing, and social behaviors, most still adhered to traditional gender roles. Young, unmarried women might flirt and "play the field" more than their mothers and grandmothers had, but the majority still dreamed of marrying, settling down, and raising children. While women entered colleges and universities in unprecedented numbers throughout the decade, relatively few planned to pursue careers outside the home after they were married.

The birthrate of middle-class families continued to decline as birth control became more widely available and more frequently practiced. The passage of more liberal laws made it easier to get a divorce, which prompted a rise in the divorce rate. In 1900, about eight percent of marriages ended in divorce, but by 1928, that number had increased to 16.6 percent.[7] Increasing numbers of married women worked outside the home, usually out of economic necessity, and by 1930, more than three million married women were in the workforce. Still, the great majority of families followed traditional sex roles; the husbands were the principal breadwinners, and the wives had primary responsibility for cooking, cleaning, and caring for the children.

In previous decades, middle-class Americans often employed at least a part-time maid or cook, but advances in such technologies as electric washing machines, vacuum cleaners, hot and cold running water, and refrigerators, coupled with the dwindling supply of domestic servants, made it customary for middle-class women to do their own housework. So-called labor-saving devices may have created more work for women, as washing machines and vacuum cleaners, for example, helped to raise common standards of cleanliness. And technological changes came far more slowly to homes in rural America. By 1930, only 10 percent of the nation's farms were wired for electricity, and only 33 percent had running water.[8]

Women at Work

During World War I, with more than 3.6 million men engaged in military service, American business and industry actively recruited women to work in factories, office buildings, and munitions plants. Wartime propaganda celebrated these female employees as patriots who were doing their part for the common good, but after the war ended, critics charged that working women neglected their husbands and children and took jobs that belonged to men. As a result, even many single women lost their jobs to returning veterans. Unions did little to protect women workers, largely because they, too, believed it inappropriate for women to compete with men for jobs. In fact, the great majority of wage-earning women worked as domestic servants, secretaries, telephone operators, typists, hairdressers, or department store clerks, or in other female-dominated occupations. College-educated women also tended to enter the "nurturing" professions of teaching, nursing, or social work. Overall, few women worked for their own gratification; rather, their income was needed to help support their families. Nevertheless, many employers believed that working women worked only to acquire pocket money, which justified their lower wages. During the 1920s, white women, on average, earned about half of what men earned for similar work, and black women earned about half of what white women did. Barriers for advancement remained high, and many women labored in mills and factories for years with little hope of a raise or a promotion. A small number of women became doctors, professors, lawyers, scientists, and business leaders in their communities, but lucrative jobs in management and administration eluded most women during the 1920s, regardless of their talent, education, or intelligence.

Women and Politics

In 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified, guaranteeing women the right to vote. Many political observers predicted that women would vote in a cohesive bloc and thus initiate dramatic reforms in American government and society; however, this quickly proved not to be the case. After the passage of the suffrage amendment, the women's movement, whose diverse factions had united behind this common cause, once again splintered into dozens of political camps. One major divisive issue was the proposed Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), introduced in Congress in 1923, which read, "Men and woman shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction."[9] Members of the National Women's Party (NWP) and other feminist groups believed that the ERA logically extended the political rights granted to women by the Nineteenth Amendment. Opponents feared that the amendment would endanger or prohibit legislation specially designed to protect and assist women, such as the Sheppard-Towner Act (1921), which distributed federal matching grants to the states for prenatal and child health clinics, midwife training, and visiting nurses for pregnant women and new mothers. Although the ERA was reintroduced in Congress three times in the 1920s, it never made it out of committee.

RELIGION AND FUNDAMENTALISM

By the 1920s, modern influences had infiltrated virtually every aspect of American society, Reverend Harry Emerson Fosdick and other liberal Protestant clergy rejected literal interpretations of the Bible and embraced the notion that Christianity could co-exist with science. They emphasized the moral and ethical teachings of the "historical Jesus" and encouraged church members to seek the counsel of their ministers on both spiritual and personal matters. They de-emphasized the supernatural and miracle-working aspects of Christianity and concentrated instead on dispensing practical advice about living as a Christian in an increasingly secular, materialistic world.

The rise of modern religion triggered a strong backlash among more traditional Protestant Christians. Conservative clergy preached about the dangers of modernity and warned their followers not to stray from biblical teachings. Their reaction became known as Fundamentalism, named after a series of pamphlets called *The Fundamentals* (1909–1914), which insisted on the literal truth of the Bible and Jesus Christ's critical role in saving humanity. Fundamentalism

spawned a related movement called Pentecostalism, which appealed primarily to poor and working-class Americans, especially those in the Midwest and South. Pentecostals believed in faith healers and speaking in tongues, which, to them, signified the presence of the Holy Spirit. Both groups believed that the modern world had become morally corrupt and that its emphasis on money making, consumerism, leisure, and science had seduced weak-willed Christians. Thus, leaders in these churches tended to preach "old-time religion" that stressed conservative morality and the truth of biblical stories.

The Fundamentalist movement produced several famous ministers who, ironically, used modern show business techniques. During the 1910s and 1920s, Billy Sunday, a former professional baseball player turned evangelist, toured the country with his vaudeville-like revivals, converting sinners and denouncing the evils of the modern world. Aimee Semple McPherson, a dynamic Pentecostal preacher and bona fide celebrity, proved that Fundamentalist religion could seamlessly incorporate many elements of modern life. In 1923, McPherson established the 5,300-seat Angelus Temple in Los Angeles, dedicated to a religion she called the Foursquare Gospel, which promoted the ideas of divine healing, regeneration, baptism in the Holy Spirit, and the second coming of Jesus Christ. Her services incorporated elaborate stage sets, jazz music, animals, and actors playing various parts. Beginning in 1924, she broadcast her sermons and religious programs over her church-owned radio station, KFSG. In 1926, she claimed that she was kidnapped from a California beach, drugged, and held against her will in Mexico for several weeks until she could escape. Journalists attempted to prove that she had actually slipped away for a tryst with a married man, but her devoted followers still believed that McPherson was a selfless servant of the Lord.

Evolutionary Science and the Scopes Trial

Fundamentalists stressed the literal truth of the Bible as God's divinely ordained word, so evolutionary teachings, which clearly contradicted the story of Genesis, became a particular target of wrath and condemnation. Between 1921 and 1922, legislatures in 20 states introduced bills banning the teaching of evolution in public schools. When Tennessee passed such a law in 1925, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) offered to provide legal representation for any teacher willing to challenge this law in court. John T. Scopes, a high school biology teacher in Dayton, Tennessee, accepted the offer. After he explained Darwin's theory of evolution to his students, he was arrested, sparking one of the most famous and sensational trials of the decade. William Jennings Bryan, former secretary of state, three-time presidential candidate, and a leader of the Fundamentalist movement, argued for the prosecution. Clarence Darrow, a famous liberal trial lawyer and professed agnostic, assisted with Scopes's defense. The trial, held in July 1925, attracted thousands of spectators and reporters to the small town of Dayton.

Throughout the 12 day trial, Americans were riveted to the case, which had essentially devolved into the question of whether Darwin or Genesis was "right." Camera crews sent daily newsreel footage of the trial to movie theaters across the country. Hundreds of thousands of people listened to the proceedings carried by WGN, Chicago—the first trial ever broadcast live on radio. Darrow, who was forbidden by the judge from introducing any expert scientific testimony, called Bryan, a self-proclaimed expert on the Bible, as his only witness. Darrow proceeded to humiliate Bryan, who testified to the literal accuracy of biblical stories (including the tale of Jonah's being swallowed by a big fish and Joshua's making the sun stand still) and exhibited his vast ignorance of science. Sophisticated Americans thought Bryan ridiculous, and reporters such as H. L. Mencken, writing for the *Baltimore Sun,* lampooned Bryan and what they saw as the idiocy and backwardness of Fundamentalists in particular and southerners in general. In the end, a jury found Scopes guilty of breaking the law and fined him $100, but the Tennessee Supreme Court later overturned the case on a technicality. Nevertheless, anti-evolution laws prohibiting the teaching of Darwinism remained on the books, and evolution-free biology textbooks continued to dominate classrooms in high schools across much of the South.



Defense Attorney Clarence Darrow (center, wearing suspenders) during the Scopes Trial, Dayton, Tennessee, 1925. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCES

The 1920s saw the rapid development of new technologies. By 1928, approximately 17 million homes—out of about 27 million homes—were wired for electricity. These homes contained approximately 15.3 million electric irons, 6.8 million vacuum cleaners, 5 million washing machines, 4.5 million toasters, and 755,000 electric refrigerators.[10]

Telephone ownership increased from 14.3 million in 1922 to 20.3 million in 1930, and in 1926, phones were first manufactured not as two separate pieces connected by a cord, but with the transmitter and receiver in a single handset.[11] Even experimental television made headlines. The first demonstration of long-range television transmission, from a signal in Washington, D.C., to a receiver in New York City, took place in April 1927. The image projected was the face of then Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover. Two years later, the NBC radio network began broadcasting a regular television schedule, but a low-resolution signal, and few receivers made this effort commercially unsuccessful.

During the 1920s, a series of medical breakthroughs improved the state of medicine. Doctors first used insulin to treat diabetes in 1922, British scientist Alexander Fleming discovered penicillin in 1928, and advances in the treatment of scarlet fever and measles helped bring these dangerous diseases under control. In 1928, Dr. George Papanicolaou, a Greek immigrant, published news of his medical breakthrough, the "Pap smear," which could detect cervical cancer in women. Newly invented medical equipment included the electrocardiograph in 1924, the "iron lung" respirator in 1928, and the electroencephalograph in

1929. Despite these advances, medical care in the United States during the 1920s was spotty at best. Relatively few doctors lived in the rural South and Midwest, and residents of those regions were most likely to suffer from hookworm, pellagra, rickets, and other diseases caused by nutritional deficiencies. Americans living in urban centers or near medical schools enjoyed better access to advanced health care, but doctors still relied more on bedside comforting and commonsense remedies than they did on pharmacological cures. Still, by the end of the 1920s, increased understanding of nutrition and preventive health care had considerably lessened infant mortality rates and increased life expectancy.

NATIONAL NEWS STORIES

The phenomenal growth of mass-circulation magazines and newspapers during the 1920s prompted Americans to follow national news stories with great interest. For example, when spelunker Floyd Collins became trapped in Sand Cave (near Cave City, Kentucky) in 1925, more than 150 reporters descended upon the area. For two weeks, radio broadcasts and front-page newspaper articles chronicled the heroic but futile attempts made by Louisville firefighters and local volunteers to rescue him. Some 15 days after he had become trapped, Collins died, but that did not mark the end of national attention. Later that year, hillbilly singing star Vernon Dalhart recorded "The Death of Floyd Collins," and picture postcards were printed of the tragic scene, including at least one that pictured Collins's corpse being removed from the cave. Mass media had tapped into the nation's fascination with such sensational news.

The 1920s saw many dramatic and highly publicized trials, including the Scopes trial. Another sensational trial was that of Nathan Leopold and Richard Loeb, which later inspired Alfred Hitchcock's 1948 film *Rope.* Eighteen-year-old Loeb and 19-year-old Leopold, the privileged sons of two wealthy and prominent Chicago families, conspired to commit what they believed to be the "perfect murder." Their plan resulted in the kidnapping and brutal bludgeoning death of 14-year-old Bobby Franks in May 1924. A pair of Leopold's eyeglasses, inadvertently left near Franks's body, eventually led police to the two young men. Leopold and Loeb pleaded guilty to murder, and Clarence Darrow, the famous defense lawyer, argued passionately and successfully to keep his clients from receiving the death penalty. Throughout the course of the month-long hearing, Americans closely followed newspaper and radio coverage of the case, simultaneously repelled and mesmerized by this motiveless "thrill killing."

TIME MAN OF THE YEAR

1927 Charles Lindbergh (aviator)

1928 Walter Chrysler (founder of Chrysler Corp.)

1929 Owen D. Young (foreman of Second Reparations Conference)

Tabloid newspapers, which enjoyed higher circulations than most serious papers, cashed in on Americans' appetite for crime and scandal by reporting, in lurid and titillating detail, shocking sex scandals and murder trials. Readers followed the breaking developments of trials in the pages of the tabloids as if they were following the convoluted plot twists of a Hollywood film. For example, when silent film comedian Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle was arrested and charged with the rape and murder of actress Virginia Rappe in 1921, he was effectively tried and convicted in William Randolph Hearst's chains of newspapers. In April 1922, after two trials that resulted in hung juries, Arbuckle was acquitted of all charges in a third trial, but the negative publicity irreparably damaged his film career. Other scandalous murder trials also fascinated the public. In 1927, a Queens, New York, homemaker named Ruth Snyder and her lover, a salesman named Judd Gray, murdered her husband, Albert Snyder. A frenzy of newspaper reportage kept readers glued to the trial. Both Snyder and Gray were convicted and executed in 1928, with Snyder being the first woman ever electrocuted in the state of New York.

THE STOCK MARKET CRASH

When Herbert Hoover was elected president of the United States in 1928, the country appeared to

have a bright future. Part of this optimism came from the astounding rise in the stock market. Stocks had been trading well above their market value, and investors had been purchasing these inflated stocks "on margin," providing a minimal down payment—sometimes as little as 10 percent—and then borrowing the rest of the money at high interest rates. The loan, in theory, would be paid back out of the profits from the stock, whose value, people believed, would never stop rising. Indeed, the market value of all stocks, which stood at about $27 billion in 1925, had climbed to $87 billion by 1929. The stock market seemed like the perfect place to make easy money, and even middle-class Americans began to speculate on Wall Street. But on October 24, 1929—"Black Thursday"—the stock market collapsed. Orders to sell poured into the New York Stock Exchange, and stock prices plummeted. Panicked brokers began calling in their customers' debts, which led to more sell orders. Some stocks, which found no buyers at any price, became worthless. The worst was yet to come. Five days later, on October 29, so-called "Black Tuesday," a record 16 million shares of stock traded hands. By November, $30 billion in stock values had vanished. Companies were wiped out, banks were drained, and investors saw their life savings disappear.



"History of 1929" cartoon by Daniel Fitzpatrick, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* December 31, 1929. Courtesy of the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.

Many factors caused this devastating stock market crash. The economy appeared healthy, but in fact industrial production far outpaced consumer demand, and tremendous amounts of inventory were accumulating in warehouses. Overseas markets for American-made products had dwindled as a result of a severe depression in postwar Europe, and many American businesses were buried in debt. Middle-class and especially working-class Americans saw their paychecks grow at a much slower rate. And while large segments of the population, primarily farmers, textile workers, and coal miners, lacked sufficient income to meet their basic needs, 60 percent of the nation's wealth lay in the hands of just two percent of the American people. The stock market crash did not directly cause the Great Depression, but it did accelerate the collapse of an already unstable economy and the onset of the worst economic crisis in American history. "Black Tuesday" marked the end of the prosperous and flamboyant Jazz Age and the beginning of a new era in American history, the Great Depression.

Advertising

of the 1920s

During the 1920s, sophisticated professional salespeople, graphic designers, and copywriters bombarded Americans with attractive, persuasive advertising campaigns. Modern advertising sought to convince consumers that the key to increased status, health, happiness, wealth, and beauty existed in the mass-produced goods available in department stores, chain stores, and mail-order catalogs. In prior decades, Americans had tended to define themselves at least in part based on factors such as race, ethnicity, region, religion, and politics. During the 1920s, however, Americans increasingly defined themselves through the houses, cars, clothes, and other goods and services they purchased.

MASS CONSUMERISM

During World War I, the government encouraged Americans to conserve food and fuel and to sacrifice for the good of the war effort by consuming only basic necessities. But during the 1920s, the increasing prosperity of the American middle class led to soaring levels of consumerism. Between 1922 and 1927, the average per capita income rose by 30 percent, and although a serious depression continued to plague agriculture, most aspects of the American economy seemed to be healthy and growing prior to the October 1929 stock market crash. As Americans earned more disposable income, companies offered a wider variety of goods at comparatively low prices.

American consumerism also exploded in part due to the increasing popularity of affordable installment plans. Buying a home, of course, often required a mortgage, and other large purchases such as automobiles sometimes involved financing, but it wasn't until the 1920s that ordinary middle-class consumers began buying large numbers of more expensive items on installment. In fact, between 1920 and 1929, installment purchases quintupled, and in 1929 accounted for 90 percent of all vacuum cleaner, radio, and refrigerator sales, 70 percent of furniture sales, and 60 percent of auto sales.[1] Advertisers contributed to the erosion of the old ethos of avoiding debt by emphasizing the ease with which consumers could pay merely $5 a week for a fur coat or $20 a month for living room furniture, all the while enjoying the merchandise.

THE MODERN ADVERTISING INDUSTRY

Most Americans not only had more money during the 1920s than they had in previous decades, but they also increasingly equated personal success with material goods. Modern advertising

ADVERTISING SLOGANS OF THE 1920s

"Always a bridesmaid and never a bride," Listerine, 1923

"Reach for a Lucky instead of a sweet," Lucky Strikes cigarettes, 1928

"The Pause That Refreshes," Coca-Cola, 1929

Burma-Shave signs, 1925

"I'd walk a mile for a Camel," Camel Cigarettes, 1921

"Somewhere west of Laramie," Jordan Motor Company, 1923

Source: *Advertising Age's* 100 Best Advertising Campaigns of 20th Century. http://adage.com/century

fueled this new attitude. Billboards, newspapers, magazines, and radio commercials touted the virtues of their various advertisers' products, and companies poured enormous sums of money into advertising. Collectively, American companies spent around $700 million on advertising in 1914, but by 1929 that figure ballooned to nearly $3 billion.[2] Advertisers attempted to convince consumers that choosing their product instead of one sold by a competitor would enhance their health, safety, beauty, even the quality of their lives. Companies quickly found that advertising paid. For example, after an extensive advertising campaign, the American Tobacco Company, the manufacturers of Lucky Strike cigarettes, saw its earnings swell from $12 million in 1926 to $40 million in 1930.[3]

Modern advertising flourished during the 1920s. The modern advertising agency consisted of teams of professional salesmen, graphic designers, and copywriters who created sophisticated advertising campaigns and then placed them in appropriate venues. Many modern ads created associations between a product and such desirable traits as youthfulness, attractiveness, intelligence, and popularity. These ads encouraged Americans to buy newly developed or "improved" items that they had never before considered necessary. Companies developed persuasive advertising campaigns that taught consumers regularly to purchase brand-name, often nonessential products.

As late as the early 1920s, some print advertisements still functioned largely as informative declarations of a particular product's merits. These advertisements sought to create a subtle but positive impression on consumers. As the 1920s progressed, however, copywriters developed advertisements that appealed more overtly to consumers' psychological needs and fears. Increasingly, ads featured people enjoying a product, rather than merely showing the product itself. The language of advertisements became more personal and intimate, essentially encouraging American consumers to judge themselves and each other based not on strength of character but rather on the brand-name products they purchased.

During the 1920s, most advertising professionals were men, but about 10 percent were women, most of whom worked as assistants or copywriters. Many of the men who joined advertising firms were college graduates, and some had even earned degrees from the new business schools or advertising programs that flourished in the 1920s. Many of these university-trained advertisers gravitated toward the emerging field of market research and learned how to track consumer reactions to particular products and advertisements using statistics, surveys, and other analytical methods.

ADVERTISING STRATEGIES

By the 1920s, advertisers and retailers knew that while men were ordinarily the primary wage earners in their families, women did most of the actual purchasing. As a result, a considerable percentage of advertising in the 1920s targeted females. Print advertisements appeared in the mass-circulation women's magazines of the day, such as *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Good Housekeeping,* touting everything from food products, clothing, and electric kitchen appliances to cosmetics, anti-aging creams, and weight-loss regimens. Many advertisers suggested that buying a certain product would make them better wives and mothers. Some print ads blatantly correlated the intensity of a mother's love with the purchase of a particular brand of soup, toothpaste, or

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Do wives think differently today?

Changing habits prove they do



DOESN'T it seem only yesterday that wives were so busy with household cares that they found but little time for anything else?

How different is the new order that has been ushered in. Today, your wife finds opportunity to vary her interests . . . to be a companion to your children . . . to study closer your welfare. She has won a new freedom and happiness in her daily life.

What has brought about this change? Your wife will tell you . . . thinking differently . . . thinking of housekeeping in much the same terms as you think of your business problems . . . discarding time-worn ideas and old-fashioned methods in favor of a new-day efficiency in home management.

Whenever wives meet, these modern methods of homekeeping are discussed. Particularly, do they speak of how one important problem—that of food buying—has been simplified.

No longer do you find these women visiting store after store in search of goodness and value in foodstuffs. They confine their purchases to the one store which experience has taught them provides both the good foods and the good values they seek.

Daily they go to the A & P, knowing that a few minutes spent selecting foods solves what was formerly a vexing problem. For A & P's shelves are filled with the finest foods that a great world-wide buying organization can secure . . . nationally advertised brands . . . the choicest imported luxuries . . . foods locally famous. And women have learned that substantial savings go hand in hand with this quality.

This changing habit in food buying—the result of wives thinking differently today—is nation-wide in scope. Like guideposts along the highways, A & P stores everywhere point the way to good foods and good values.

A&P
ESTABLISHED 1859
"WHERE ECONOMY RULES"

At the A & P the is sure to find the popular, nationally advertised brands of groceries.

THE GREAT ATLANTIC & PACIFIC TEA COMPANY

"Do wives think differently today?," asks this A & P grocery store ad. *The Saturday Evening Post,* July 14, 1928.



Advertising still-life photograph showing a Colgate toothpaste box and toothpaste with a toothbrush and glass on a shelf in a bathroom, 1922. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

detergent, suggesting that choosing a rival product would jeopardize the health or safety of one's children. Other companies tempted homemakers with promises that buying their products would streamline meal preparation and lighten their domestic workload.

One of the most successful and ubiquitous advertising techniques during the 1920s was the relentless appeal to modernity. Modernity equaled progress, and whatever was new was often seen as automatically desirable. The Campbell Soup Company, for example, exhorted homemakers to try its condensed soups because opening a can was not only fast and easy but also the "modern way of 'making' soup." Other advertisements warned consumers that appearing old-fashioned or outdated could actually result in some personal tragedy—anything from losing a suitor to losing a job to losing one's self-respect.

Advertisers also exploited a different aspect of modernity—the intense anxiety that some Americans experienced in response to a faster-paced lifestyle, mass consumerism, intrusive technologies, and the erosion of long-standing traditional values. Although progress was largely heralded as positive and healthy, certain aspects of modern life did seem overwhelming to ordinary Americans. "Anti-modern" advertisements for products that were intended to reduce stress and tension abounded. For example, one Post Bran Flakes advertisement featured a picture of a harried businessman rushing to work. This cereal, the ad suggested, promoted good health and regularity despite living a modern life.

SEEKING BEAUTY WITH AN UNUSUAL PRODUCT

Advertisers helped to fuel the 1920s trend of worshiping youthfulness. Fashions, particularly women's fashions, emphasized a slim, youthful figure, and the cosmetics industry boomed as millions of American women tried all sorts of products that promised to restore the eyes, hair, and skin of their younger years. For example, one 1928 advertisement for Lysol disinfectant pictured two fashionable young women, clad in smart cloche hats and fur-trimmed coats, glancing back at a couple who has just walked past them. One woman comments to the other, "She looks old enough to be his mother." The advertisement's copy explains how this unfortunate woman, who is actually five years younger than her husband, has succumbed to the ravages of age by not relying on Lysol for her feminine hygiene needs (which is not only amusing in its sexism, but shocking to women of the twenty-first century who know Lysol only as a rather strong disinfectant for cleaning floors, sinks, and toilets). Lysol was also used by some women in the 1920s and later years as a contraceptive, though in the 1930s, some public medical criticism of its use had begun. The ad also sadly notes that, "in this enlightened age, so often a woman has only herself to blame if she fails to stay young with her husband and with her woman friends." Likewise, an ad campaign for Palmolive soap exploited the notion that women of all ages ought to "keep that schoolgirl complexion" and that Palmolive soap provided the foundation of "modern beauty culture."

From: Rachel Lynn Palmer and Sarah K. Greenberg, *Facts and Frauds in Woman's Hygiene; A Medical Guide Against Misleading Claims and Dangerous Products* (Garden City, NY: Garden City Publishing, 1938), 142–157; Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920–1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 15, 181.

Not all Americans needed to be told that they were unique individuals. Some successful advertising campaigns took the opposite approach and appealed to consumers based on their perceived need to hop on the proverbial bandwagon. The Campbell Soup Company, for example, launched a series of ads during the 1920s for canned pork-and-beans that explains that "Years ago tastes for beans varied in different parts of the country. Certain sections were justly proud of the way they cooked and served them. But today there's no doubt whatever about the pork-and-beans the whole country prefers."[4] Rather than see homogenization as a disadvantage, advertisers urged consumers to take comfort in the fact that millions of Americans could not be wrong, and so choosing what the masses chose was a wise decision.

Some ads of the 1920s traded on "snob appeal," intimating that only consumers of wealth, culture, and class would be interested in, or even deserved to own, such a tasteful product. Other advertisements offered scientific information and medical advice or even warned about the hazards of unsanitary conditions.

SPOKESPERSONS

Although celebrity endorsements of consumer products were not new in the 1920s, they carried considerable weight in a nation highly attuned to the behaviors of its favorite movie stars and sports idols. When Hollywood sex symbol Clara Bow lent her name to a line of hats, for example, or football hero Red Grange's image appeared on a candy bar, American consumers paid attention—and bought. Lucky Strikes cigarettes launched a highly effective celebrity endorsement campaign in the late 1920s that combined Americans' fears of being overweight with their desires to emulate their beloved stars. The American Tobacco Company, the cigarette's manufacturer, hired famous actors, singers, athletes, and even military heroes to recommend that consumers watch their figures and "Reach for a Lucky instead of a sweet." Lucky Strikes also touted its cigarettes as "[t]he modern way to diet! Light a Lucky when fattening sweets tempt you.... The delicately toasted flavor of Luckies is more than a substitute for fattening sweets—it satisfies the appetite without harming the digestion."[5] As smoking became increasingly popular among women, advertisements carried testimonials from famous women such as aviator Amelia Earhart and actress Constance Talmadge.

Advertising

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Halitosis makes you unpopular

It is inexcusable . . . . . can be instantly remedied.

NO matter how charming you may be or how fond of you your friends are, you cannot expect them to put up with halitosis (unpleasant breath) forever. They may be nice to you—but it is an effort.

Don't fool yourself that you never have halitosis as do so many self-assured people who constantly offend this way.

Read the facts in the lower right-hand corner and you will see that your chance of escape is slight. Nor should you count on being able to detect this ailment in yourself. Halitosis doesn't announce itself. You are seldom aware you have it.

Recognizing these truths, nice people end any chance of offending by systematically rinsing the mouth with Listerine. Every morning. Every night. And between times when necessary, especially before meeting others.

Keep a bottle handy in home and office for this purpose.

Listerine ends halitosis instantly. Being antiseptic, it strikes at its commonest cause—fermentation in the oral cavity. Then, being a powerful deodorant, it destroys the odors themselves.

If you have any doubt of Listerine's powerful deodorant properties, make this test: Rub a slice of onion on your hand. Then apply Listerine clear. Immediately, every trace of onion odor is gone. Even the strong odor of fish yields to it. Lambert Pharmacal Company, St. Louis, Mo., U. S. A.

The new baby—
LISTERINE SHAVING CREAM
—you've got a treat ahead of you.
TRY IT



READ THE FACTS
1/3 had halitosis

68 hairdressers state that about every third woman, many of them from the wealthy classes, is halitoxic. Who should know better than they?

LISTERINE

The safe antiseptic

A 1928 ad for Listerine plays on readers' fears of being unpopular. *The Saturday Evening Post,* August 18, 1928.

Advertisers soon realized that spokespersons need not be famous—or even real. A popular advertising gimmick of the 1920s was to invent an imaginary figure, usually a woman, to function as a spokesperson for a particular product or company. In 1921, the advertising department of the Washburn-Crosby Company created a fictional model homemaker and nutrition expert named Betty Crocker for use in an advertising campaign promoting its Gold Medal flour. She was so named by combining a popular woman's name, "Betty," with the surname of the retired company director, William G. Crocker. Originally, the company used Betty Crocker's name to sign letters written in response requests it received from homemakers seeking baking advice. Her signature, company executives believed, offered a more personal and authoritative touch to these letters, and a secretary who had won a handwriting contest among the company's female employees supplied Betty Crocker's signature. The Washburn-Crosby Company soon began to publish cookbooks under her name and established the Betty Crocker Kitchens, in which a team of home economists tested and created recipes used the company's Gold Medal flour. By the late 1920s, many fictitious spokespersons were endorsing brand-name products. The Postum Company invented Carrie Blanchard, who received thousands of letters from fans. And Libby Foods created Mary Hale Martin, whose name was signed to advice columns in Libby's advertisements as well as to "personal replies" sent in response to consumers' letters.

ADVERTISING AND RACE

Not all company spokespeople were as culturally inoffensive as Betty Crocker. Since the late nineteenth century, advertisers had tapped into familiar Old South racial stereotypes to sell their products. Images of happy, docile African American servants eager to serve their masters (i.e., the consumers) proliferated on brand-name packaging of the 1890s and endured into the 1920s and beyond. Among the best known of these fictional spokespersons were Aunt Jemima, a "mammy" figure who advertised self-rising pancake flour for the Davis Milling Company (later acquired by the Quaker Oats Company), and Rastus, the black chef featured on Nabisco's Cream of Wheat box. Both of these figures still appear on packaging today. Although Aunt Jemima has lost her headkerchief in the process of being "updated," the image of Rastus remains virtually unchanged. Other popular racial stereotypes employed in advertising during the 1920s were the Gold Dust Twins—two little black children who appeared on Gold Dust soap powder labels. These twins became synonymous with the product they represented, and they came to life between 1923 and 1926, when white actors impersonating the twins starred in *The Gold Dust Twins,* a musical-variety program broadcast on WEAF, New York.

During the 1920s, Aunt Jemima and Rastus were visible brand-name characters designed to appeal to white consumers who found comfort in old-time images of happy, nonthreatening black domestics who "knew their place" and served their white employers with a smile. A brief, fictionalized biography of Aunt Jemima, which appeared in a 1920 *Saturday Evening Post* advertisement, described a supposed 1864 encounter she had with a Confederate general, during which she prepared him a heaping plate of her delicious pancakes. Cream of Wheat ads featured Rastus dressed in white chef's apparel, grinning as he served white children steaming bowls of cereal.

PUBLICITY STUNTS

Some companies relied upon attention grabbing and often bizarre publicity stunts to attract attention. One popular publicity stunt was the look-alike contest, which attracted crowds of people who dressed up like Jackie Coogan, the child star, or Charlie Chaplin, the "Little Tramp," often in exchange for complimentary movie tickets. In 1927, Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford participated in a famous publicity stunt when they became the first movie stars to plant their footprints in the wet cement on the sidewalk in front of Grauman's Chinese Theatre in Hollywood. Over the years, other celebrities have added their handprints or footprints to the Hollywood "Walk of Fame."

Even before Charles Lindbergh's historic transatlantic flight in 1927, aviation-related events attracted extensive media coverage. Advertisers hired pilots to fly airplanes towing promotional

banners, and found new ways to capitalize on the advertising potential offered by the airplane. In 1923, for example, Otto Schnering, the owner of the Curtiss Candy Company, hired a pilot to drop thousands of his new Baby Ruth candy bars, each attached to a tiny parachute, over Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. This promotional gimmick proved so successful that he later expanded his candy bar drops to metropolitan areas in 40 other states.

In 1924, Procter and Gamble launched the first Ivory soap carving competition, which became a tremendously successful and long-running advertising stunt. Thousands of people carved statues out of blocks of soap, and the winning sculptures toured the nation in a traveling exhibit, attracting even more attention for Ivory soap. Also in 1924, Macy's department store sponsored its first Thanksgiving Day parade. Originally called a Christmas parade, though held around Thanksgiving, the procession included floats and displays of all the latest toys, which, of course, were for sale in Macy's toy department. In 1927, the parade began to feature the familiar enormous helium balloons, with the first ones shaped like Felix the Cat and the Toy Soldier.

Another popular publicity stunt during the 1920s was flagpole sitting, and Alvin "Shipwreck" Kelly, a professional Hollywood stuntman, reigned as the undisputed king of flagpole sitters. In 1929, he perched atop a pole in Baltimore for 23 days and seven hours. The following year, he spent 49 days aloft above the Atlantic City, New Jersey boardwalk. More often, though, he would balance on a flagpole as a paid publicity stunt for movie theaters, car dealerships, and other businesses. The large crowds that such an event attracted were full of potential customers, and the media coverage also drew attention to the sponsoring store or theater. Adventuresome teens and college students also participated in the craze for the personal celebrity it briefly bestowed upon them.



Poster showing pack of gum being kicked over goal posts in a football stadium, ca. 1925. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

ADVERTISING VENUES

The rapidly increasing circulations of the larger national magazines and newspapers provided retailers with the chance to advertise their brand-name products coast-to-coast. As the new medium of radio became more popular, companies broadcast their commercial messages over the nation's airwaves. Eye-catching billboards along roads and highways promoted everything from the newest typewriter to breakfast cereal. In 1925, the Burma-Vita Company launched its famous billboard advertising campaign for Burma-Shave shaving cream. The company's first billboards were erected in Minnesota, but soon Burma-Shave signs were dotting the roadways across the nation. Streetcar ads catered to the industrial laborers who rode the cars back and forth to work. Neon signs, first introduced in 1923, provided a modern, high-tech look that made it easier to advertise products at night. Department stores began hiring professional window dressers to present merchandise in appealing

and creative ways. Comic strip characters hawked dolls and toys in the pages of the "funny papers." Small-scale advertising also continued, as hired boys walked the streets of cities and towns wearing sandwich boards to promote a restaurant's lunch special or a department store's big sale. Giant corporations sponsored early "commercials" that ran in motion picture theaters before feature presentations. Even architecture itself became a form of advertising, as roadside restaurants developed unique architectural designs to catch the attention of passing motorists. A coffee shop in the shape of an enormous coffee pot or an ice cream stand built to resemble a giant milk bottle was sure to attract customers.

Print Advertisements

The most popular and powerful national print advertising venues during the 1920s were mass-circulation magazines, which, by the end of the decade, collectively sold more than 200 million copies a year. Magazine publishers quickly realized that profits lay not in subscriptions or newsstand revenues, but in the sale of valuable advertising space. *The Saturday Evening Post, Ladies' Home Journal, Collier's Weekly, Life, Vanity Fair,* and *Scribner's* all sold for about one-fourth to one-fifth the actual cost of printing them, yet their publishers raked in enormous profits from the many advertisers. In 1917, for example, *The Saturday Evening Post*'s circulation was just under 1.9 million and generated advertising revenues of about $16 million. By 1928, circulation had risen by about 50 percent (to about 2.8 million), but advertising revenues had increased 300 percent (to more than $48 million).[6] Women's magazines, including publications such as *Ladies' Home Journal, Good Housekeeping,* and *McCall's,* earned more than $75 million in advertising revenues in 1928.

As advertisers strove to distinguish their brand-name products from those of their competitors, print advertisements in magazines became more eye-catching and colorful. As late as 1924, more than three-quarters of the advertisements in most popular magazines were still printed solely in black-and-white; however, during the mid-1920s, the production of color advertisements rose significantly. The Coca-Cola Company, for example, ran four-color magazine ads and billboard posters, employing slogans such as "Enjoy Thirst" and "Refreshment Time." In 1929, Coca-Cola's advertising department created its legendary slogan, "The Pause That Refreshes," which first appeared in a series of advertisements in *The Saturday Evening Post.*

Daily newspapers represented another important advertising venue, but newspaper ads tended to be smaller and less elaborate than magazine ads. Nevertheless, newspapers did aid advertisers and retailers by promoting local businesses and sales. Grocery stores were one of the primary industries to capitalize on daily newspaper advertisements. In the early 1920s, the Kroger grocery store chain began printing its weekly food prices and special sales in newspapers; by the end of the decade, this practice became widespread in the grocery industry. In fact, by 1929, the manufacturers of drugs, toiletries, food, and beverages spent more

ADS BASED ON INSECURITIES

The roaring 1920s marked a brand of idealism in America not seen since the first settlers set eyes on the new land. The early postwar years transformed a society that was learning how to live in the city from production to consumption. For many whites, the American Dream was at hand. American idealism and the idea that nearly every American who was white, male, and not fresh off the boat had a shot at being successful was not lost on those looking to cash in on the greenbacks burning holes in the pockets of the flappers and philosophers. Advertisements catered to the anxiety existent in those worried about maintaining status. Personal hygiene was chief among the characteristics of the wealthy, and those that wanted to be wealthy had to appear wealthy. Further, advertisements targeted women indirectly in that the dawn of sex as marketing tool was born. Advertising based on insecurities continues today unabashed. From smart pills, to Spanish fly equivalents, to soda that makes one look like the latest star, there is a product out there that will fulfill any desire. One needs only to watch TV for 20 minutes to see all the things he or she doesn't have.

money on newspaper ads than did any other industry.

Radio Advertisements

At the beginning of the 1920s, the radio industry was still in its infancy. Radio hobbyists listened to crystal sets with earphones, and few had any inkling that this new medium would soon become such a powerful force. As broadcast signals reached farther and farther, and radio's popularity soared, the public first believed that the airwaves were a public trust that should be kept free from commercial sponsorship. This was not the case for long. In 1922, a real-estate corporation became the first paid radio sponsor on WEAF, New York, signaling the advent of commercial radio advertising.

Initially, the commercial radio industry remained wary of alienating listeners who might find on-air advertisements intrusive and annoying. The magazine industry, who considered radio advertising unwelcome competition, warned against cluttering the airwaves with unwanted commercial messages. Critics of radio advertising argued that listeners would directly support their favorite stations, and thus the stations themselves would need no advertising revenue, however, few radio listeners wanted to pay for a service currently provided free of charge.

Still, the radio broadcasting industry proceeded cautiously, and for several years prohibited blatant "commercials" that directly offered or described merchandise. Rather, radio program sponsorship attempted to boost the name recognition of participating companies and their products. One common advertising practice was for companies to hire a band, orchestra, or other musical act to perform on a program named after the sponsor and then hope that listeners who enjoyed the show would purchase the company's products. In 1923, for example, the New York chain of Happiness Candy Stores hired two popular recording and vaudeville stars, Billy Jones and Ernest Hare, to team up on radio as the Happiness Boys. Jones and Hare sang songs and told stories during their half-hour music-and-comedy program called *The Happiness Boys,* and in doing so promoted Happiness candy. Beginning in 1923, the A&P chain of grocery stores sponsored *The A&P Gypsies,* which featured a band that played distinctive and recognizable exotic music, first for New York listeners and then, after 1927, for nationwide audiences on the NBC network. By the mid-1920s, the B. F. Goodrich Company was financing *The Goodrich Silvertown Orchestra,* and the Cliquot Club Ginger Ale Company was promoting *The Cliquot Club Eskimos.* The Eskimos evolved into a full-fledged dance orchestra and, as early as 1926, developed what is considered to be the first radio show theme song, "The Cliquot Foxtrot March."

As early as 1923, the National Carbon Company, the manufacturer of Eveready Batteries, began to sponsor the first major radio variety show, *The Eveready Hour.* This hour-long program, which aired on WEAF in New York and featured a mixture of music, news, drama, and comedy, proved an immediate hit with radio audiences. In 1926, the NBC network picked up the show for broadcast on more than 30 stations across the country. Top celebrities such as Will Rogers and D. W. Griffith made guest appearances, and regular cast members toured the nation to promote Eveready products. Between 1927 and 1928, Eveready spent $400,000 on the program, but its battery sales skyrocketed.

Radio advertisers quickly realized that women made up the largest segment of the listening audience. Thus, radio advertisers soon devised strategies to appeal specifically to female consumers. The first women's radio programs, sponsored by companies that produced items commonly purchased by homemakers, were largely instructional in nature. Daytime programs about cooking and sewing offered suggestions about incorporating a particular brand of food into one's menu planning or about using a particular company's clothing patterns to sew the latest fashions. These programs frequently touted the reliable advice of their "experts," who taught ordinary women how better to shop, keep house, entertain company, and generally care for their families.

By the late 1920s, women listeners regularly tuned in to hear their favorite experts give advice about homemaking. On the NBC network, a woman impersonating the fictional Betty Crocker had her own radio cooking show, during which she lauded the foodstuffs produced by

her "inventor," the Washburn-Crosby Company (later General Mills). "Aunt Sammy," another fictional radio figure, offered opinions on everything from how to clean linoleum to how to cook a meatloaf. Her popular program, *The Housekeeper's Half-Hour* (later titled simply *Aunt Sammy*), was sponsored by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Rather than promote particular brand-name products, Aunt Sammy passed along helpful hints and general information about nutrition, cooking, and housekeeping. Ida Bailey Allen, a real dietician and cooking instructor, attracted a wide audience of American housewives with *The National Radio Home-Makers' Club* program, during which she dispensed wisdom on nutrition, menus, and beauty. Unlike most other 1920s radio programs, which were supported by a single commercial sponsor, Allen's show was underwritten by several smaller companies, each of which funded only a portion of her entire program—one of radio's first examples of "spot advertisements."

ADVERTISING SWINDLES

The advertising industry attracted a great deal of controversy. Advertisers were often derided as mere hucksters and charlatans. This kind of low public opinion led, in 1911, to the founding of the Associated Advertising Clubs of America, which launched the "Truth-in-Advertising" movement. The movement marked the industry's first attempt to regulate itself, to minimize occurrences of consumer fraud, and to enhance its credibility with the American public. Advertisers felt compelled to assuage public fears that their industry would stop at nothing to sell products and that promotional claims were often purposefully misleading and not necessarily rooted in fact or science. The movement's immediate targets consisted of loan sharks, real estate speculators, and other confidence men who knowingly swindled their customers. Well-established corporations—regardless of how far their advertisements strayed from the truth—were seldom prosecuted.

Despite the good intentions of the Associated Advertising Clubs of America, advertising swindles bilked tens of thousands of Americans out of their life savings during the 1920s. One of the most notorious swindlers was the Italian immigrant Carlo "Charles" Ponzi, who launched his most famous fraudulent business scheme in Boston in December 1919. Ponzi claimed that he and his associates could make enormous sums of money for investors by taking advantage of favorable international monetary exchange rates. He promised his "clients" that he would return their capital investment, plus 50 percent, in fewer than 90 days, and this get-rich-quick scheme suckered approximately 40,000 people into handing over anywhere from $10.00 to $50,000. He did fulfill his promise to the first wave of investors, but, like all pyramid schemes, his investment business required increasing numbers of new investors to provide the money to pay off previous investors. Within a few months, Ponzi's whole scheme collapsed, and in August 1920, he was arrested for using the mails to defraud. Investigations revealed that more than $13 million of the $15 million he had collected had mysteriously disappeared and Ponzi's name became synonymous with any pyramid scheme.

Another costly investment debacle in the decade was the Florida land boom (and bust). During the early 1920s, real-estate speculators purchased large tracts of land in Florida and built grand hotels and vacation homes in the hopes of luring middle-class American families. Advertisers glamorized the image of life in Florida and enticed investors with stories of how easy it was to make money speculating in real estate. Land bought in 1920 or 1921 could be sold to another investor in 1924 or 1925 at enormous profit—sometimes 100 times more than its original purchase price. In 1925, the *Miami Daily News* published a 504-page issue that consisted almost entirely of real-estate advertisements. Readers from across the nation, most of whom never had and never would set foot in Florida, sought out realtors who were all too happy to accept their down payments by mail. Of course, this land boom could not last forever. By the mid-1920s, Florida land prices were so inflated that speculators could no longer sell their real estate at a profit, and buyers all but disappeared. To make matters worse, a devastating hurricane hit the Florida coast in 1926, destroying over 13,000 homes and killing nearly 400 people. The glamour of Florida faded in the minds of most Americans, and the land boom came to an inglorious and unprofitable end.

Architecture

of the 1920s

American architectural styles of the 1920s encompassed both traditionalism and modernism. Old-fashioned designs still appealed to those architects and consumers who appreciated, for example, the classic beauty of colonial homes and Gothic office buildings. On the other hand, new architectural trends shaped many of the homes and commercial buildings constructed during the 1920s.

ARCHITECTURAL STYLES

Art Deco

During the 1920s and early 1930s, an eclectic design style emerged that later became known as Art Deco, a name derived from the 1925 Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes, held in Paris. The purpose of the exposition was to forge a relationship between art and industry, and although American architects did not directly participate in the event, its influence reverberated in the United States for decades. The exposition featured exhibits that combined industrial technology with earlier design styles, and the result was a stylized look that juxtaposed angular, geometric forms with designs found in nature, such as sunbursts, flowers, and stars. France remained the center of Art Deco innovation until the late 1920s, but American architects and designers soon began borrowing Art Deco themes to design everything from movie theaters and hotels to furniture and clothing. Bevis Hillier, a British art critic and historian, coined the term *Art Deco* in 1968. Prior to that, this style was often called Modernistic or Style Moderne.

Art Deco usually refers to a hodgepodge of elegant, sophisticated styles from the 1920s and 1930s, and it can describe any dramatic combination of modern technological styles and ancient artistic influences. Art Deco designs are often characterized by simplicity, dramatic geometry, and vibrant colors, and sometimes incorporate exotic patterns and iconography culled from Mayan and Aztec cultures, as well as from West Africa, India, and the Far East, and ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome. The golden, jeweled treasures discovered when English archaeologist Howard Carter unearthed King Tutankhamen's tomb in 1922, for example, became an important source of inspiration for Art Deco design. Art Deco became fashionable for everything from earrings to skyscrapers.

Some of the most enduring examples of Art Deco style are found in the American architecture of the 1920s. Architecture historians often divide the Art Deco period into two major categories: decorated Art Deco, popular primarily between



Chrysler Building, New York City, 1930. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

1926 and 1936, and streamline Art Deco, popular throughout the 1930s. While streamline Art Deco buildings look simple, with rounded corners, small windows, and wide, smooth expanses of metal or glass, decorated Art Deco buildings tend to be highly ornamented with abstract, geometrical, or floral designs inspired by the 1925 exposition. New York City's elaborate Chrysler Building, constructed between 1928 and 1930, remains perhaps the most famous American example of decorated Art Deco architecture from the 1920s.

The International Style

The International Style of architecture originated in Europe, but its influence pervaded the United States during the 1920s and 1930s. Its leaders included Walter Gropius, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and Charles-Edouard Jenneret (who went by the name Le Corbusier). Among the early American proponents of the International Style were architects Raymond M. Hood, Albert Kahn, Richard J. Neutra, and George Howe. The term derived from a 1932 book called *The International Style* by historian and critic Henry-Russell Hitchcock and architect Philip Johnson. The book, along with the 1932 International Exhibition of Modern Architecture at New York's Museum of Modern Art, generated widespread publicity for this style.

The International Style exerted considerable influence on American architecture, particularly office buildings and skyscrapers, during the 1920s. International Style buildings tended to be geometric and streamlined, with flat roofs and smooth facades, and were constructed primarily of inexpensive, mass-produced modern materials such as concrete, steel, and glass. Many resembled enormous boxes, which is essentially what they were. Even today, the skylines of American cities contain streamlined International Style banks and office buildings that lack any superfluous decoration. Although some critics considered International Style buildings boring and unimaginative, others saw beauty in the clean, crisp lines and sharp angles of these functional buildings.

SKYSCRAPERS

The technology of steel skeletons and elevators ushered in towering urban structures, and no buildings represent more fully the dramatic changes and sweeping optimism of Jazz Age America than these majestic skyscrapers in cities across the United States. By 1929, the nation had 377 skyscrapers taller than 20 stories; 188 were in New York City.[1] Skyscrapers symbolized both the nation and a particular company's innovation and power. Old buildings were razed and new landmarks were erected, including New York's Barclay-Vesey Building (1923–1927), the

McGraw-Hill Building (1929–1930), the Chrysler Building (1928–1930), and the American Standard Building (1923–1924); Chicago's Tribune Tower (1922–1925); and San Francisco's Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Building (1924–1925). These magnificent structures declared to the entire world the spectacular success of American business.

As new skyscrapers vied for the title of tallest building in various cities, Americans became increasingly attracted to the ever-rising skylines of the urban landscape. Indeed, much of the attraction of skyscrapers lay in their awe-inspiring appearance, for seldom did they garner immediate profits for their owners. Designing and building a skyscraper was tremendously expensive, and once constructed, the rents paid by the tower's tenants often barely covered the elevator and maintenance costs. Nevertheless, the buildings' psychological appeal proved irresistible, and dozens were designed and planned during the boom years of the 1920s, although many were not completed until the 1930s.

A turning point for American skyscraper design came in 1922, when the Chicago Tribune Company sponsored a design competition for the construction of a new office tower. The *Tribune's* owner, Colonel Robert R. McCormick, offered a prize of $50,000 for the most beautiful and functional design, and the contest drew 281 entries from around the world. The winners were Americans John Mead Howells and Raymond M. Hood, who designed a huge Gothic tower topped by a tall, narrow spire. The architectural world, however, preferred the second-place entry, submitted by the Finnish architect Eliel Saarinen (the father of architect Eero Saarinen, who later designed St. Louis's Gateway Arch). Saarinen's design looked almost like a mountain and its crown looked more like a gently tapering pyramid. Although the Howells-Hood design was used, Saarinen's design exerted a more powerful influence on future American skyscraper design.

The Philadelphia Savings Fund Society Building (1929–1932), often considered the first truly modern American skyscraper, incorporated the sleek geometry of the European-influenced International Style. Designed by the American George Howe and the Swiss William Lescaze, the building combined modern style with urban practicality. It housed small shops on the ground floor, with the banking floors rising above it and offices above that. It was only the second skyscraper in the nation to offer air-conditioning as a standard feature in its rental property and was one of the first constructed with a dropped ceiling of acoustical tile.

Skyscrapers of the 1920s varied widely. Some featured crowns that resembled terraced pyramids, while others were flat-roofed, rectangular slabs. Architects who designed skyscrapers in New York City also had to contend with the city's 1916 zoning ordinance that, to prevent tall buildings from blocking too much sunlight from the streets below, required building walls progressively to set back from the building line as they rose from the base. When the setback building had been reduced to one-quarter of the size of the entire site, the building could continue to rise upward without getting any smaller. Architects responded by designing buildings that tapered toward the top, in a stair-step or ziggurat fashion, thus admitting plenty of sunlight to the surrounding city blocks. Although city laws imposed no actual limitations on a skyscraper's height, the required setbacks effectively constrained building heights because, after a certain point, it was not economical to build tall, thin buildings with limited commercial space on the upper floors.

The most famous skyscraper designed during the 1920s was New York City's Empire State Building. The building, begun in 1930 and completed in 1931, incorporated striking Gothic styles and elaborate outside detailing, including a mast intended for mooring dirigibles (the mast was never used for this purpose, although it later served as a television antenna). The plans for the 1,250-foot, 102-story Empire State Building—at the time the tallest building in the world—were approved only one month before the October 1929 stock market crash. As a result of the severely depressed economy, builders drastically compressed the construction schedule—the entire structure was completed in only 410 days and came in well below its estimated $50 million budget.

The 1,046-foot, 77-story Chrysler Building, designed by architect William Van Alen, is a notable example of Art Deco architecture as well



Typical skyscraper construction of the period. Shown here, a building going up in St. Louis, Missouri. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

as an important New York City landmark. The building boasted an innovative heating system and 32 high-speed elevators, inlaid with exotic woods from around the world. The exterior ornamentation reflected the new technology of the automobile, with enormous decorative car wheels, radiator caps, and steel eagle gargoyles—replicas of the 1929 Chrysler hood ornament. The spire on top emerged from shiny crescent-shaped steps designed to resemble a silver sunburst—a popular Art Deco motif.

CHURCHES AND TEMPLES

The 1920s saw a new trend in American church architecture: the skyscraper church. The bottom few floors of these high-rise churches were devoted to the church itself, while the upper floors were reserved for offices and apartments. The rent from the upper floors helped to finance the operation of the church below. One of the more impressive skyscraper churches was the Chicago Temple of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, completed in 1924. This 568-foot skyscraper was, at its completion, both the tallest church in the world and the tallest building in Chicago. The lower five floors comprised the 2,000-seat church, along with a gymnasium, classrooms, and meeting rooms. An illuminated revolving cross atop the church's spire could be seen for miles. The floors between the church and the spire were rented to various companies. Other skyscraper churches were erected in Detroit, San Francisco, and several other major cities. The Northwest Methodist Temple in Minneapolis, for example, generated revenue from a hotel that occupied one entire wing and most of the building's 300-foot tower. These skyscraper churches combined traditional religious devotion with the new cult of American business prosperity.

Church architects were generally slow to adapt to architectural innovations, and most churches constructed during the 1920s featured more traditional Gothic, Roman Classic, Baroque, or Georgian styles. For example, All Souls' Unitarian Church in Washington, D.C. (1923), was built in classic Georgian style. And some churches in the West and Southwest, such as St. Vincent de Paul Catholic Church in Los Angeles (1925), adopted architectural styles derived from Spanish traditions.

UNIVERSITY, GOVERNMENT, AND INDUSTRIAL ARCHITECTURE

The construction of college and university buildings soared in the United States as enrollment in higher education increased. Between 1920 and 1930, the number of students enrolled in the nation's colleges and universities increased from approximately 600,000 to almost 1.2 million students.[2] Clearly, more classroom buildings were needed to accommodate such a flood of undergraduates. Wealthy industrialists and businessmen gave educational institutions money to construct new buildings, dormitories, and libraries.



An old stereo print of the Lincoln Memorial, for 3-D viewing, which had just been finished in 1922. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Although several major institutions of higher learning were founded during the 1920s, many existing colleges and universities expanded their campuses. Much of this university construction incorporated older, more traditional styles rather than the new look of Art Deco or International Style architecture. For example, the Harkness Quadrangle at Yale University, designed by James Gamble Rogers in the Beaux-Arts Gothic style, added a dramatic focus to the campus when it was built in 1921. The Harvard Business School's design competition in 1925 led to a cluster of new red-brick Georgian buildings. In 1924, James B. Duke, the founder of the American Tobacco Company, established a $40 million endowment to create Duke University in Durham, North Carolina, on the site of what was formerly a small school called Trinity College. The Duke family spent $19 million rebuilding the old campus and adding 11 Georgian-style buildings, made of red brick and white marble, between 1925 and 1927. This campus housed the undergraduate college for women. Between 1927 and 1930, a new campus, built in the Tudor Gothic style out of native North Carolina stone, was constructed one mile to the west of the original campus to house the undergraduate college for men and the professional schools.

Federal, state, and local governments constructed impressive new monuments, courthouses, and office buildings. Architect Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue's innovative 1920 design for the Nebraska State Capitol included a 400-foot tower rising from a low, square base. Construction was completed in 1928 for just under $10 million. The 1920s also saw the federal government commission the construction of a new building for the Department of Commerce. In 1929, President Herbert Hoover, the secretary of commerce during the Coolidge administration, laid the cornerstone for the building, which, when completed in 1932, was the largest office building in the world.

During the 1920s, the innovative design of new manufacturing plants increased the productivity of these factories. Automobile tycoon Henry Ford was only one of the American industrialists who sought to incorporate the most modern design elements into his factories. Industrial architect Albert Kahn designed the Ford Motor Company's enormous River Rouge plant (constructed between 1918 and 1926) on the outskirts of Detroit, Michigan. Kahn developed well-proportioned, bright, and efficient plants, which took into account how assembly lines functioned, at the 2,200-acre River Rouge

complex. The entire complex was self-sufficient and contained everything necessary for the production of automobiles, including blast furnaces, steel mills, foundries, an engine plant, a glass factory, a tire plant, and its own power generators. Other automobile manufacturers, including General Motors, soon constructed similar plants.

LINCOLN MEMORIAL

Commissioned in 1867 by Congress, the Lincoln Memorial did not undergo construction until 1911, when President William Taft signed a bill to begin the project. Eleven years later, and 57 years after Lincoln's assassination, the memorial of our sixteenth President was completed in all its glory: 36 Doric columns (representing the 36 states that were members of the Union at the time of Lincoln's assassination) each measuring 37 feet in height, a 19-foot statue of Abe himself, and two 60-foot long murals representing the achievements of the Savior of the Union. The memorial was designed by architect Henry Bacon, the magnificent sculpture of a seated Lincoln was carved by Daniel Chester French, and the murals were painted by Jules Guerin.

A number of notable events have occurred at the memorial, from African American contralto singer Marian Anderson's Easter Sunday performance in 1939, to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s famous "I Have a Dream" speech in 1963, to, the Rockettes, swinging their legs on the steps of the memorial for President G. W. Bush's 2001 inaugural celebration. The memorial has also been featured in dozens of popular films, including *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939), *JFK* (1991), *Forrest Gump* (1994), *National Treasure* (2004), and *Wedding Crashers* (2005). So popular has Honest Abe's marble tribute become that several urban legends have developed around it. One such legend proclaims that Lincoln is forming his initials in sign language with each hand. Another insists that Robert E. Lee's face is etched on the back of Lincoln's statue. Although dispelled as just myths, such widespread buzz surrounding a national monument only gives credence to the stature of Lincoln's legacy. As his gaze rests contemplatively over the reflecting pond in the National Mall, tourists regularly crowd the platform securing his chair for a photo op with the Great Emancipator.

RESTAURANTS

During the 1920s, restaurant architecture, especially the interiors of lunchrooms and cafeterias, reflected the modern styles. While lunchrooms and cafeterias were often located in larger downtown buildings of varying architectural styles, the interiors of these restaurants typically featured simple, sanitary, and functional designs. Often walls and ceilings were painted gleaming white to emphasize the cleanliness of the restaurant. Floors were covered with easy-to-clean tile or linoleum. Counters, tabletops, and stools were made of porcelain enamel, which was impervious to grease and dirt. Refrigerators, stoves, sinks, dishwashers, and coffee urns were clad in sparkling stainless steel. The most up-to-date restaurants even installed air-conditioning systems. This emphasis on new, shiny, man-made materials made these modest restaurants some of the most modern-looking public places in the 1920s.

The White Castle hamburger chain, which was founded in Wichita, Kansas, in 1921, launched the multi-billion-dollar fast-food industry. White Castle became the first American restaurant chain to develop its own recognizable architectural style. The first White Castle buildings, freestanding structures modeled after the architecture of Chicago's famous Water Tower, were constructed of rusticated concrete blocks—a cheap and popular building material. The tops of the walls were built like the ramparts of a medieval castle, and one end of the building sported a corner turret. Throughout the 1920s, White Castle experimented with other building materials, including stucco and white enameled brick, before finally settling on durable, prefabricated porcelain-enameled steel panels. The restaurant chain's combination of distinctive medieval architecture and inexpensive, fast-food service proved tremendously popular with American diners. Most importantly, although these restaurants started out small—only 10 by 15 feet—they were easily identified by passers-by. By the end of the 1920s, other restaurant chains had adopted their own distinctive architectural styles.

MOVIE PALACES

Unlike the standardization of restaurant chains, the grand movie palaces built during the 1920s each boasted a unique design. The large movie theaters found in the downtown business districts of major cities featured some of the most opulent and ornate architecture of the decade, and their luxurious interiors created the sensation that attending a film was a special experience. The Roxy Theatre (billed as America's "Cathedral of the Motion Picture"), built in 1927 near New York City's Times Square, seated nearly 6,000 patrons. Its immense lobby and foyers contained a dozen five-story green marble columns and an oval rug, woven to order, that weighed more than two tons. Movie palaces featured lavishly appointed smoking lounges, rest rooms, and powder rooms, and many were among the first public buildings to install air-conditioning systems. Babysitting facilities were included in the price of admission at many movie palaces, and some featured kennels in which to board patrons' pets during the film. The largest theaters, such as the Roxy and San Francisco's Fox Theatre (built in 1929), even had adjoining hospitals to tend to patrons' medical emergencies. Even small theaters tried to furnish elegant surroundings and amenities.



America's "Cathedral of the Motion Picture," the Roxy Theater, with a view of the orchestra pit and stage, New York City, 1927. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Most palaces, particularly their exteriors and lobbies, were inspired by classical European architecture. In fact, many theater exteriors and interiors replicated Old World churches, monuments, and palaces. La Salle de Spectacle, the eighteenth-century opera house at Versailles, served as the model for the Ringling Theatre, constructed in Baraboo, Wisconsin, in 1915. The theater lobby featured a one-third-scale replica of the frieze decorating the choir gallery in the cathedral at Florence. The lobby of San Francisco's spectacular Fox Theatre boasted throne chairs, statuary, and a pair of vases once owned by Russian czars. Its picture gallery was an exact replica of a Versailles chapel, and the curtain was made out of gold kidskin, padded lamé, 2,500 glass reflectors, and silk rope fringe.

Foreign influences also included Egypt and the Far East. Grauman's Egyptian Theatre (1922), built by Sid Grauman in Hollywood, featured a forecourt lined with massive Egyptian columns, hieroglyphics, and huge dog-headed Egyptian god statues. Employees dressed as robed Bedouins carrying spears paced the building's parapet all day long. Grauman's Chinese Theatre, which opened a few blocks away in 1927, resembled a giant red pagoda and had images of huge silver dragons on the ceilings.

One of the most important and influential theater architects of the 1920s was the Scottish-born Thomas W. Lamb, who designed more than 300 movie houses (mostly for Loew's theater chain) during his career. Many of Lamb's elegant movie theaters contained elaborately decorated domed ceilings constructed to resemble nineteenth-century European opera houses. His Loew's State Theatre, constructed in St. Louis in 1924, incorporated Corinthian columns, marble balustrades and staircases, and ornate fountains. In 1927, he designed the incredibly lavish Loew's Midland Theatre in Kansas City, Missouri. This 4,000-seat baroque and rococo temple contained more than

six million square inches of silver and gold leaf, mahogany walls topped by plasterwork cherubs, a dome hung with two elaborate crystal chandeliers, and valuable antiques purchased from tycoon William K. Vanderbilt's demolished New York City townhouse.

In 1923, Austrian-born John Eberson created another style of movie palace when he designed the Houston Majestic, the nation's first "atmospheric" theater, in Houston, Texas. Atmospheric theaters could be built for just a fraction of the cost to build a standard domed theater, because their ceilings consisted of a plain concrete surface that was painted midnight blue. By projecting images onto the ceiling with a device called the Brenograph magic lantern, these theaters gave audiences the sensation of watching a film under a night sky filled with clouds, moon, stars, and even an occasional airplane. Other visual images could also be projected onto the ceiling, including the Northern Lights, angels, butterflies, fire, lightning, rainbows, and volcanoes. The walls of the atmospherics were usually decorated to resemble open courtyards in various exotic locales. Chicago's Avalon Theatre (1927), one of Eberson's most elaborate projects, combined Middle Eastern decor with projected ceiling images to suggest the feeling of being in a Persian mosque. Loew's Paradise (1929), built in the Bronx for $4 million, contained an auditorium that was designed to give moviegoers the impression they were sitting in an extravagant Venetian palace.

GAS STATIONS

Prior to World War I, most filling stations were little more than a shed with a gas pump out front. But beginning around 1917, larger gas stations began to appear, with multiple pumps and indoor offices. Since filling stations competed to sell products—gas and oil—that were virtually indistinguishable from station to station, owners soon realized that they had to attract consumers based on the facility itself. During the early 1920s, most gas stations were built to resemble small, neat houses. These homey structures blended in with the houses in surrounding residential neighborhoods and projected an image of friendliness. Just as some of the nation's leading restaurant chains attempted to create their own unique architectural style, some oil companies hired architects to design a particular style of gas station that motorists could readily identify with their brand of gasoline. For example, the Pure Oil Company built filling stations that looked like charming English cottages, and Socony-Vacuum built its stations to look colonial houses, Chinese pagodas. Other companies designed stations to look like Chinese pagodas, suburban bungalows, Spanish haciendas, or mini-Tudor mansions.

During the mid-1920s, many filling stations began to expand their services to include not only gasoline fill-ups and oil changes but also engine repairs, tire changes, battery and headlight replacements, and other services. Filling station added service bays and storage rooms onto their existing structures, which soon required an architectural style different from that of a little house. Architects created the "box-style" station, which contained an office, bathroom, utility room, service area, and one or more garage bays configured in a rectangular layout. The gasoline pumps were usually located on islands a short distance away from the service area. These box stations remained the standard in gas station architecture until the 1930s, when those constructed in the Streamline Moderne style eclipsed them in popularity.

MIMETIC ARCHITECTURE

During the 1920s, motorists would occasionally encounter freestanding buildings that resembled enormous windmills, Indian heads, root beer barrels, pigs, cows, castles, tepees, coffee pots, and other fanciful designs. This architectural style, known as mimetic or programmatic architecture, was intended to provide publicity for a business and to attract customers. Typically, the shape of the building in some way represented the business housed within. For example, a Dayton, Ohio, business that sold Liberty Bonds during World War I was built in the shape of an enormous cash register, and the Big Pump, a Maryville, Missouri, filling station, was constructed to look like a big gas pump. The famous Brown Derby restaurant in Hollywood, completed in 1926, resembled a gigantic hat. While mimetic architecture existed

prior to the 1920s, this style became popular as modern advertising techniques increasingly pressured Americans to consume.

RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE

Architecture

The overwhelming majority of American homes built during the 1920s reflected traditional, conservative architectural styles. In particular, middle-class Americans preferred homes that reminded them of a English cottage, an Spanish villa, a French farmhouse, or a colonial mansion. Homeowners gravitated toward these classic styles, even as they filled their traditional-looking houses with the latest electric appliances and modern conveniences. Of course, a few American houses were built in the modern Art Deco or International Style.

Many subdivisions across the nation contained row upon row of bungalows, which featured an efficient floor plan arranged around a central living room, a low sloping roof, wide eaves, and a prominent front porch supported by two or more columns. Porches were perhaps the most consistent feature of bungalow houses, providing comfortable spaces for people to cool off in hot weather and to visit with their neighbors.

During the 1920s, many new houses were built in either the American Four-Square or Prairie Box styles, both of which featured a simple box-shaped floor plan. These houses were taller than regular bungalows—usually two or two-and-a-half stories high—with four rooms on each floor. American Four-Square homes often featured a large dormer window on the front of the house, and, like the popular bungalow, a large front porch. Inside, they resembled the bungalow with their open floor plans and built-in shelves and cabinets. Like bungalows, Four-Square houses were popularized by the sale of blueprints in pattern books, catalogs, and mail-order kits.

Colonial Revival houses were also common sights in the American suburbs of the 1920s. These houses were usually shaped like rectangular two-story boxes, and they often incorporated elements of Federal or Georgian architecture from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Tudor-style houses, based on architectural styles from sixteenth-century England, also became fashionable during the 1920s. These houses usually featured steeply pitched, front-facing gables, tall windows, and distinctive ornamental half-timbering. Tudor-style houses were traditionally clad with stucco or masonry, but in the 1920s, with the advent of new masonry veneering techniques, many of these homes were built to resemble the look of brick or stone without their considerable expense.



"Own Your Own Home." This ad from Sears Roebuck and Co. promotes their home building plans.

The Spanish Colonial Revival style (sometimes called Spanish Eclectic) took its inspiration from the Spanish churches, forts, and houses of the American Southwest. Many homes in Florida, California, and the Southwest that were built in this style featured red tile roofs, arched windows, decorative railings, and stucco siding. This style of residential architecture gained popularity after the 1915–1916 Panama-California Exposition held in San Diego. This style reached its zenith in the 1920s and early 1930s but fell rapidly out of favor during the 1940s.

INTERIOR DESIGN

Middle-class Americans during the 1920s consciously decorated their homes and offices to reflect their personal style and taste. While Art Deco and the International Style exerted considerable influence on those individuals most attuned to architectural and stylistic trends, most Americans favored more traditional design styles. General advice about interior decorating was easy to find. *House Beautiful, Arts & Decoration, Fruit, Garden and Home* (founded in 1922 and renamed *Better Homes & Gardens* in 1924), and other national magazines offered suggestions about how to arrange furniture, acquire antiques (or reproductions), and generally make one's home more attractive. Even fashion magazines such as *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* published occasional articles about interior design. Eager to capitalize on the newfound interest in home decorating, publishers released dozens of interior design guidebooks, including Ethel Davis Seal's famous *Furnishing the Little House* (1924). Wealthy and fashionable homeowners often hired professional designers to provide them with interior decors that were elegant, tasteful, and harmonious.

Although few people completely furnished their homes with Art Deco objects, this style did creep into the living rooms, bedrooms, and kitchens of millions of ordinary Americans. Oriental-looking lacquered screens, stylized ceramic statues, geometrically patterned floor coverings, inlaid dressing tables, and goods constructed of man-made materials such as plastics, glass, and chrome all represented the new Art Deco look. Certain mass-produced items, such as sleek tubular furniture and objects made of colorful Bakelite plastic, also contributed to the elegant and sophisticated look of Art Deco interior design that became fashionable in middle-class American homes.

Albert Kahn

Albert Kahn (1869–1942) was the most influential and prolific industrial architect of the 1920s. He specialized in designing automobile factories and, despite his lack of a college education or professional training, designed more than 1,000 buildings throughout the course of his career, many of them for Ford, Chrysler, Packard, and other major automobile manufacturers. Born in Germany, Kahn and his family immigrated to Detroit in 1880, when he was 11 years old. He apprenticed with a Michigan architect, George D. Mason (a partner in the Detroit firm of Mason and Rice), and started his own architectural firm in 1895. In 1904, while designing his tenth Packard automobile factory, Kahn suggested using a new building technique—reinforced concrete. His innovative design solidified Kahn's career in industrial plant design.

In 1918, Kahn began constructing the Ford Motor Company's enormous Rouge River plant, which, when completed in 1926, became the largest single manufacturing complex in the United States. Kahn relied on simple geometric shapes and modern materials, such as steel roof trusses and glass walls, to create facilities that were as pragmatic and efficient as the assembly lines they housed. Although Kahn became particularly well known for his bright, well-proportioned factories, he also designed and built office buildings, banks, and even private homes, including Edsel Ford's estate in Grosse Pointe Shores, Michigan.

What made Kahn great was that he had no formal educational training. Where most of the other draftsman could boast of degrees from prestigious schools, Kahn could only boast of his grit and determination, which he did not. Kahn went on to build well over 1,000 buildings in his lifetime, including many enormous industrial buildings for manufacturers like Chrysler, in addition to Ford. He impressed later artists and thinkers like La Corbusier, who was interested in expressions of modern life.

Raymond M. Hood

Raymond M. Hood ranks as one of the most renowned architects of the Art Deco period. Born in Rhode Island, he attended Brown University, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and the premier architecture school in the world at the time, the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. Hood's first major commission came when he (along with John Mead Howells) won the *Chicago Tribune* Company's architecture contest in

1922, and they subsequently designed the Gothic skyscraper. Hood's success led to other important commissions, including the auditorium and foyer of New York City's Radio City Music Hall, the RCA Building at Rockefeller Center, and the Daily News Building.

William Van Alen

William Van Alen is best remembered as the innovative designer of the Chrysler Building in New York City, arguably the greatest Art Deco skyscraper ever built. Van Alen studied in Brooklyn at the Pratt Institute and then, after spending several years working in various New York architectural firms, won the 1908 Lloyd Warren Fellowship, which allowed him to travel to Paris to study at the École des Beaux-Arts. Upon returning to New York in 1911, he earned a reputation for designing commercial structures that defied traditional conventions. Van Alen was one of the first architects to use stainless steel over a large exposed building surface, as exhibited on the Chrysler Building. Even today, the Chrysler Building's shiny tower remains one of the Manhattan skyline's most recognizable landmarks.

Paul Revere Williams

Paul Revere Williams, a Los Angeles native, was one of the foremost commercial and domestic architects of southern California and the first African American architect to be admitted as a fellow in the American Institute of Architects. His numerous commissions to design homes for Hollywood celebrities led to his nickname, "the Architect to the Stars." His clients included such motion picture and television stars as Lon Chaney, Bill "Bojangles" Robinson, Tyrone Power, and, in later decades, Frank Sinatra, Lucille Ball and Desi Arnaz, and Zsa Zsa Gabor. Over the course of his career, Williams designed close to 3,000 homes, commercial buildings, and government structures and became one of the most successful African American architects of the twentieth century.

Frank Lloyd Wright

In 1922, Frank Lloyd Wright finished supervising the construction of the impressive Imperial Hotel in Tokyo, Japan, which was built on an innovative "floating foundation" designed to withstand earthquakes. (See "Architecture of the 1910s.") Later that year, after returning to the United States, Wright began to experiment with architectural forms and structures based not on the traditional rectangles and squares but on circles, spirals, arcs, and angles. He also spent considerable time during the decade corresponding with leading European architectural thinkers, and his work and ideas were widely disseminated in architectural and design journals throughout the world. In 1928, Wright began writing his autobiography (first published in 1932 as *Frank Lloyd Wright: An Autobiography*), which explained his complex theories of architecture.

Books

Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics of the 1920s

The 1920s was a decade of innovative, experimental, modernist writing. Many important writers and poets found their first audiences during the 1920s, including F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway, William Faulkner, T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, and e. e. cummings. African American writers such as Langston Hughes, Zora Neale Hurston, and Claude McKay also entered the literary scene, in a movement now known as the Harlem Renaissance. Readers' tastes varied from popular best-selling fiction to serious works of non-fiction to splashy pulp magazines.

BOOKS

Best-Selling Novels

Although dozens of literary masterpieces were published during the 1920s, few were reading T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* (1922) or William Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury* (1929). Authors who combined romance, history, and intrigue in their novels often attracted a large fan following. Best-selling fiction writers of the 1920s included Sinclair Lewis, Zane Grey, Edna Ferber, Dorothy Canfield, Booth Tarkington, Temple Bailey, and Edith Wharton.

The advent of subscription book clubs in the 1920s boosted the careers of many writers and brought millions of books into American homes. In 1926, Harry Scherman started the Book-of-the-Month Club, which became an immediate hit among regular book buyers. Members received a novel each month that had been selected by literary "experts," and the success of this club spawned a number of rival organizations, including the Literary Guild, founded in 1927. Subscription book clubs attracted tens of thousands of members and helped influence the books that made the best-seller lists. The Book-of-the-Month Club's first selection, in April 1926, was the British writer Sylvia Townsend Warner's debut novel, *Lolly Willowes* (1926), a story about an unmarried woman in post–World War I Britain.

Novels by such female writers as Edna Ferber, Temple Bailey, Gene Stratton-Porter, Mary Roberts Rinehart, and Kathleen Norris regularly topped the book sales charts. Many of these novels feature sexually liberated heroines who had adopted the radical, freethinking philosophies commonly associated with the rebellious flapper. For example, Diana Mayo, the sensual heroine in E. M. Hull's *The Sheik* (1921), and Lorelei Lee, the sexy gold-digger in Anita Loos's *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (serialized in *Harper's Bazaar* in 1925), each embody certain aspects of the "New Woman," who could live an independent life and enjoy sex just as much as men. These heroines

were more liberated than the typical fictional protagonists of the day. The majority of popular women's novels center on young women who had adopted the trappings of flapperdom, but by the story's conclusion, they become devoted wives and mothers.

BEST-SELLING WRITERS

Sinclair Lewis

Sinclair Lewis was an American writer who appealed to both general audiences and literary critics of the 1920s. A prolific novelist, playwright, satirist, and social critic, Lewis became, in 1930, the first American to receive the Nobel Prize in literature. He was nominated for the Pulitzer Prize for *Main Street* (1920) and *Babbitt* (1922) and won it for *Arrowsmith* (1925). He declined the award, however, claiming that the award was intended to honor a novel that celebrated American wholesomeness, and his novel did no such thing. Indeed, much of Lewis's fiction satirized what he saw as America's preoccupation with crass materialism, and he ridiculed how unbending conformity to small-town ideals could stunt one's potential. Audiences responded enthusiastically to Lewis's biting social commentary, and several of his popular novels were made into movies, including *Main Street* (1923), *Babbitt* (1924 and 1934), and *Arrowsmith* (1931).

Lewis' greatest literary success was *Main Street,* the top-selling novel in 1921. The novel traces the story of Carol Kennicott, a freethinking modern woman who finds herself in constant conflict with the expectations of the local townspeople of Gopher Prairie (a town based loosely on Lewis's hometown of Sauk Centre, Minnesota). After marrying the young town doctor and settling down in his hometown, she attempts to bring what she considers beauty, art, and other forms of cosmopolitan "culture" to the community. Carol's efforts are frustrated by the pettiness of the townspeople, and through her story Lewis satirizes the narrow-mindedness of small-town life and attacks the unyielding conformity and dulled intellect of its residents.

Lewis's next novel, *Babbitt,* considered by many critics to be his finest work, made the best seller lists in both 1922 and 1923. The novel focuses on real estate agent George F. Babbitt, a modern-day slave to consumerism, advertising, and social status, who resides in the Midwestern town of Zenith. Babbitt takes such inordinate pride in his middle-class home, his automobile, and his zealous Zenith "boosterism" that the term *Babbittry* soon became synonymous with unthinking conformity and shallow, materialistic values. Lewis's next best seller, *Arrowsmith,* depicts the life of a medical doctor caught between idealism and commercialism. Lewis had two other best sellers in the 1920s: *Elmer Gantry* (1927) and *Dodsworth* (1929).

Zane Grey

Perhaps the single most popular author in America during the post-World War I years was Zane Grey, although he never garnered the critical acclaim that Sinclair Lewis did. Grey wrote more than 60 novels in which he presented the landscape of the American West as a moral battleground that had the power either to destroy or to redeem his characters. His stories usually dealt with settlers, cowboys, desperadoes, Indians, cattle drives, family feuds, and other familiar aspects of Western lore. Grey achieved widespread acclaim with the release of *Riders of the Purple Sage* (1912), which sold over two million copies and was adapted for motion pictures three times. During the 1920s, Grey hit the best seller lists with *The Man of the Forest* (1920), *The Mysterious Rider* (1921), *To the Last Man* (1922), *The Wanderer of the Wasteland* (1923), and *The Call of the Canyon* (1924), all of which were adapted for the silver screen. Grey sold over 17 million copies of his novels during his lifetime, and some estimates suggest that more than 100 films have been based on his stories.

Edna Ferber

Although Edna Ferber began publishing novels in 1911, her first best seller, *So Big* (1924), solidified her popular success. The inspirational story of Selina DeJong, a young woman struggling to raise her son on a small farm outside Chicago, *So Big* won the Pulitzer Prize in 1925 and was

immediately made into a silent film (other movie adaptations followed in 1932 and 1953). A number of Ferber's novels were translated into popular movies during the 1920s. *Show Boat* (1926), the story of three generations of the Hawks family on board a Mississippi riverboat, was made into several films, a successful musical, and a radio program. *Cimarron* (1929), a Western dealing with the opening of the Oklahoma Territory, was filmed for the first time in 1931. While Ferber was a popular novelist, literary critics appreciated her writing style far more than that of most other popular writers of the 1920s.

Mary Roberts Rinehart

Mary Roberts Rinehart was a tremendously popular mystery and detective writer during the 1920s. One of her books produced the famous whodunit phrase, "The butler did it," and in her heyday she was more famous than her chief rival, British writer Agatha Christie. *The Circular Staircase* (1908), the first of Rinehart's many mystery novels, established her as a leading writer of the genre; in 1920, this novel was adapted into a film titled *The Bat.* In the 1920s, Rinehart wrote primarily romantic fiction including *A Poor Wise Man* (1920), *The Breaking Point* (1922), and the suspenseful *Lost Ecstasy* (1927).

Non-Fiction Best Sellers

Several historical studies, particularly military ones, hit the non-fiction best-seller lists during the decade, including Philip Gibbs's *Now It Can Be Told* (1920), H. G. Wells's *The Outline of History* (1920), and Hendrik Van Loon's *The Story of Mankind* (1921). Bruce Barton, a veteran salesman and advertiser, published his best-selling *The Man Nobody Knows* (1925), which portrayed Jesus Christ as a dynamic salesman who, with his staff of 12 managers, founded a highly successful global organization called Christianity. Diet and health guidebooks also sold well. Dr. Lulu Hunt Peters's *Diet and Health, With Key to the Calories* was originally published in 1918, and by 1922, it had already gone through 16 editions. *Diet and Health* ranked among the best-selling non-fiction books every year between 1922 and 1926, the first American diet book to do so. Cookbooks were also big sellers during the 1920s. For example, Fannie Farmer's *The Boston Cooking-School Cook Book* made the best seller list between 1924 and 1926. Readers also sought help from Emily Post's *Etiquette in Society, in Business, in Politics and at Home* (1922), which today is in its seventeenth edition.

Self-help books were a relatively new phenomenon in the 1920s. Émile Coué, a French psychotherapist, published the first popular self-help book in America, *Self-Mastery Through Conscious Autosuggestion* (1922). He posited that self-suggestion could boost confidence and motivation and recommended that his followers chant the optimistic mantra: "Day by day, in every way, I am getting better and better."[1] Coué founded institutes to teach his principles.

Perhaps the most unusual non-fiction best seller of the 1920s was the first book published by Simon and Schuster: *The Cross Word Puzzle Book*

NOTABLE BOOKS

Main Street, Sinclair Lewis (1920)

The Age of Innocence, Edith Wharton (1920)

Ulysses, James Joyce (1922)

The Waste Land, T. S. Elliot (1922)

The Velveteen Rabbit, Margery Williams (1922)

Etiquette, Emily Post (1922)

The House at Pooh Corner, A. A. Milne (1923)

The Voyages of Doctor Doolittle, Hugh Lofting (1923)

A Passage to India, E. M. Forster (1924)

The Cross Word Puzzle Book (1924)

The Great Gatsby, F. Scott Fitzgerald (1925)

The Sun Also Rises, Ernest Hemingway (1926)

Winnie-the-Pooh, A. A. Milne (1926)

Coming of Age in Samoa, Margaret Mead (1928)

The Sound and the Fury, William Faulkner (1929)

All Quiet on the Western Front, Erich Maria Remarque (1929)

A Room of One's Own, Virginia Woolf (1929)

A Farewell to Arms, Ernest Hemingway (1929)

(1924). This was the first book devoted to crossword puzzles, and although booksellers initially balked at stocking this unconventional volume, it sold hundreds of thousands of copies, sparked a national craze for crossword puzzles, and ensured Simon and Schuster's success. (See "Sports and Leisure of the 1920s.")

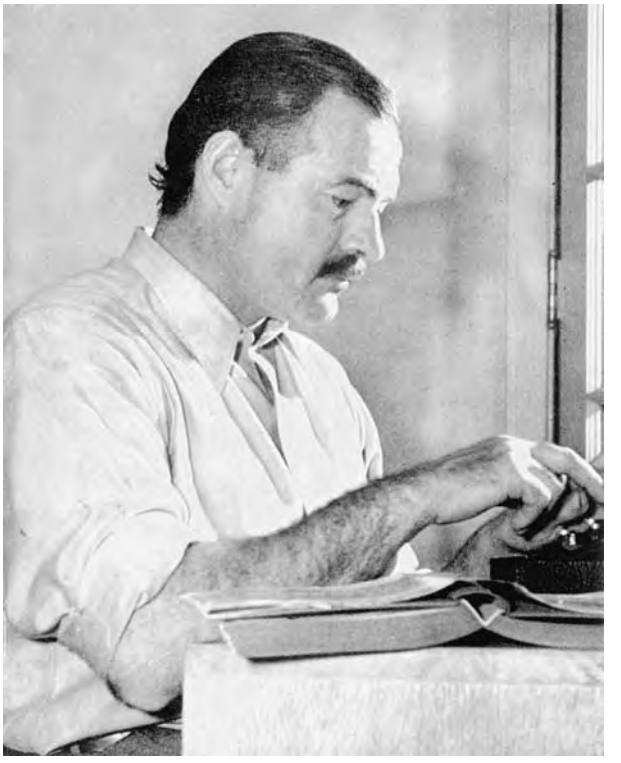
MODERNIST FICTION

Some of the best-known American literature from the 1920s falls under the category of "modernism," which is a term used to describe literature that addresses the perceived breakdown of traditional society and culture under the pressures of modernity. Modernism traces its roots to Europe and was inspired, in part, by the devastating effects of World War I. Modernist literature could take a number of forms, from the dense, allusive poetry of T. S. Eliot to the sparse, minimalist dialogue of Ernest Hemingway. Modernist stories and poems omit many details and explanations, often end without resolution, and challenge readers to interpret for themselves a work's ultimate meaning. A common effect of this fragmented style of writing is that the work often appears to lack continuity, a unified plot, or easily identifiable heroic figures. Not surprisingly, most readers passed over great modernist works of fiction and instead reached for their favorite Zane Grey western or Mary Roberts Rinehart mystery.

One of the foremost modernist writers, Mississippi-born novelist William Faulkner, wrote magazine stories and published his first two novels, *Soldier's Pay* (1926) and *Mosquitoes* (1927), to little popular acclaim. Faulkner experimented with language, psychology, and point of view in *The Sound and the Fury* (1929), but this now-celebrated novel was not particularly well received in its time. Novelist and short story writer Ernest Hemingway fared considerably better during the 1920s. His first novel, *The Sun Also Rises* (1926), catapulted him to international celebrity and resulted in a wave of American tourists traveling to Spain to see the Pamplona bullfights that he so glamorously immortalized in the book. Hemingway soon became known for his distinctive writing style, which was characterized in part by short, stripped-down sentences in which much was left unsaid, yet still allowed careful readers to comprehend exactly what was meant.

F. Scott Fitzgerald

F. Scott Fitzgerald, the darling of the American literary scene during the 1920s, managed to bridge the gap between popular fiction and serious literature. His name was often associated with all-night partying and carousing during the Jazz Age, an era that he himself named. Fitzgerald commanded high prices for his short stories, which he frequently placed in *The Saturday Evening Post, The Smart Set,* and other magazines. His first novel, *This Side of Paradise* (1920), portrayed the flamboyant exploits of self-indulgent, pleasure-seeking, college age youth. He followed with three collections of short stories—*Flappers and Philosophers* (1921), *Tales of the Jazz Age* (1922), and *All the Sad Young Men* (1926)—and two more novels—*The Beautiful and Damned* (1922) and his best-known work, *The Great Gatsby* (1925). Scott and his wife Zelda (Sayre) Fitzgerald, also a



Ernest Hemingway. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.



F. Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald on their honeymoon, from a photograph taken in 1920. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

THE GREAT GATSBY

The Great Gatsby, written by F. Scott Fitzgerald and published in 1925, is regarded by some critics and readers as one of the greatest novels of all time. A staple in high school and college curricula, the novel has become synonymous with the roaring twenties and the high time had by many after World War 1. Indeed, Fitzgerald referred to the 1920s as the great cocktail party, and the Depression of the 1930s, the hangover. The story is told from the first person peripheral point of view of Nick Carraway, a would-be banker with a literary bent, who moves east and rents a house next to the mysterious Jay Gatsby. Gatsby embodies the American Dream gone awry. Born to a poor family, Gatsby falls in love with a girl named Daisy, Nick's third cousin, before the war, only to be jilted because of his financial prospects. From that point forward, Gatsby devotes his life to becoming rich and winning Daisy. At the outset of the novel, Daisy is married to athletic, racist, and rich Tom Buchanan. The two live in a luxurious home next to Gatsby, who has purchased a mansion next door in hopes of impressing Daisy with his wealth. The novel unfurls in a brutal tragedy whereby Gatsby is shot and killed, his material aim in life seemingly all for nothing. *The Great Gatsby* may be both a cautionary tale, warning of the perils of greed and avarice, and a beautifully observed story of ambition, careless wealth and power, yearning, and love.

talented writer and artist, personified the mood of the 1920s—they were a fun-loving, irreverent, adventuresome pair who loved to party and to spend money recklessly.

POETRY

The American poetry scene was remarkably diverse in the 1920s. Modernist poets such as Ezra Pound, T. S. Eliot, Amy Lowell, Wallace Stevens, and William Carlos Williams developed innovative verse forms and techniques (such as free verse and imagism), while more traditional poets such as Robert Frost, Edna St. Vincent Millay, and Edward Arlington Robinson were more popular with critics and the public. The most acclaimed poet of the 1920s was Edward Arlington Robinson, who won the Pulitzer Prize three times during the decade: *Collected Poems* won in 1922, *The Man Who Died Twice* won in 1925, and *Tristram* won in 1928. Poet Conrad Aiken, winner of the Pulitzer Prize in 1930 for his *Selected Poems* (1929), edited and published the *Selected Poems of Emily Dickinson* in 1924 and effectively launched her posthumous literary reputation.

Robert Frost ranked as one of the most popular American poets during the 1920s, in part because he wrote what appeared to be folksy, traditional poems. Unlike the deliberately difficult poems of Pound and Eliot, Frost's poems evoked nostalgic scenes of the farms, forests, and country people of New England that readers found a refreshing change from their increasingly urban surroundings. In 1924, Frost won the Pulitzer Prize for his *New Hampshire: A Poem with Notes and Grace Notes.*

Edna St. Vincent Millay, the first female poet to win a Pulitzer Prize (for *The Ballad of the Harp Weaver* in 1923), became famous during the 1920s as much for her bohemian lifestyle in Greenwich Village, New York, as for her poems. Although she wrote about seemingly "old-fashioned" subjects, such as nature, romantic love, death, and even poetry itself, she also dealt candidly with issues of sexuality, rebellion, and the liberated woman. Her outspokenness, as well as her combining of traditional verse forms with quintessentially modern sensibilities, garnered her a larger audience than most other American poets of the decade enjoyed.

THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE

The Harlem Renaissance, sometimes called the Negro Renaissance or the New Negro Movement, describes the period roughly between the end of World War I and the onset of the Great Depression, during which African Americans produced a vast number of literary, musical, and artistic works. The artists associated with the Harlem Renaissance attempted to create new images of African Americans and celebrate their traditions in order to destroy old racist stereotypes. The works they created were, for the most part, confident, positive, and optimistic about the future of black Americans.

During the 1920s, approximately 700,000 African Americans left the South for Harlem and other northern urban-industrial centers, where, they believed, they would find greater freedom and better job opportunities.[2] Thousands of black families crowded into Harlem, a large neighborhood in upper Manhattan loosely defined in the 1920s as the area between 110th and 155th streets. New York City's black population soared from more than 152,000 in 1920 to nearly 328,000 by 1929.[3] Harlem became an important cultural crossroads, as young African Americans flocked to Harlem to join the growing colony of black intellectuals fueling the Harlem Renaissance.

Writers including Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, Claude McKay, Zora Neale Hurston, Jean Toomer, Walter White, Rudolph Fisher, Nella Larsen, and Wallace Thurman produced poems, novels, short stories, essays, and plays that encouraged readers to appreciate African American culture and its folk roots. African American journals such as *The Crisis, The Messenger,* and *Opportunity* published essays, articles, and stories by black writers. In 1925, Alain Locke, an African American philosopher, critic, and editor, published *The New Negro,* the first literary anthology of the Harlem Renaissance. Contributors included McKay, Hughes, Toomer, Cullen, W.E.B. Du Bois, James Weldon Johnson, and Gwendolyn Bennett. The works in this volume gave voice to the African American cultural revolution that was taking place in metropolitan black communities across the country.

Black culture fascinated many white people, who believed that it was inherently exotic, primitive, and exciting. Wealthy white New Yorkers and tourists came to Harlem in droves during the 1920s, "slumming," as they called it, in jazz cabarets and speakeasies. White readers regularly purchased books written by Harlem Renaissance authors, and white writers frequently penned laudatory introductions to these volumes. A number of white writers even incorporated what they believed to be African American themes of exoticism and sensuality into their own writing, most notably playwright Eugene O'Neill, who wrote *The Emperor Jones* (1920) and *All God's Chillun Got Wings* (1924), and novelist Carl Van Vechten, whose 1926 *Nigger Heaven* sparked considerable controversy among both black and white readers. Some wealthy white patrons provided living expenses and small stipends to black writers, thus allowing them to pursue their art without having to hold down regular jobs at the same time.



Zora Neale Hurston in 1938. Photo by Carl Van Vechten. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

ZORA NEALE HURSTON (1891–1960)

Author Zora Neale Hurston was a member of the New Negro Movement of the 1920s and 1930s, later called the "Harlem Renaissance," during which African American artists representing a variety of fields began creating work that was representative of the African American experience, rather than imitative of white artists. Hurston spent her childhood in Eatonville, an all-black community in Florida, where she observed African Americans in leadership roles in the town, and her unusual environment played a major role in shaping her personality and literary style. Her happy childhood came to an end when her mother died when Hurston was 13, and problems with her stepmother led her to go off and struggle on her own to survive. Eventually, she won a scholarship to Barnard College in New York. After receiving a degree in anthropology in 1928, Hurston began publishing essays, poems, plays, and books, first in school magazines and later for a national audience. Hurston's work often explored aspects of rural African American life and proved appealing to both African American and white readers. Among her most lasting works was the novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God,* published in 1937, which told the story of Janie Crawford, a young African American woman who, over the course of the novel, engages in three romances, each a unique blend of passion and tragedy. When her work began to lose favor in the late 1940s, she took a succession of jobs to support herself, but died in poverty in Fort Pierce, Florida. Author Alice Walker brought Hurston's work to academic prominence in 1975, after it had been largely forgotten, calling *Their Eyes Were Watching God* Hurston's most important book. While some criticized Hurston for pandering to white audiences with her tales of "quaint" African American life, others, like Walker, praised her for creating works that reached across color lines with passionate prose and a timeless view of human culture.

By most accounts, the heyday of the Harlem Renaissance ended with the stock market crash of October 1929.

MAGAZINES

American readers purchased popular magazines in record numbers during the 1920s, and hundreds of new magazines were founded.

General Audience Magazines

In February 1922, DeWitt and Lila Wallace began publishing *Reader's Digest,* a compilation of news, entertainment articles, and fiction that had been culled from other magazines and reprinted (often abridged). The magazine was marketed as a convenient way to manage the overwhelming amount of information available in the modern age. *Time,* the nation's first weekly news-magazine, debuted in March 1923. Its founders, Yale graduates Henry Luce and Briton Hadden, believed that Americans needed a magazine that covered a broad range of general news, from international affairs and science to religion and business developments. *Time*'s relatively short, easy-to-read articles enabled busy readers to stay abreast of their fast-changing world, and the magazine's early foray into radio advertising (in 1926) helped boost its weekly circulation to nearly 200,000 readers by the end of the decade. *The Saturday Evening Post* also emerged as one of the more popular magazines in the 1920s. Editor-in-chief George Horace Lorimer hired some of America's most talented writers and illustrators, including Sinclair Lewis, Ring Lardner, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and Norman Rockwell. *The Saturday Evening Post* is considered by many readers and historians to be an accurate reflection of the pro-business and consumerist values of white middle-class Americans. *Life,* although primarily a humor magazine, also included book and theater reviews, verse, sketches, light articles, and illustrations by some of the finest artists of the decade. It struggled during the Great Depression, and, in 1936, was sold to Time, Inc., which reinvented *Life* as a photojournalism magazine.



"Teaching old dogs new tricks." A *Life* magazine cover by John Held Jr., showing a young flapper and an elderly man dancing the Charleston, 1926. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Women's Magazines

A number of periodicals were specifically marketed to middle-class women during the 1920s, including *Good Housekeeping, McCall's,* and *Women's Home Companion.* These magazines featured short stories and serialized novels, recipes, dress patterns, and household tips. Other popular women's magazines, such as *Harper's Bazaar* and *Vogue,* focused primarily on clothing and fashion. The undisputed giant among women's magazines, however, was *Ladies' Home Journal,* which, in 1904, became the first American magazine to reach a circulation of one million readers. *Ladies' Home Journal* targeted a readership of married, white, middle-class women who took their roles as wife, mother, and homemaker seriously. The magazine offered short stories, household and decorating tips, and recipes. As a matter of principle, it refused to run advertisements for alcohol, tobacco, playing cards, patent medicine, or other products considered of questionable moral value.

Magazines for the Smart Set

The so-called smart magazines, such as *The Smart Set: A Magazine of Cleverness* (1900), *Vanity Fair* (1913), *American Mercury* (1923), and *The New Yorker* (1925) found a receptive audience in the 1920s. These witty and entertaining periodicals catered primarily to educated, middle

WORDS AND PHRASES

bee's knees
bingo! (as an interjection)
boho (Bohemian, unconventional)
boogie-woogie
delish
dream team
fat cats
flapper
gaga
gut-buster
heebie-jeebies
intergalactic
It girl
jeepers (interjection)
jive
magic bullet
mojo
nifty
recycle
ritzy
robot
superstar
tearjerker/weepie (for a sad or tragic film)
whoops
wimp
wisecrack
wow

and upper-middle-class readers. Amid articles about restaurants, fashion, theater, art, and other topics, smart magazines published early works by F. Scott Fitzgerald, Dorothy Parker, Theodore Dreiser, Eugene O'Neill, and Edna St. Vincent Millay. Smart magazines managed to walk a fine line between highbrow magazines such as *The Atlantic Monthly* and *Harper's Monthly* and the more highly commercialized, broad-based magazines such as *The Saturday Evening Post* and *Life*. Smart magazines appealed largely to those who wanted to read more intellectual material than the mass-circulated periodicals provided.

Little Magazines

Small, non-profit literary magazines of the 1920s, such as *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse* (founded 1912), *The Little Review* (1914), *The Dial* (1917), *Broom* (1921), *The Fugitive* (1922), *Transition* (1927), and *Hound and Horn* (1927), were known as "little magazines." The magazines' limited circulations marked them as "little." These magazines experienced a renaissance in popularity in the 1920s. Editors of little magazines were usually willing to publish avant-garde and experimental literature. They were often the first to publish the work of modern writers and critics, such as T. S. Eliot, Gertrude Stein, William Carlos Williams, and James Joyce. Because commercial success was not a primary objective of these periodicals, little magazines tended to generate small circulations and often went out of business only a handful of issues.

Pulp Magazines

Pulp magazines, a periodical genre that flourished between the 1920s and the 1940s, were lurid, mass-produced fiction magazines. Pulp magazine covers were made of smooth, shiny paper stamped with colorful pictures of beautiful women, hard-nosed detectives, rugged cowboys, and even monsters from outer space. Inside pages were made of cheap, porous "pulp" paper, which kept publishing costs down and which gave the magazines their nickname. The pulp paper yellowed and began to disintegrate within months, which makes many of these magazines tremendously valuable to collectors today. Only black ink was used inside the magazine, but many stories were lavishly illustrated with line drawings. Pulp magazines ranged in price from 5 to 25 cents—less than half the price of a typical periodical—and attracted huge numbers of readers from all walks of life, especially the working classes.

By the 1920s, hundreds of pulp magazines were being published. Some pulp magazines enjoyed large subscription circulations, but most of them survived on newsstand and drugstore sales. Most pulp magazines can be classified into a handful of general categories, but some magazines appealed to a narrow target audience, including *Secret Service Stories* (1927), *Firefighters* (1929), and *Railroad Man's Magazine* (1929).

Crime fiction and detective story magazines attracted large numbers of readers. *Detective Story Magazine* (1915) was the first fiction pulp to dedicate itself to this particular genre of story, and it



Cover of *Weird Tales: The Unique Magazine,* April 1924. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

soon spawned dozens of imitators. In 1920, H. L. Mencken and George Jean Nathan, the editors of the sophisticated but unprofitable magazine *The Smart Set,* introduced the highly successful *Black Mask.* Several famous detective fiction writers, including Dashiell Hammett, Raymond Chandler, and Erle Stanley Gardner, received their literary start by publishing in *Black Mask* and other detective pulps. Hard-boiled private eyes such as Race Williams and Sam Spade were born in the pages of these magazines, and Hammett's *The Maltese Falcon* first ran as a 65,000-word, five-part serial novel in *Black Mask* (from September 1929 to January 1930). By the end of the 1920s, dozens of pulps, including *Real Detective Tales and Mystery Stories* (1925), *Clues* (1926), and *Detective Fiction Weekly* (1928), featured crime and detective stories.

Other genres of pulps abandoned all sense of reality. Audiences fascinated by stories of horror, fantasy, and the supernatural could read *Weird Tales* (1923), *Ghost Stories* (1926), or *Tales of Magic and Mystery* (1927). These magazines launched the literary careers of several well-known American authors, including H. P. Lovecraft, Robert E. Howard, Ray Bradbury, and Edmond Hamilton. In 1928, *Weird Tales* published the first story by 14-year-old Thomas Lanier "Tennessee" Williams, who went on to become a celebrated American playwright. Science fiction—then called "scientification"—found outlets in publications such as *Amazing Stories* (1926), *Science Wonder Stories* (1929), and *Air Wonder Stories* (1929). *Amazing Stories* also fostered the formation of some of the earliest science-fiction fan clubs. The magazine published a readers' column that included the mailing addresses of its correspondents. Soon, science fiction enthusiasts began contacting one another directly and started to form fan clubs across the nation.

Pulp magazines such as *The Argosy* (1882) and *Action Stories* (1921) offered stories about strapping he-men engaged in thrilling situations in the South Sea Islands, the Amazon, and other far-off locales. *The Argosy* actually began as a general fiction magazine, but in the 1920s its focus shifted to adventure stories. The top adventure magazines always strove for as much realism as possible and often hired real-life travelers and explorers to contribute their most exciting tales. Edgar Rice Burroughs, one of the most popular pulp writers, contributed his famous *Tarzan of the Apes,* in its entirety, to the October 1912 issue of the adventure pulp *All-Story Magazine* (1905). This inspired a national Tarzan craze that lasted throughout much of the 1920s, even though by that time Burroughs had gone on to write hundreds of other adventure tales. *Adventure* advertised a "membership" that supplied each reader with an identification card. If the reader were killed or injured while carrying the card, according to the magazine's publicity, someone coming upon the body could contact the magazine, which would then contact the person's next of kin. This became a tremendously successful marketing ploy, and some of these card-carriers eventually formed the Adventurers' Club of New York.

Several pulp magazines commemorated the drama, tragedy, and heroism of World War I. Publications such as *War Stories* (1926), *Battle Stories* (1927), *Air Stories* (1927), *Flying Aces* (1928), *Navy Stories* (1929), and *Submarine Stories* (1929) glorified the military engagements of the Great War and cashed in on a sense of nostalgia that certain Americans felt for the first war of the modern industrial age.

Western and cowboy pulps, including *Western Story Magazine* (1919), *The Frontier* (1924), *Cowboy Stories* (1925), and *Wild West Weekly* (1927),

NEW MAGAZINES

Architectural Digest, 1920
Black Mask, 1920
Better Homes and Gardens, 1922
Reader's Digest, 1922
Time, 1923
True Romance, 1923
True Detective, 1924
New Yorker, 1925
Amazing Stories, 1926
Parents, 1926
Weekly Reader, 1928
Business Week, 1929

provided adventure stories about cowboys, outlaws, and frontiersmen. Some western pulps, including the 15-cent *Western Story Magazine,* sold as many as 500,000 copies a week. Many of the writers for these pulps had never actually *seen* the American West, but readers didn't seem to notice. Stories ranged from nostalgic, pastoral recollections of pioneer life to tales about the violent, gunslinging world of horse thieves and Indian attacks.

Stories about love and romance also played an important role in the pulp magazine industry. For the most part, these pulps targeted a female readership, with titles such as *Love Story Magazine* (1921), *Lover's Lane* (1923), and *Heart Throbs* (1928). The female protagonists were inevitably positive and appealing characters who, after a series of trials and setbacks, usually ended up either engaged or married to their true love. A few love story magazines, such as *Ranch Romances* (1924) and *Western Romances* (1929), blended genres in order to tap in to the widespread popularity of cowboy stories.

Sex pulps—a sensational spin-off of the love story pulps—also flourished during the 1920s. These magazines typically sprinkled their stories with obvious sexual innuendos, lengthy descriptions of beautiful, semi-clad women, and racy "true confessions" stories. Although Americans of every background purchased these titillating publications, sex pulps were primarily targeted toward working-class male audiences and were usually sold under the counter at cigar stores, as opposed to the newsstands, where most other pulps were available. To dodge the authorities during a decade when various "blue laws" were intended to limit, if not eliminate, the trade in sexual literature, these magazines relied on such euphemistic titles as *Snappy Stories* (1912), *Pep Stories* (1916), and *Saucy Stories* (1916), the latter of which, like *Black Mask* and the sex magazine *Parisienne* (1915), was edited by H. L. Mencken and George Jean Nathan. These pulps also included sex-advice columns, book reviews, humorous pieces, letters from readers, and advertisements for lingerie and sex merchandise such as performance-enhancing tablets and breast-augmentation products.

One sub-genre of the sex pulps was true-confession magazines, which started with the founding of *True Story Magazine* in 1919. By the mid-1920s, monthly sales of *True Story Magazine* reached two million, making it one of the best-selling pulps. Ordinary people, not professional writers, supposedly wrote for true-confession magazines, which were characterized by first-person accounts of shocking rendezvous and scandalous encounters. Among the most famous titles were *True Confessions, True Experience, True Romance,* and *Secrets.*

H. L. MENCKEN (1880–1956)

Henry Louis Mencken, an American newspaperman, author, and literary and social critic was born and lived in Baltimore, MD. During his heyday, the decade of the 1920s, he was one of the most influential figures on the American Scene. Mencken, a prolific writer who wrote over ten million words in his career, had many interests. He wrote on food and drink, books, music, philology, politics, religion, and a myriad of other topics. Mencken's prose is usually a delight to read, and much of it is extremely funny—a detriment, as it has led some critics to class him as a humorist and to ignore his serious thought. He scorned and ridiculed pretension and provincialism, but he was also, at times, racist and anti-Semitic in his writings.

An ardent and vocal opponent of Prohibition, Mencken wrote letters and essays railing against the Volstead Act and was quoted as saying, "I drink exactly as much as I want, and one drink more." A frank enthusiast of Friedrich Nietzsche, Mencken's influence can be seen in critics such as Harold Bloom and others who are not afraid to champion less-favored ideas, especially liberal trends.

For just some of the information available on Mencken and his writing, see The Mencken Society Home Page. http://www.mencken.org/.

NEWSPAPERS

During the 1920s, more than 2,000 dailies were published. In 1920, an estimated 27 million Americans regularly read newspapers; 10 years later, that number had climbed to almost 40 million.[4] But

as circulation skyrocketed, the overall number of American newspapers declined. Giant newspaper chains, the largest of which were owned by William Randolph Hearst and the Scripps-Howard chain (led by E. W. Scripps and Roy W. Howard), began acquiring and then consolidating small-town papers across the nation. The central office of each syndicate provided its chain of newspapers with common stories, columns, editorials, and features written for a national audience. Thus, many newspapers during the 1920s shifted their focus from covering exclusively local news to following more national and international events. Some critics complained about this "standardization" of American newspapers and the decline of local news coverage, but the widespread availability of Hollywood gossip, box scores, comic strips, and financial news appealed to many readers.

While serious journalism thrived during the 1920s, tabloid journalism emerged as the newspaper industry's equivalent of the lucrative pulp magazines. Tabloid journalists concentrated on sensational stories about celebrities, murder trials, sex scandals, and public tragedies, such as when silent screen legend Fatty Arbuckle was charged with raping and murdering a young actress in 1921, and when millionaire bootlegger George Remus shot his wife in 1927. Tabloids, which were only half the size of regular newspapers and full of photographs, began when Joseph Medill Patterson launched the New York *Illustrated Daily News* in 1919 (later the *New York Daily News*). By 1924, his paper had garnered a circulation of 750,000 customers—the largest newspaper circulation in the nation. Rival tabloids soon emerged, including William Randolph Hearst's New York *Daily Mirror* (1924) and Bernarr Macfadden's *New York Evening Graphic* (1924), nicknamed the "Evening Pornographic" for its lurid illustrations and photographs. The *Evening Graphic* became particularly famous for its use of "composographs," or photographs superimposed on one another to create an entirely new (and often ludicrous) image. For example, after film sensation Rudolph Valentino died in 1926, the tabloid ran a "photograph" of Valentino in heaven, standing next to his deceased Italian countryman, opera star Enrico Caruso, who had died in 1921. Because of their immense profitability, tabloid newspapers soon spread beyond New York City, but all could be characterized by their shocking headlines and lurid stories of sex, scandals, violent crimes, sports, and gossip.

ILLUSTRATION

The expansion of book publishing, modern ad campaigns, and mass circulation magazines led to an increase in the use of illustrations. Many artists and painters turned to commercial illustration, which could be an extremely lucrative profession, and some became household names during the 1920s.

Of all the artists and illustrators of the 1920s, nobody better captured the gaiety and freewheeling spirit of the Jazz Age than did illustrator John Held Jr. His images of the long-legged, long-necked, short-skirted flapper and her round-headed, spindle-necked boyfriend adorned the covers and pages of *Life, The New Yorker, Cosmopolitan,* and other national magazines. These characters were often depicted engaged in such activities as joy riding, smoking, dancing, or golfing. Held also drew dozens of satirical (and inaccurate) maps for *The New Yorker* that poked gentle fun at, for example, the plethora of antique shops in a particular location or the thousands of bootleggers and rumrunners that surrounded the nation's borders during National Prohibition. Additionally, he created memorable advertisement illustrations for Van Heusen shirts, Planter's Peanuts, and Packard automobiles, among others.

Artist and illustrator Ralph Barton's subjects often included movie stars and other celebrities, and his drawings appeared in books and magazines such as *Vanity Fair* and *The New Yorker.* Barton's illustrations for Anita Loos's best-selling book *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (1925) brought to life one of the decade's most famous fictional flappers, Lorelei Lee.

Norman Rockwell continued to be one of the most popular illustrators and painters. Rockwell had begun to work professionally in the 1910s and went on to create thousands of images for magazines, posters, advertisements, and calendars during his more than 40-year career, including more than 300 covers for *The Saturday Evening Post.* Rockwell also worked as the primary

illustrator for a series of youth magazines, including *Boy's Life, Youth's Companion, St. Nicholas,* and *American Boy.* His wholesome, conservative images of white middle-class experiences represented, for generations of citizens, mainstream American life.

N. C. Wyeth illustrated dozens of adventure books, including a new edition of *Robinson Crusoe* (1920), and contributed hundreds of story illustrations to such magazines as *McCall's* and *The Saturday Evening Post.* Neysa McMein painted every cover for *McCall's* magazine between 1924 and 1936, as well as oil portraits of such notables as President Warren Harding, film comedian Charlie Chaplin, and poet Edna St. Vincent Millay.

CARICATURE

After World War I, the popularity of caricature grew dramatically. *Vanity Fair* routinely commissioned hundreds of these entertaining images of interesting personalities. The popularity of this irreverent, witty drawing during the 1920s was closely related to the rise in the culture of celebrity in general.



Caricatures became popular in the 1920s. The Broadway actress Marie Cahill is shown in a caricature by Al Hirschfeld in 1927. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Artist Al Hirschfeld became famous for his distinctive line drawings and caricatures of actors and theater performances. He sold his first caricature to the *New York Herald Tribune* in 1926. Hirschfeld's drawings appeared in several newspapers until 1929, when he signed an exclusive contract as a caricaturist for the *New York Times.* His artwork ran in the *Times* for nearly seventy-five years, until his death at age 99 in 2003. Other caricaturists also specialized in theatrical personalities, including Alex Gard, who, in 1927, began sketching caricatures of famous actors. Eventually, these celebrated images decked the walls of Sardi's Manhattan restaurant.

COMICS

By 1924, approximately 84 percent of urban children and teenagers regularly read the Sunday funny papers.[5] Comic strips often dealt with absurd, fantastical situations, such as George Herriman's *Krazy Kat* (1916), which followed the obsessive and futile love triangle of a dog, a cat, and a mouse. (See "Books, Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics of the 1910s.")

Other strips helped Americans to make sense of their fast-changing modern world. For example, *Chicago Tribune* publisher Robert McCormick thought that a comic strip that regularly featured the automobile might make his readers more comfortable with these new contraptions. He asked illustrator Frank King to create such a comic, and the result, the long-running *Gasoline Alley* (1918), initially focused on men's interest in cars. Martin Branner's *Winnie Winkle the Breadwinner* (1920) featured a young, single secretary trying to provide for her family and find herself a good husband, marking the advent of strips featuring modern wage-earning women.

Buck Rogers in the 25th Century A.D.

In 1929, writer Philip Nowland and artist Dick Calkins introduced the first science-fiction comic strip, *Buck Rogers in the 25th Century A.D.*, effectively launching a craze for science fiction. Earlier in the 1920s, pulp fiction magazines had

begun to explore the area of scientific fiction or "scientification," as it was called, but *Buck Rogers* exposed a much larger audience to outer-space exploits. The comic followed the adventures of pilot Anthony "Buck" Rogers, who initially was trapped in an abandoned Pennsylvania coal mine where radioactive gases put him into a state of suspended animation. When he awoke in 2419 A.D., he found that China controlled the world. Rogers joined the guerrilla movement and, with the help of Wilma Deering, a tireless freedom fighter and Buck's love interest, freed his nation from its conquerors. Rogers went on to face evil aliens and other adversaries with futuristic technologies such as laser beams, anti-gravity flying belts, robots, ray guns, and atomic weapons. *Buck Rogers* spawned a number of toys and books, as well as a radio program, a television program, and a series of films.

Tarzan

Coincidentally, the *Tarzan* comic strip debuted on the very day that the first *Buck Rogers* strip appeared: January 7, 1929. The character of Tarzan, however, was already 17 years old by then. Author Edgar Rice Burroughs published his short novel, *Tarzan of the Apes,* in its entirety in the October 1912 issue of the adventure pulp *All-Story Magazine.* (See "Books, Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics of the 1910s.") The story follows the adventures of John Clayton, whose parents, Lord and Lady Greystoke, are marooned on the coast of Africa. Lady Greystoke dies soon after the birth of her son, and Lord Greystoke is later killed by a band of apes. A female ape named Kala adopts the infant John and names him Tarzan, meaning (supposedly) "white skin." Tarzan, raised by apes yet constantly wrestling with his true identity, starred in more than 20 novels and more than 50 films. When *Tarzan* first premiered as a comic strip, it was essentially a graphic rendering of Burroughs's first novel, with none of the customary dialogue balloons. The text, adapted from the novel, ran below the illustrated panels, drawn by Hal Foster. During the 1930s, the *Tarzan* comic strip was changed to incorporate dialogue and sound effects.

Little Orphan Annie

Little Orphan Annie debuted in 1924 in the *New York Daily News.* Written and illustrated by Harold Gray, *Little Orphan Annie* tracked the adventures of Annie, a spirited orphan from New York who is adopted (along with Sandy, her canine companion) by Oliver "Daddy" Warbucks, a fabulously wealthy, childless tycoon. Unlike many other comic strip characters, Annie did not possess super powers or live in the future, but she had grit, determination, and a cheerful sense of self-reliance. Annie, drawn with curly red hair and empty, pupil-less eyes, introduced her famous catchphrase "Leapin' Lizards!" into the American vernacular. The strip became increasingly political during the 1930s, as the staunchly conservative Gray infused his story lines with attacks on President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal. Annie's popularity launched a popular radio serial in 1930 and a line of merchandise in the 1930s and 1940s.

Popeye

Popeye, the cartoon sailor man, made his debut in 1929 as a minor character in Elzie Crisler Segar's comic strip *Thimble Theatre.* The strip, which first appeared in 1919, followed the adventures of the Oyl family: Cole and Nana Oyl and their children Castor and Olive. In 1929, Segar introduced Popeye in a series of strips, and readers soon took to the uncouth, squint-eyed, pipe-smoking sailor. Segar made him a recurring character and then, finally, the star of the strip, which Segar renamed *Thimble Theatre Starring Popeye.* Other memorable characters included the hamburger-mooching J. Wellington Wimpy, Alice the Goon, baby Swee'Pea, and, of course, Bluto and Brutus, Popeye's archenemies and rivals for Olive's affection. Eating canned spinach gave Popeye superhuman strength, a fact that nutritionists credited in the 1930s for dramatically increasing the consumption of spinach in the United States.

Entertainment

of the 1920s

During the 1920s, commercial radio and Hollywood motion pictures attracted audiences in unprecedented numbers, but vaudeville theater declined dramatically in popularity. Socializing, especially among young Americans, frequently revolved around motion pictures, vaudeville shows, theater performances, nightclub acts, or at home "radio parties."

THEATER

Broadway Drama

While vaudeville dwindled in popularity, New York City's Broadway theater district experienced a surge of expansion. Between 1924 and 1929, 26 new theaters opened, bringing the total number of theaters to 66. Over the course of the decade, an average of 225 new shows were produced every year—a total that has never been equaled. Of course, not every New York City resident or tourist could afford to attend a Broadway show. Theater tickets sometimes cost as much as $3.50—more than 10 times the price of an average movie ticket. But hit Broadway songs were broadcast widely on commercial radio, and Hollywood studios adapted many popular theatrical productions for the silver screen, thereby boosting the influence and attraction of Broadway theater.

Critically acclaimed productions did not always attract the largest audiences. The longest running Broadway play of the decade was a critically panned comedy called *Abie's Irish Rose* (1922) which ran for 2,327 performances. The story, written by Anne Nichols, revolves around a "mixed" marriage between Abie Levy, a Jew, and Rosemary Murphy, an Irish Catholic. Despite antagonism between their families, Abie and Rosemary wed. The debate about whether the couple's first child should be raised Jewish or Catholic occupies much of the rest of the play, and the issue is conveniently resolved when Rosemary gives birth to twins.

Of course, not all Broadway theater relied on such flimsy material. Battles over censorship escalated dramatically. Religious leaders, conservative politicians, reform organizations, and even newspaper magnate William Randolph Hearst railed vociferously against theatrical depictions of content they deemed immoral, including prostitution, white slavery, and homosexuality. Eugene O'Neill's *Desire Under the Elms* (1924) and Sidney Howard's *They Knew What They Wanted* (1924), among others, prompted organizations such as the Actors' Association for Clean Plays and the Society for the Suppression of Vice to lodge formal complaints, alleging that these performances were indecent and should therefore be shut down.

NOTABLE THEATER

The Bat, 1920 (867 perfs.)
The First Year, 1920 (760 perfs.)
Peg O' My Heart, 1921 (692 perfs.)
Abie's Irish Rose, 1922 (2,327 perfs.)
Seventh Heaven, 1922 (704 perfs.)
Rain, 1924 (648 perfs.)
The Student Prince, 1924 (608 perfs.)
Is Zat So?, 1925 (618 perfs.)
Broadway, 1926 (603 perfs.)
The Ladder, 1926 (640 perfs.)
Show Boat, 1927 (572 perfs.)
Street Scene, 1929 (601 perfs.)

In 1927, the New York state legislature passed the Wales Padlock Law, which gave police broad powers to arrest the producers, playwrights, and actors involved in a production that appeared to be morally offensive. Under this law (which was repealed in 1967), if a court subsequently declared the play obscene, the theater could be closed for up to a year.

Eugene O'Neill was the most talented and influential American playwright of the decade. The son of a popular romantic actor, O'Neill accompanied his family on theatrical tours when he was a child. He began writing plays in 1913, and his first major production of the 1920s, *Beyond the Horizon* (1920), won the Pulitzer Prize. Other successes quickly followed: *The Emperor Jones* (1920), *Anna Christie* (1921, which also won the Pulitzer Prize), *The Hairy Ape* (1922), *All God's Chillun Got Wings* (1924), *Desire Under the Elms* (1924), *The Great God Brown* (1926), and *Strange Interlude* (1928). O'Neill experimented by dramatizing the emotions and memories of his characters and finding new ways to express these feelings onstage. He sacrificed realism to achieve a more emotional effect—sometimes his characters wore masks or addressed the audience directly. At other times, he had two actors play the same character, or he introduced ghosts or choruses into the story. Several of his plays feature main characters who undergo an experience so intense that they psychologically deteriorate into their primitive, chaotic selves.

Serious dramatic theater experienced a renaissance during the 1920s. In the years surrounding World War I, more than 100 plays about the war appeared on Broadway, such as *What Price Glory* (1924), by Maxwell Anderson and Laurence Stallings. Other serious plays tackled racism, women's rights, big business, the Red Scare, and other central concerns of modern American life. Experimental dramas appeared on Broadway with regularity, and many playwrights dabbled in non-realistic portrayals of human experience. Despite the substantial success of "serious theater," many theatergoers preferred a world of song and dance.

Musical Theater

Americans audiences of the 1920s were drawn to the spectacle of musical theater. The popularity of musicals may have evolved from the well-loved vaudeville shows, or from the extravagant sets, glamorous costumes, elaborate dance numbers, and happy endings. Whatever the reason, musicals became steady favorites during the decade and paved the way for the lavish Hollywood movie musicals of the late 1920s and 1930s.

Most Broadway musicals emphasized great music and memorable dance routines rather than coherent, well-developed plotlines. For example, *No, No, Nanette* (1925) featured a forgettable story line, but some unforgettable hit songs by composer Vincent Youmans and lyricist Irving Caesar, including "Tea for Two" and "I Want to Be Happy." Occasionally, big budget musicals did take on more sophisticated, complicated plots. *Show Boat* (1927), based on Edna Ferber's 1926 novel of the same name, tackled racism and miscegenation. Its tremendous musical score, written by composer Jerome Kern and lyricist Oscar Hammerstein II, included such classic songs as "Ol' Man River" and "Make Believe." *Shuffle Along* (1921) was the first musical of the decade to be written, produced, directed, and performed entirely by African Americans. It offered the hit songs "Love Will Find a Way" and "I'm Just Wild About Harry," by composer Eubie Blake and lyricist Noble Sissle. *Shuffle Along* gave a number of

talented black performers, including Florence Mills, Josephine Baker, and Paul Robeson, their first big break in show business. It also opened the door for other black musicals to appear on Broadway. Many hit musicals of the 1920s were quickly adapted to the silver screen, thus bringing their catchy songs and new dance steps to a national audience.

Musical Revues

Light musical revues—theatrical performances consisting of a series of unconnected musical acts—also remained audience favorites throughout the 1920s. Perhaps the most famous and best-loved theatrical revue of the day was *The Ziegfeld Follies,* produced by Chicago native Florenz Ziegfeld Jr. (See "Entertainment of the 1910s.") Essentially a sophisticated variety show, the show featured a rotating cast of singers, dancers, and comedians who spoofed the social and political "follies" of the day. *The Ziegfeld Follies* were inordinately expensive productions, and Ziegfeld constantly changed his roster of stars and songs to keep the show fresh and to encourage repeat customers. One aspect of the revue, however, remained constant: the chorus line of stunning young women known as the "Follies Girls"—long-legged women dressed in scanty costumes. Changes in popular taste, including Americans' insatiable love for the new talking motion pictures, caused the revue to falter in the late 1920s, and Ziegfeld produced his final *Follies* in 1931.

The George White Scandals (1919–1939), produced by George White, featured such major stars as singer Rudy Vallee and dancer Ann Pennington. Between 1912 and 1924, J. J. Shubert produced annual versions of *The Passing Show*—a revue that copied the format of *The Ziegfeld Follies* and featured headliners such as dancers Adele and Fred Astaire, singer Marilyn Miller, and comics Ed Wynn and Willie and Eugene Howard. John Murray Anderson staged a popular revue series called *The Greenwich Village Follies* (1919–1928), which became so successful that it eventually moved to Broadway.

Revues featuring African American casts also flourished, including *Runnin' Wild* (1923), the *Plantation Revue* (1922), and *Hot Chocolates* (1929). The most popular African American revue was the *Blackbirds* series, produced and directed by the white impresario Lew Leslie. *Blackbirds,* which premiered in 1926, introduced a series of hit songs by composer Jimmy McHugh and lyricist Dorothy Fields, including "I Can't Give You Anything But Love" (1928), "Diga Diga Do" (1928), and "Doin' the New Low Down" (1928). Black performers often traded on then-popular racist caricatures of the country bumpkin "Jim Crow," the knife-wielding urban "Zip Coon," and undomesticated children, referred to as "pickanninies" or "picks." Although these images are offensive, some African American performers of the 1920s understood that the success of a show depended on pleasing white audiences, who demanded familiar, hackneyed—and therefore "safe"—portrayals of African Americans.

DANCE

During the 1920s, professional, academic dance such as ballet did not exert much cultural influence, and in fact little high-quality ballet was performed in the United States, except by touring foreign dance troupes. The fledgling genre of modern dance was just beginning to attract audiences, largely due to the influential Denishawn School of Dance, founded in 1915 by Ruth St. Denis and her husband, Ted Shawn. Two of Denishawn's most famous and talented students, Doris Humphrey and Martha Graham, introduced dance lovers of the 1920s to the creative choreography of modern dance.

Popular Dance

Social dancing at nightclubs, dance halls, speakeasies, and in private homes became an all-consuming activity during the 1920s. The availability of hit records, the increasing affordability of radios, the popularity of vaudeville and Broadway musicals, and the ever-increasing influence of Hollywood movies combined to offer Americans unprecedented access to trendy, danceable music and models of great dancers and dances. For example, the brother-and-sister dance team of Fred and Adele Astaire helped popularize tap dancing in the Broadway musicals of the 1920s,

and chorus line dancers, vaudevillians, Broadway entertainers, and movie stars all taught the American public how to fox-trot, shimmy, and tango. Being a good dancer became one avenue to popularity, particularly among high school and college age youth, so many people enrolled in dance lessons at local studios. Arthur Murray invented a correspondence course that taught customers the steps to the latest popular dances by using a lesson book with footprint diagrams and accompanying instructions. By 1925, an estimated five million people had learned to dance using the footprint diagrams they received in the mail. Later that year, Murray opened his first studio in New York City, and he began to franchise his dance studios in 1938.

Most social dancers diligently and enthusiastically imitated the dancers they saw on the movie screen or the vaudeville stage. One of the first new dance trends of the decade was the tango, sparked in part by film star Rudolph Valentino, who performed this classic Latin-American dance in the sexy opening scene of *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (1921). The early 1920s also witnessed the rise of the shimmy, which Gilda Gray popularized in *The Ziegfeld Follies of 1922,* but nothing better symbolized the carefree spirit of the Jazz Age than the Charleston, a high-stepping version of the fox-trot that became a nationwide craze between 1923 and 1926. Although its origins remain uncertain, the Charleston was probably based upon a dance step popularized by African Americans in Charleston, South Carolina. Dancer Elizabeth Welch introduced it to the public in the 1923 all-black musical revue *Runnin' Wild.* The Charleston, which could be danced solo, with a partner, or as a group, soon took the dancing public by storm. Hotel ballrooms, cabarets, and dance halls across the nation staged Charleston contests, and Tin Pan Alley songwriters turned out dozens of new Charleston songs, such as "I'm Gonna Charleston Back to Charleston" (1925) and "Charleston Baby of Mine" (1925).

The Black Bottom, which eventually eclipsed the Charleston in popularity, was another wildly popular dance. First introduced in the all-black musical *Dinah* (1923), the Black Bottom did not become a national sensation until white dancer



A Charleston dance contest, St. Louis, Missouri, 1925. Courtesy of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

HOW OTHERS SEE US

The Charleston

The provocative Charleston—which, to the horror of an older generation, encouraged young women to dance alone and with disturbing abandon—became a full-blown craze in the United States in 1925. The dance's energetic syncopation meshed well with the hot jazz that was popular at the time, and within a year the fad crashed onto foreign shores.

As in America, reactions to the Charleston ranged from disgust to delight. The young and the fashionable latched on to the dance immediately. The Prince of Wales, a global style icon, made headlines multiple times as he danced the Charleston at balls in London and around Europe. In Paris, a world congress of dancing masters voted, albeit reluctantly, to sanction the dance as worthy of instruction, if only it could be "purified" of its "eccentric" kicks and improvisations (the very things that had made it so popular in the first place).

But in the Soviet Union, the Charleston was seen as an "immoral manifestation of bourgeois luxury" to such a degree that a Moscow choreographer was commissioned to invent a more proletarian craze. In South Africa, Christian clergymen denounced it for its similarities to Bantu and other traditional dances that missionaries were attempting to stamp out. And the District Council of Leyton, a London suburb, banned the Charleston from its local dance halls, claiming that its high kicks made it dangerous to other dancers and sparked dance-floor fights. As one impassioned speaker put it, the "fools" who attempted these perilous moves were clearly "balmy."

Ann Pennington performed it in *The George White Scandals of 1926.* Other dance crazes followed, including the varsity drag (introduced in the 1927 Broadway musical *Good News*) and the raccoon (popularized by the 1928 song "Doin' the Raccoon"). The Lindy hop, first made popular by George "Shorty" Snowden at a 1928 dance marathon, was named for aviator Charles Lindbergh. This swing dance rose to even greater popularity during the Big Band Era of the 1930s and 1940s. But the perennial favorite dance of the 1920s remained the fox trot, which had been introduced—and perhaps invented—by the nationally known dance team of Irene and Vernon Castle during the 1910s.

Many of these new dances disturbed clergymen, social workers, and older, conservative Americans, who considered them to be immoral. Some of these dances required couples to cling to each other with their cheeks and bodies touching, while other like the Black Bottom were explicitly sexual. Automobile mogul Henry Ford believed that modern dances such as the Charleston, along with jazz music, corrupted America's youth. Ford tried to revive old-time fiddling and square dancing, both of which he believed embodied the nation's wholesome, conservative values. In 1926, he staged a national fiddling contest through his Ford dealerships, offering cash prizes and automobiles to winners. He also engaged 200 dance instructors to teach square dances, polkas, and waltzes to his employees and their families. As a result, fiddling and square-dancing did witness a brief revival.

HOLLYWOOD MOTION PICTURES

After World War I, movies replaced vaudeville theater as the most popular form of commercial entertainment. By the mid-1920s, most small towns had a theater. Major cities such as New York and Chicago boasted hundreds. In 1928, the nation contained an estimated 28,000 movie theaters, which charged moviegoers 10–50 cents per ticket. The entertainment might include a newsreel, perhaps a comedy short or two, and then the feature attraction. Since films contained no synchronized sound until the advent of the "talkies" in 1927, actors and actresses conveyed emotions through pantomime acting, while a minimal number of printed intertitles between the scenes conveyed written dialogue and helped explain the plot. Most neighborhood theaters featured a pianist or organist who supplied musical accompaniment. Grand movie palaces offered large orchestras, which might contain as many as 100 members, to set the mood and heighten the drama onscreen.

HOW OTHERS SEE US

Talkies in Europe: Cinema "Degenerates"

In the early days of the film industry, critics on both sides of the Atlantic saw the cinema as a wholly new, almost magical art form. Films made in the United States and in Europe were equally prestigious and worthy of aesthetic study. And then came talkies.

With the massive popularity of 1927's *The Jazz Singer,* the first feature with significant amounts of spoken words and recorded sound, European critics in particular were taken aback. What had been a highbrow art form became quite suddenly lowbrow, in their estimation. The disappointment of the intellectual elite was palpable. British director Alfred Hitchcock thought that films with sound were merely "photographs of people talking," even as he created the first British talking picture. Critics blasted the talkies as "aesthetically reactionary," "escapist," "degenerate," and worst of all, "commercial."

The British and continental movie-going public, on the other hand, flocked to the theaters to see this new wonder—that is, when they could. Few cinemas were equipped with sound systems, and the changeover to the new technology was painfully slow. By 1930, fewer than 100 theaters in all of France could show talking pictures, and Germany had only 200 sound-ready cinemas. British theater owners were quicker to adopt the new technology, in part because the steady flow of American sound films gave them many English-language talkies to show (although occasional protests against the American accents in these films were reported).

Elsewhere, however, governments took action to prevent American cinematic dominance. For example, Italian dictator Benito Mussolini banned English dialogue in any imported movies. Soviet authorities had been accepting of American silent films, but Hollywood talkies were not allowed to be shown to Russian audiences.

During the 1920s, the Hollywood motion picture companies developed the so-called studio system. Under this system, a handful of studios—Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM), Paramount Pictures, Fox Film Corporation, Warner Brothers, and RKO Pictures—controlled every aspect of the production, distribution, and exhibition of their own films. These giant studios, nicknamed the "Big Five," owned and operated nationwide networks of movie theaters that screened only films produced by their parent company. The studios also created a subsidiary market for their movies by employing the "block booking system," which required independent theater owners to show all of a particular studio's films if they wanted to show any of them. This system guaranteed the giant studios reliable outlets for exhibiting even their low-budget films and generated annual profits that ran into the tens of millions of dollars.

Prior to World War I, studios produced films that were intended chiefly to entertain urban working-class audiences. As the industry expanded, however, Hollywood began to market its films primarily to middle-class Americans. To attract them, studios produced a greater number of big-budget epic movies with glamorous stars, sophisticated camera shots, complex plots, better-developed characters, and elaborate costuming and sets. MGM's epic *Ben-Hur: A Tale of Christ* (1925), for example, which was filmed in both Italy and southern California, cost a record $4.5 million to make. Feature films such as *Ben-Hur* usually ran between one and two-and-a-half hours, and while most were shot in black-and-white, a few of them, such as *The Black Pirate* (1926), used an early version of Technicolor. These blockbuster films increasingly celebrated the nation's newfound fascination with glamour, sex appeal, exoticism, and urbanity, and audiences loved them. By 1922, Americans purchased an average of 40 million movie tickets each week.

Hollywood motion pictures exerted a profound influence on popular culture. Americans copied the hairstyles, clothing, speech, and behavior of their favorite actors or actresses. Hollywood films not only dictated many fads and fashions, but also

NOTABLE ACTORS OF THE 1920s

John Barrymore, 1882–1942
Lionel Barrymore, 1878–1954
Clara Bow, 1905–1965
Lou Chaney, 1883–1930
Charlie Chaplin, 1889–1977
Jackie Coogan, 1914–1984
Douglas Fairbanks Sr., 1883–1939
Lillian Gish, 1893–1993
Al Jolson, 1886–1950
Buster Keaton, 1895–1966
Harold Lloyd, 1893–1971
Tom Mix, 1880–1940
Mary Pickford, 1893–1979
Norma Shearer, 1900–1983
Gloria Swanson, 1899–1983
Norma Talmadge, 1893–1957
Rudolph Valentino, 1895–1926

NOTABLE MOVIES

The Last of the Mohicans (1920)
The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse (1921)*
The Sheik (1921)
The Ten Commandments (1923)*
The Thief of Bagdad (1924)
Ben-Hur (1925)*
The Big Parade (1925)*
The Gold Rush (1925)
The General (1927)
Flesh and the Devil (1927)
It (1927)
The Jazz Singer (1927)
Metropolis (1927)
The Crowd (1928)
The Wind (1928)
The Broadway Melody (1929)
Gold Diggers of Broadway (1929)

* Among the highest grossing films of the decade.
Source: www.filmsite.com.

helped to fuel mass consumption and taught millions of young people about dating and sex.

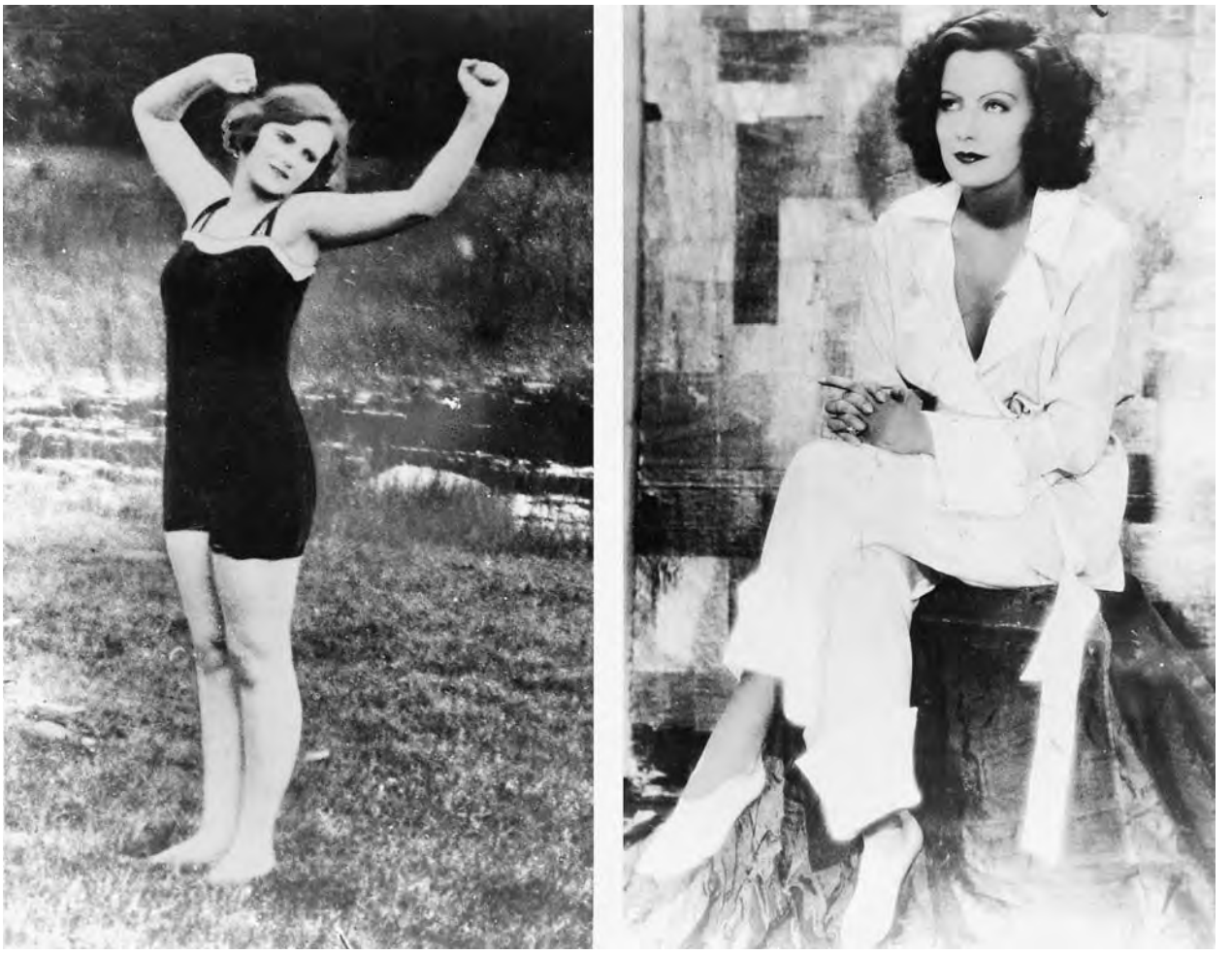
Silent Film Genres and Stars

Hollywood studios released around a thousand movies each year throughout the 1920s. The most popular genres were biblical epics, melodramas, romances, historical adventures, Westerns, and comedies. Cecil B. DeMille, the single most influential director of the decade, directed and produced two great biblical epics, *The Ten Commandments* (1923) and *The King of Kings* (1927). He also made a series of lurid melodramas such as *Why Change Your Wife?* (1920), *The Forbidden Fruit* (1921), and *The Affairs of Anatol* (1921), which frankly addressed themes of sexual desire, infidelity, divorce, and other problems plaguing modern married couples. Moviegoers flocked to see romances, especially the box-office hit *Flesh and the Devil* (1927), which starred John Gilbert and Greta Garbo, one of the Jazz Age's greatest pairs of screen lovers. Garbo, a Swedish émigré who came to the United States in 1925, established herself as a mysterious, sultry sex symbol in a series of Hollywood films, including *The Temptress* (1926), *The Mysterious Lady* (1928),

ACADEMY AWARD WINNERS

1928 Picture: *Wings*
Director: Frank Borzage, *Seventh Heaven;* Lewis Milestone, *Two Arabian Nights*
Actor: Emil Jannings, *The Way of All Flesh; The Last Command*
Actress: Janet Gaynor, *Seventh Heaven, Sunrise, Street Angel*

1929 Picture: The Broadway Melody
Director: Frank Lloyd, *The Divine Lady*
Actor: Warner Baxter, *In Old Arizona*
Actress: Mary Pickford, *Coquette*



Composite of two photographs of Greta Garbo, full-length portraits; 1922 photo, wearing a swimsuit; 1931 photo, as Hollywood movie star. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

and *A Woman of Affairs* (1929). Other romantic leading men and women included Rudolph Valentino, John Barrymore, Charles Farrell, Gloria Swanson, Clara Bow, and Janet Gaynor.

Some motion pictures of the 1920s tackled important social and cultural issues, such as World War I films like King Vidor's *The Big Parade* (1925) and Raoul Walsh's *What Price Glory?* (1926), but most box-office attractions consisted of escapist entertainment. Several classic Westerns were produced during the 1920s, such as John Ford's *The Iron Horse* (1924) and Victor Fleming's *The Virginian* (1929), starring Gary Cooper, one of Hollywood's rising leading men. In addition, studios churned out dozens of popular serial Westerns, which often featured "cliffhanger" endings. Many of the smaller independent studios produced dozens of low-budget horror films and science fiction thrillers. By the late 1920s, gangster films increasingly captivated moviegoers, reflecting the nation's fascination with crime, corruption, and gangland warfare.

Another popular film genre was slapstick comedy, which traded on sight gags, acrobatic stunts, and physical comedy, often made even more ridiculous by wildly exaggerated acting styles. Harold Lloyd, one of the most successful silent film comedians typically portrayed an innocent "everyman" who was forever getting into improbable, but funny, situations. His comedic masterpiece, *Safety Last* (1923), features a spectacular scene in which he dangles from the hands of an enormous clock eight stories above the city street below (Lloyd did most of his own stunt work, including this scene). Another great film comedian was Buster Keaton, known as "the Great Stone

Face" for his deadpan, stoic expressions. During the 1920s, Keaton wrote, directed, and starred in a series of classic comedies, most notably *The Three Ages* (1923), *Sherlock, Jr.* (1924), *The Navigator* (1924), and the Civil War comedy *The General* (1926). The 1920s also saw the screen debut of two of the most influential comedy teams of all time. In 1927, Stan Laurel and Oliver Hardy starred in *Slipping Wives,* the first of the 105 comedies the duo would eventually make, and the Marx Brothers shot their first feature-length film, *The Cocoanuts,* in 1929. Ironically, of all the Hollywood film genres of the 1920s, slapstick comedies often contained the most biting criticisms of America's political conservatism and crass materialism.

By nearly every account, the greatest genius of silent film comedy was British-born Charlie Chaplin. (See "Entertainment of the 1910s.") One of the biggest international celebrities of the 1920s, Chaplin wrote, produced, directed, starred in—and sometimes even composed the musical scores for—some of the most critically acclaimed comedies in American cinema. A former London vaudevillian, he began working in 1914 as an actor and director in one-and two-reel comedy shorts for a series of Hollywood studios. In 1921, Chaplin directed and starred in his first feature-length film, *The Kid,* which also launched child star Jackie Coogan's career. *The Gold Rush* (1925), widely considered by cinema historians to be one of the greatest films of all time, contains two classic Chaplin routines. In one scene, snowbound and starving in an Alaskan blizzard, he dines on a Thanksgiving feast consisting of a boiled boot, and in the other, he entertains the girl he loves with a pair of dancing dinner rolls stuck on the ends of forks. Chaplin's many responsibilities on the movie set and his meticulousness as a filmmaker limited the number of films he could produce. As a result, Chaplin made only five feature films during the 1920s, the last of which, *The Circus* (1928), took him two years to complete.

All the comedies Chaplin made during the 1920s featured him in the role of his signature character, "the Little Tramp," whom he had introduced in *Kid Auto Races at Venice* (1914). His kindhearted tramp sported a toothbrush mustache, an ill-fitting suit and baggy trousers, oversized shoes, bowler hat, and a bamboo cane. Chaplin was a master of making audiences laugh, but through this innocent, trusting character, he also leveled some of the most strident social criticism seen in American film. In the guise of a tramp—a social outsider—Chaplin challenged those capitalist values of respectability, industriousness, and self-control that dominated modern American life during the 1920s and 1930s. For almost a decade after the advent of talkies, Chaplin continued to make silent films, including *City Lights* (1931) and *Modern Times* (1936), which contained only synchronized music, sound effects, and sparse dialogue (Chaplin himself has no spoken lines). He did not make his first wholly sound picture until *The Great Dictator* (1940), a savage satire of Adolf Hitler.

During the 1920s, African American directors, actors, and actresses found it exceedingly difficult to break into Hollywood's studio system. In the late 1920s, African American actors and actresses did begin to land occasional roles in mainstream films. Still, most of these roles consisted of stereotypical bit parts as butlers, maids, and "plantation darkies." Often, they played comical buffoons, shiftless ne'er-do-wells, or chicken thieves, which represented then-current racist caricatures of African Americans. For example, during the late 1920s and early 1930s, Stepin Fetchit emerged as the first bona fide black Hollywood star, but he did so largely by portraying dim-witted, shuffling "coon" characters. Late in the 1920s, several Hollywood studios exhibited a new but limited wave of interest in exploring the African American experience. In 1929, for example, Fox released the critically acclaimed *Hearts in Dixie,* an experimental talking film featuring an all-black cast, and MGM followed with *Hallelujah!* (1929), another all-black feature film.

Despite Hollywood's racist, exclusionary practices, African American cinema did succeed during the 1920s. Black actors found work in low-budget "race pictures" produced for African American audiences. Most of these movies addressed themes of African American life and racial issues seldom depicted in mainstream Hollywood movies. Small, independent black film companies, many of them founded in the late 1910s and early 1920s, produced the bulk of these

movies, which featured all-black casts, including Edna Morton, billed as "the Colored Mary Pickford," and Lorenzo Tucker, "the Black Valentino." The most famous director and producer of race pictures was the pioneering African American filmmaker Oscar Micheaux. Micheaux, a pulp fiction writer, founded his own production company in 1918 in order to make a movie based on his novel, *The Homesteader* (1917). In 1920, he released *Within Our Gates,* which tackled the controversial subject of lynching. Throughout the 1920s, he made more than a dozen feature films, including *The House Behind The Cedars* (1923), an adaptation of Charles W. Chesnutt's novel, and *Body and Soul* (1924), the first film of actor Paul Robeson.

The Hollywood Star System

The fledgling Hollywood star system matured into a full-blown cultural phenomenon during the decade. Studios aggressively promoted their film stars to capitalize on the nation's fascination with celebrities. Consequently, millions of moviegoers came to idolize the glamorous movie stars. More than 25 mass-circulation magazines, such as *Motion Picture, Screenland,* and *Photoplay,* offered the latest Hollywood news, scandals, and gossip. Studio publicists kept their celebrities in the headlines by issuing press releases, staging publicity stunts, and scheduling interviews and personal appearances. Studio executives knew that the more publicity an actor or actress could generate, the more movie tickets Americans would purchase. In May 1929, in one of the industry's many efforts at self-promotion, the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences (founded in 1927) hosted the first Academy Awards ceremony at a banquet in Hollywood's Roosevelt Hotel. Those awards, which honored the films produced during 1927 and 1928, went to Emil Jannings for Best Actor, Janet Gaynor for Best Actress, and the blockbuster war epic *Wings* for Best Picture.

One of the nation's most popular actresses in the 1920s was the diminutive, golden-curled Mary Pickford, who was known as "America's Sweetheart." Pickford often starred in wholesome melodramas such as *Pollyanna* (1920) and *Sparrows* (1926), in both of which she portrayed innocent young girls. Pickford's dashing, athletic husband, Douglas Fairbanks, whom she married in 1920, starred in a series of swashbuckling historical adventures, including *The Mark of Zorro* (1920), *The Three Musketeers* (1921), and *Robin Hood* (1922). Lon Chaney, known as "the Man of a Thousand Faces," thrilled moviegoers as the monstrous hunchback Quasimodo in *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1923) and the horribly disfigured composer Erik in *The Phantom of the Opera* (1925), one of the earliest American horror films. One of the biggest box-office draws was a German shepherd named Rin Tin Tin, whom an American officer had found as a puppy in Western Europe during World War I. From 1922 until his death in 1932, Rin Tin Tin appeared in a series of popular serials and feature films.



Playing against type, the usually demure Mary Pickford is more exotic in the movie *Rosita,* 1923. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

The most celebrated romantic lead of the 1920s was Rudolph Valentino, an Italian immigrant—billed as "the Great Lover"—who emerged as one of Hollywood's first great male sex symbols. His darkly handsome good looks and his sexy Latin exoticism captivated millions of female moviegoers, who were said to swoon and faint at the sight of him. After his breakthrough lead performance in *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (1921), Valentino starred in more than a dozen movies, including his most famous, *The Sheik* (1921), before he died suddenly in 1926 at the age of 31. Clara Bow, the greatest female sex symbol of the decade, broke into the film industry in 1921 by winning a national contest sponsored by *Motion Picture* magazine. Over the next six years, she played a series of flappers in such movies as *Daughters of Pleasure* (1924) and *Mantrap* (1926), before becoming a silent screen sensation in *It* (1927). "It" was a euphemism for sexual attraction and self-confidence, and Clara Bow had plenty of both. With her curly, bobbed red hair, translucent white skin, and scarlet pouting "bee-stung" lips, she became the epitome of the sexy Jazz Age flapper and was known as the "It Girl" for the rest of her film career.



Clara Bow, the "It" girl. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

The Advent of the "Talkies"

The introduction of synchronized sound in 1926 revolutionized the movie industry. The most sensational early talking motion picture, though not the first, was Warner Brothers' feature film *The Jazz Singer,* released in October 1927. Although the film featured synchronized sound in only six musical numbers and in one snippet of dialogue—its star Al Jolson's famous line, "Wait a minute! Wait a minute! You ain't heard nothing yet"—*The Jazz Singer* demonstrated the



Al Jolson, three-quarter length portrait, facing front, in blackface, kneeling on one knee, in *The Jazz Singer.* Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

enormous potential of this new technology and whetted movie audiences' appetite for talkies.[1] Studios continued to produce silent films into the 1930s, but talking films represented the film industry's future, and by mid-1928, some 300 theaters across the nation were wired to exhibit sound films. The advent of sound motion pictures boosted ticket sales. By 1930, American moviegoers were purchasing an estimated 100 million tickets each week—at a time when the nation's population was approximately 123 million.[2]

ANIMATED CARTOONS

Since the mid-1910s, short, animated cartoons lasting between one and seven minutes were often shown before feature films. Many animated cartoons, such as the *Krazy Kat* series, brought to life already-popular comic strip characters. Animated cartoons, like the films they preceded, did not incorporate synchronized sound until the late 1920s.

Felix the Cat

Felix the Cat, created by Otto Messmer and Pat Sullivan, was the first American star of animated cartoons. Felix made his debut in 1919 in *Feline Follies* and went on to appear in approximately 150 short films. Much of Felix's comedy came from his remarkable ability to transform various body parts into useful tools with which he could solve problems. Throughout the 1920s, Felix's image was licensed to toy manufacturers, cigarette companies, and other industries. He also appeared in a newspaper comic strip called *Felix the Cat* (1923), and was the subject of a popular novelty song, "Felix! Felix! Felix the Cat" (1928). When synchronized sound was introduced to cartoon animation in 1928, Felix's final silent film cartoon, aptly titled *The Last Life,* appeared in 1928. Despite a few unsuccessful attempts at a talking Felix, the cat had disappeared from the silver screen by 1930.

Walt Disney and Mickey Mouse

In 1922, Walt Disney founded an animation company in Kansas City, Missouri, called the Laugh-O-Gram Corporation, which specialized in making short, animated fairy tales. When the company went bankrupt in 1923, Disney headed to Los Angeles with his brother, Roy, where they founded the Disney Brothers Studio (later renamed the Walt Disney Company). The brothers created a series of short films based on *Alice in Wonderland,* which juxtaposed a live Alice with a cartoon background and supporting cast of animated characters. This popular series, called *Alice in Cartoonland* (1923–1927), included dozens of popular short films that were released in movie theaters nationwide.

In 1927, Disney created a new cartoon character, Oswald the Lucky Rabbit, who starred in more than 20 short animated films, but a New York distributor copyrighted the character and Disney lost control of the rabbit's image. In 1928, when he created Mickey Mouse, Disney copyrighted the mouse for himself, but his colleague, artist Ub Iwerks, was the illustrator. Mickey Mouse appeared in two 1928 silent cartoons, *Plane Crazy* and *Galloping Gaucho,* but he did not speak in his famous squeaky falsetto voice until *Steamboat Willie,* the first animated cartoon with synchronized sound, was released later that year. *Steamboat Willie* was an overnight sensation. Audiences were delighted to hear Mickey whistle, as well as play the xylophone on a cow's teeth and the bagpipes on a sow's udder. Disney began work on the *Silly Symphonies* animated series, with the first film released titled *Skeleton Dance* (1929).

RADIO

In the 1920s, radio emerged as a powerful and broadly appealing commercial mass medium. On November 4, 1920, KDKA, in East Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, became one of the first stations in the nation to begin regularly scheduled radio broadcasts when it carried the results of the presidential election between Warren G. Harding and James M. Cox. Although only a few thousand listeners owned radio receivers at the time, this historic election-night broadcast is widely considered the birth of commercial broadcasting in the United States. Over the course of the next few years, commercial radio underwent phenomenal

growth. The number of licensed radio stations operating in the United States jumped from four at the beginning of 1922 to 576 by the end of that year.[3] The sale of radios and radio equipment soared from $1 million in 1920 to $400 million in 1925.[4]

In 1926, the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) formed the nation's first radio network, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), which actually operated two networks: NBC-Blue and NBC-Red. Originally, NBC linked 24 affiliate stations located between New York and Kansas City, but by the end of 1928, its almost 70 affiliated stations were broadcasting coast-to-coast. The Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), established in 1927, soon created its own network of 49 affiliate stations. Before the creation of national networks, local programs showcased local talent and reflected local interests. Increasingly, though, as the influence of the networks grew, radio listeners across the nation heard many of the same programs and personalities. Network radio programs carried corporate-sponsored shows, such as *The Eveready Hour, The Majestic Theatre of the Air,* and *The Voice of Firestone,* many of which featured such national celebrities as Eddie Cantor and Will Rogers. These network shows crowded out many of the local personalities and performers who had once provided the bulk of radio entertainment, homogenizing American radio. By 1929, commercial radio had developed into a large-scale industry consisting of three national networks and some 618 stations.

Although listening to radio was essentially a private activity conducted in one's home, in many ways this new medium inspired a variety of social activities. Neighbors and friends often gathered around a family's receiver in the evening for "radio parties." Young people rolled up the rug, moved the furniture out of the way, and danced to the latest jazz sounds. Families tuned in on Sunday mornings to listen to nationally famous preachers and church services. Many listeners even scheduled their daily activities around their favorite radio shows. By 1929, according to one survey, more than 33 percent of American families owned a radio set, and of those, a reported 80 percent listened to their sets daily.[5] Thus, less than a decade after its advent, commercial radio had become an integral part of everyday life for millions.

Stations generally featured live music performed in the studios by singers and musicians. By 1924, many stations also aired so-called "remote" broadcasts (that is, those made from locations outside of the radio studio) of bands and orchestras performing in opera houses, concert halls, and hotel ballrooms. Throughout much of the decade, classical music programs, such as *The Atwater-Kent Hour* and *The Voice of Firestone,* dominated the airwaves, but eventually popular music, particularly jazz, filled daily broadcasting schedules. In 1925, music constituted approximately 70 percent of all airtime, according to one study.[6]

Radio stations required significant resources to finance operating costs. In 1922, WEAF, New York, in 1922, ran the first commercial ad, and soon advertising emerged as the primary form of revenue. Most advertising involved corporate sponsorship of programs, often musical shows. The companies included their product's name in the title of the show, such as *The Happiness Boys* (named for a candy manufacturer), *The Clicquot Club Eskimos* (named for a ginger ale maker), and *The Gold Dust Twins* (named for a scouring powder manufacturer). Network radio, on which

RADIO ACT OF 1927

The Radio Act of 1927, enacted during the presidency of Calvin Coolidge, decisively took the airwaves from the public and delivered them into the hands of the federal government. The Act outlawed anyone to broadcast any sort of radio communication without a license, and with the help of the previous Radio Act of 1912, stripped most existing licenses. Clearly, the U.S. government feared that during and since World War I, enemies home and abroad were using radio to communicate and conspire against the United States. In stripping the public its right to radio, the government set a precedent that resonates today. Nevertheless, today one can find the spirit of independent radio alive and well in college towns. Pirate radio stations all over the country are broadcasting the latest music with little or no punishment.

national corporations advertised their brand-name products, earned an estimated $40 million in revenues by 1929. In fact, between 1928 and 1934, as the number of newspaper and magazine ads declined, radio advertising leaped 316 percent.[7]

Radio also provided local and national news, market reports, weather forecasts, political speeches, public lectures, sports scores, household hints, and recipes. Broadcasts of sporting events boosted the popularity of college and professional sports and turned athletes such as Babe Ruth, Jack Dempsey, and Red Grange into heroes. Even broadcasters, particularly NBC sportscaster Graham McNamee and CBS news commentator H. V. Kaltenborn, became celebrities.

Other Programming

Special news events, such as the 1925 Scopes trial, which Chicago's WGN covered live via remote broadcasts from Dayton, Tennessee, formed an important part of broadcasting. An estimated audience of 30 million radio fans listened to NBC's extensive coverage of Charles Lindbergh's celebrated return to the United States after his historic 1927 transatlantic flight. Millions of housewives listened to homemaker shows, cooking programs, and home economics lectures as they performed their household chores.

By the late 1920s, radio networks offered more innovative and sophisticated programs, including Westerns, detective shows, soap operas, comedies, children's shows, romances, and variety shows. Particularly popular were serial comedies and dramas, which featured a cast of characters involved in an ongoing story line. In August 1929, NBC launched *Amos 'n Andy,* a 15-minute weekday show that is widely considered to be the first serial program on network radio. This program, sponsored by Pepsodent Toothpaste, starred Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll, two white vaudevillians. It recounted the adventures of the title characters, a scheming Amos Jones (played by Gosden), and a buffoonish, manipulative Andrew H. "Andy" Brown (played by Correll), black southern migrants living in Chicago who were obsessed with moneymaking schemes. Gosden and Correll wrote the scripts and performed all of the characters (sometimes as many as 10 different people in a single scene), and the show's roster of minor characters eventually reached into the hundreds. Despite its racist, stereotypical

RADIO DEBUTS OF THE 1920s

"The Happiness Boys" (1921): the vocal duo of Billy Jones and Ernie Hare present comic songs like "Barney Google" and "Does the Spearmint Lose Its Flavor on the Bedpost Overnight?"

"The A&P Gypsies" (1924): musical program starring Harry Horlick and his jazz band. Sponsored by the food-market chain A&P, this is the first of many sponsored radio shows to go into national syndication.

"National Barn Dance" (1924): country-music broadcast that helped establish the careers of Gene Autry, Andy Williams, George Gobel, and others.

"Grand Ole Opry" (1925): live Nashville concert program that became the premier showcase for country music, as well as the longest-running radio show in American history, continuing its broadcasts to the present day.

"Rambling with Gambling" (1925): news and talk program hosted by three generations of John Gamblings, from 1925 to 2000.

"Father Coughlin" (1926): controversial sermons on political and economic themes from a Roman Catholic priest with isolationist, anti-Semitic, and Fascistic opinions.

"Amos 'n Andy" (1928): popular situation comedy-drama about two Chicago men and their circle that drew on broad stereotypes of black life and culture.

"The Goldbergs" (1929): long-running serial about a poor family in the Bronx, New York.

"The Rudy Vallee Show" (1929): also known as "The Fleischmann's Yeast Hour," a musical and variety series hosted by singer-bandleader Rudy Vallee.

"The Guy Lombardo Show" (1929): musical broadcast featuring Guy Lombardo and his swing band.

characterizations, and the fact that white performers portrayed African Americans, *Amos 'n Andy* was an immediate sensation, and historians credit the show's popularity for a 23 percent surge in radio sales in 1929. Restaurants played the nightly episodes over loudspeakers in order to appease their customers, and movie theaters scheduled the showing of films around the program. After being petitioned by their employees, the managers of 40 textile mills in Charlotte, North Carolina, agreed to end their shifts 15 minutes early so that workers could listen to *Amos 'n Andy*. Expressions regularly used on the program—such as "holy mackerel," "check and double-check," and "ain't dat sumpin?"—became popular catchphrases. Within a few years, the show had spawned a syndicated comic strip, a series of phonograph recordings, a candy bar, two books, and a motion picture. In 1931, at the height of the show's popularity, an estimated 40 million fans tuned in each night, or roughly 60 percent of all radio listeners. *Amos 'n Andy* remained on the air until 1955, despite mounting protests from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the show was also translated into a short-lived CBS television series during the early 1950s.

Fashion

of the 1920s

During the 1920s, the notion of keeping up with fashion trends and expressing oneself through material goods seized middle-class Americans as never before. Purchasing new clothes, new appliances, new automobiles, new *anything* indicated one's level of prosperity. Being considered old-fashioned, out-of-date, or—worse yet—unable to afford stylish new products was a fate many Americans went to great lengths to avoid.

FASHION AND POPULAR CULTURE

By the 1920s, the postwar explosion of magazines, newspapers, modern advertisements, radio commercials, and Hollywood films dramatically accelerated the pace of fashion developments. Americans looked to national celebrities and glamour magazines as guides to what clothing and hairstyles were in. Fashion shows and beauty contests—including the Miss America Pageant, founded by H. Conrad Eckholm in 1921 in Atlantic City, New Jersey—received widespread media coverage and showed the latest fashion trends. In 1927, Sears, Roebuck and Company advertised boots endorsed by Gloria Swanson and hats modeled by Clara Bow and Joan Crawford, knowing women would imitate their favorite Hollywood stars.

Many American consumers justified clothing expenditures as a necessary and prudent investment in one's future, reasoning, for example, that a well-dressed woman would more likely to attract a suitable husband. Older, more conservative Americans interpreted this dedication to fashion trends as another example of the recklessness and self-indulgence of the modern "flapper." Over the course of the decade the carefree flapper came to symbolize the flamboyant, reckless spirit of the Jazz Age. Perhaps more than any other icon, the flapper epitomizes those fast-changing cultural trends that many people commonly associate with the 1920s—a young woman with bobbed hair, wearing a straight, slim dress and a long, beaded necklace, drinking gin, and dancing the Charleston to the wild syncopations of a jazz band. Flappers, according to the stereotype, were daring and uninhibited trendsetters who wore their stockings rolled down and their hemlines just below the knee and let their unlaced galoshes flap around their ankles.

Despite the seeming extravagance of purchasing trendy clothing, the latest fashions were actually more affordable and accessible to ordinary Americans than they had ever been before. During the 1920s, women's clothing fashions were largely dictated by French haute couture. Of course, few people could afford haute couture, but American clothing manufacturers and buyers regularly traveled to Paris to attend fashion shows

hosted by famous French designers. Back in the United States, they recreated the latest Parisian designs in inexpensive fabrics and sold them as ready-to-wear fashions. Clothing retailers sprinkled their advertisements with French phrases, since fashion-conscious shoppers devoured anything with a Parisian flair. For the first time, high fashion became accessible to even the working classes, as cheap factory-made clothing and inexpensive sewing patterns for up-to-date styles were widely available.

WOMEN'S FASHIONS

One of the primary changes in women's clothing during the 1920s stemmed from a dramatic shift in American standards of beauty and fashion. Prior to World War I, the so-called Gibson girl, with her hour-glass figure, long, upswept hair, floor-length skirt, and high-collared blouse, represented the model of American beauty and femininity. (See "Fashion of the 1900s.") In contrast, the most desirable female figure during the 1920s was a flat-chested, slim-hipped look of the flapper. Because the slim, long-waisted dresses that were fashionable looked attractive on only the slenderest bodies, millions of women went on severe diets.

Yet wasn't enough to be thin—one had to be *young* to be fashionable. Shorter skirts and longer waists were reminiscent of little girl fashions, but bare legs, bold, short haircuts, and scarlet lipstick suggested an openly sexual youthfulness. With the addition of a stylish heel to the child's Mary Jane shoe, women juxtaposed juvenile fashions with the rolled-stocking, bared-knee sexuality of the modern woman. The short hair, brief outfits, and brazen use of cosmetics scandalized many older Americans, who argued the look was unladylike and immoral.

During the 1920s, women's clothing caused countless scandals, but it also freed women from the discomfort of corsets, pointed shoes, and impossibly large hats. The simpler fashions also meant women could drastically reduce the time they spent washing, ironing, and mending elaborate dresses, hats, and undergarments.



Fashionable young woman posed beside a roadster, 1926. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

FASHION TRENDS OF THE 1920s

The 1920s saw a shift from the corseted, hourglass "Gibson girl" to the flapper style with its slim dresses with dropped waists and raised hems.

Women—straight, slim dresses; long, beaded necklaces; cloche hats; fur trim; trousers late in decade; functional, one-piece swimsuits; makeup acceptable; hair bobbed with marcel waves or permanent waves.

Men—suits consisting of jacket, trousers, vest, and tie; fedoras or peaked cap for casual; top hats and bowlers for formal occasions; "collegiate style" with raccoon coats or belted trench coat; baggy flannel trousers, sports jackets; wristwatches rather than pocket watches.

RETAIL CLOTHING

By the 1920s, most Americans wore ready-made clothing, although the wealthiest urban dwellers still bought couture fashions and the poorest

rural dwellers still wore homemade clothing. Of course, many middle-class women continued sewing some of their own and their family's clothing, and widely available pattern books and magazines made it easy for them to create the latest fashions.

During the 1920s, department stores such as Gimbels, Marshall Field's, Wannamaker's, and Macy's offered shoppers a wide variety of merchandise arranged in attractive combinations. These department stores commonly used mannequins to display clothing that had already been assembled into eye-catching outfits to tempt shoppers into purchasing an entire ensemble. Similarly, departments were grouped together in order to encourage multiple purchases.

Mail-order catalogs sold ready-to-wear clothing, especially to rural families. America's most widely distributed mail-order catalog was published by Sears, which claimed to be "the World's Largest Store." Sears produced its first catalog in 1896 and, by the 1920s, its biannual publication represented an important aspect of consumer culture. The Sears Winter/Fall catalog of 1927 featured 11 pages of women's hats, and about 60 sewing patterns, costing around 20 cents apiece, for everything from infant clothes to women's party dresses.[1] The fashions did not necessarily reflect cutting-edge haute couture, but they kept families of moderate means stylishly clothed.

WOMEN'S DRESSES

During the 1920s, lavish evening gowns became an obvious symbol of the wearer's wealth and social standing. Made of luxurious fabrics such as velvet, satin, crepe de chine, or silver and gold lamé, evening dresses were decorated with metallic embroidery, beads, rhinestones, and fringe. Formal evening gowns were appropriate attire for balls, the opera, the theater, elegant dinner parties, and upscale restaurants. Gowns were designed in the basic shape of a sleeveless tube, with either deep U-or V-shaped necklines or high-cut, wide, boat-style necklines. After about 1926, plunging necklines were cut into the backs of gowns, and women sometimes draped long necklaces of beads or faux pearls down their exposed backs. Early in the decade, waistlines fell to about hip-level, and hemlines rose to just below the calf. By around 1925, dress hemlines inched up to just below the knee—as short as they would get during the decade.

Stylish women wore afternoon dresses to luncheons, teas, matinees, and daytime dances. Sometimes called "tea-gowns," these dresses featured long flowing sleeves in the early 1920s. By 1925, the afternoon frock had become more streamlined and slender, with a knee-length skirt and short or fitted sleeves. They came in a variety of bright colors and patterns and were often adorned with narrow belts, sashes, bows, or artificial flowers at the dropped waist. In 1926, French designer Gabrielle "Coco" Chanel introduced what remains a fashion staple: the simple but elegant "little black dress." During the late 1920s, French designer Madeleine Vionnet pioneered dress design using the "bias cut" (the fabric was cut on the diagonal) to soften the severe angular shapes of fashionable dresses.

Women's suits contained many of the same features found in men's clothing styles. Women's suits were usually made of wool, with straight, hip-length suit jackets worn over straight matching skirts, and typically came in navy, brown, tan, or black, possibly with white pinstripes. Jackets might be single-or double-breasted, or "edge-to-edge," which meant that the two front panels just barely came together and were fastened with a single metal link button. Skirt silhouettes were very narrow, although they might include box or knife pleats. Coco Chanel introduced the classic Chanel suit: a boxy jacket trimmed with contrasting ribbon or braid, worn over a straight skirt. The jacket was lined in the same material as the matching blouse, and the jacket and skirt were made of soft jersey or tweed. Women's suits were considered appropriate attire for work or for travel, but not typically for entertaining.

Women wore informal morning dresses or housedresses, usually made of cotton in various striped, plaid, or checked patterns, while they did their domestic chores. By 1925, housedresses were shorter and slimmer than they had been before.

WOMEN'S SPORTSWEAR

During the 1920s, women, particularly those of the middle and upper classes, increasingly

engaged in sports such as tennis, golf, boating, and swimming. Designers largely appropriated men's fashions to create women's outdoor clothing, including serge or tweed knickers to wear while hiking and flared jodhpurs to wear while horseback riding. Women golfers wore pleated, knee-length skirts topped with patterned sweaters. Tennis players wore white hose and short, slim white dresses. Coco Chanel introduced loose, bell-bottomed trousers made of silk, cotton, or crepe de chine for women to wear while boating. Women soon began wearing these wide-legged pants, known as "beach pajamas," over their bathing suits at the beach.

For ordinary casual wear, women wore long, soft blouses that were often banded or belted at the natural waist. Women also adopted the middy blouse, which resembled the top half of a sailor's uniform and was a traditional style for children's clothing. The vest-style blouse, patterned after a man's vest, had long or short sleeves and a notched collar. The lumberjack shirt, made of wool plaid and typically worn with knickers, was also popular. In cool weather, women (and men) donned colorful Fair Isle sweaters, popularized in 1922 by Edward, Prince of Wales, or coat sweaters, introduced by Coco Chanel, which were cardigan-style sweaters with a high shawl collar, pockets, and sometimes a belt.

WOMEN'S BATHING SUITS

Prior to World War I, "bathing costumes" were modest garments made of itchy woolen fabric. Men wore sleeveless knit tunics over (or sometimes attached to) knit shorts that reached several inches down the thigh. Women's costumes usually consisted of a loose overblouse, a knee-length skirt, and stockings. Although women's bathing costumes were not conducive to swimming, this was not a problem, since few swam.

In the 1920s, three major bathing suit manufacturers, eventually known as Jantzen, Cole, and Catalina, succeeded in popularizing beach fashion and breaking down older prohibitions on suitable bathing garments. Danish immigrant Carl Jantzen, along with his partners John and Roy Zehntbauer, invented a machine that could knit a stretchy fabric that was ribbed on both sides. This fabric was much more elastic than ordinary jersey, the fabric most commonly used to make swimwear, and it clung to every curve of the body. In 1921, Jantzen began developing one-piece bathing suits that looked as if they were actually two pieces. These tubular maillot suits, sometimes called "California-style" suits, consisted of a scoop-necked, sleeveless top that was sewn at the waist to a pair of trunks. Often these unisex suits were embellished with bold, colorful stripes across the chest, hip, and thigh. Jantzen founded the Jantzen Swimming Association in 1926 and launched a national campaign called "Learn to Swim," which offered free swimming lessons across the country, certificates of completion, local competitions, and endorsements from champion swimmers. By 1930, Jantzen was the world's largest producer of bathing suits, selling more than 1.5 million suits a year.

While Jantzen's Oregon-based company specialized in athletic-looking suits that were actually suitable for swimming, Fred Cole's company in Los Angeles focused on creating dramatic suits that were designed primarily for glamorous sunbathing. In 1925, Cole began marketing the "Prohibition Suit," which had a low-cut neckline and tiny skirt that was shockingly revealing for the time. Catalina Swimwear offered a range of swimsuits that were sexier than Jantzen's but less daring than Cole's. Catalina introduced the nearly backless bathing suits that became immensely popular among women in the late 1920s. Catalina also served as the official swimsuit provider for the Miss America Pageant.

The evolution of form-fitting swimwear caused significant controversy during the 1920s, as directors of public beaches, resorts, and country clubs implemented strict dress codes. Violations were punishable by fines and, occasionally, imprisonment. Typically, dress codes specified the number of inches above the knee that that trunks (or bloomers) and skirts could rise. Sometimes female bathers were required to wear stockings, usually rolled above the knee. Some public beaches and resorts hired "beach censors" to maintain order and enforce dress codes. Chicago's Clarendon Beach employed a female "beach tailor" who stitched up loose armholes and sewed longer, more modest skirts onto too-short bathing suits. Men's



Bill Norton, the bathing beach policeman, measuring distance between knee and bathing suit on woman, Washington, D.C., 1922. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

swimwear was also regulated, but the dress codes for men were enforced less stringently than they were for women.

WOMEN'S UNDERGARMENTS

Women's underwear became lighter and less constricting during the 1920s. Old-fashioned corsets were still worn, particularly by older women, but were replaced over time by less burdensome corsets and lightweight rubber girdles. By the end of the decade, many women opted for the brief new "step-ins" or "cami-knickers," which were a silk or rayon camisole stitched to a pair of thigh-length panties.

Most brassieres manufactured during the 1920s were intended to flatten rather than accentuate women's breasts. These cupless brassieres were made of cotton, silk, or rayon, and fitted snugly against the woman's body in order to smooth her silhouette under the straight, narrow dresses of the day. Some bras during the mid-to late-1920s, however, were designed to separate and lift women's breasts. In 1922, Ida Cohen Rosenthal developed the support bra and founded the Maiden Form Brassiere Company (later renamed Maidenform). These "uplift" brassieres often featured elastic inserts and were widely advertised as preventing the bust from sagging.

WOMEN'S SHOES AND HOSIERY

The shorter skirts of the 1920s exposed more of women's legs, so shoes and hosiery became

important accessories. At the beginning of the decade, many shoes featured pointed toes and two-inch, curved heels, broad one-and-three-quarter-inch "military" heels, or one-inch "walking" heels. Comfortable rubber soles and heels, introduced during World War I, gained in popularity throughout the 1920s. As the decade progressed, women's shoes with rounded toes and chunky, two-inch "Cuban" heels or slender "spike" or "Spanish" heels became common. Dressy women's shoes often featured a strap across the top of the foot, often made of brocade, satin, or another delicate material. The straps buttoned on one side of the shoe, and fashionable button covers made of enamel, rhinestones, silver, gold, or brass added flair. These strapped shoes also prevented women from accidentally kicking them off during an exuberant dance. A plain pump was also a popular footwear choice. In the early 1920s, most women's shoes were brown, tan, black, white, or gray. As the decade wore on, however, women began to sport shoes in silver, gold, red, green, and other dramatic colors.

Rising skirt hemlines led to black cotton and lisle stockings being replaced by beige or tan hose made of silk or, after 1923, rayon (then called "artificial silk"). While a pair of plain silk stockings could be purchased for about a dollar, fancier silk hose could cost six dollars or more per pair. Women wore garter belts to keep their thigh-high stockings from sagging or falling down. Sometimes women rolled the tops of their stockings over garters worn just above the knee, but flapper fashion dictated that stockings be rolled down to expose delicately powdered knees. More conservative Americans considered bare knees the epitome of immoral dress, but as the 1920s progressed, stockingless knees became increasingly common.

WOMEN'S HAIRSTYLES

Although popular conceptions of the Jazz Age suggest that every fashionable woman bobbed her hair, some women wore their hair long. Long-haired women usually pulled their hair back to the nape of the neck and wound it into a smooth chignon or knot. Another fashionable style at the beginning of the decade involved coiling long hair into a bun behind each ear. This hairstyle, known as "earphones" or "cootie garages," fell out of favor by the mid-1920s. The bob, cut short and straight at about chin-length, was introduced in the United States by dancing sensation Irene Castle shortly before World War I. When other celebrities such as Coco Chanel and Hollywood film star Louise Brooks also adopted the haircut, women across the United States followed suit. Many women had their hair cut by men's barbers, since some hairdressers, fearing that short, simple hairstyles would put them out of business, refused to shear off women's long tresses. The bob could be worn with or without bangs, and was often accompanied by side curls plastered to the cheek or by a single curl dramatically set in the middle of the forehead. Around 1923, the standard bob haircut began to evolve into different, even shorter styles. The shingle haircut, or "boyish bob," tapered to a point at the nape of the wearer's neck and often featured waves or short curls on the sides. The more radical "Eton crop," which was trimmed above the wearer's ears and shaved in back, appeared in 1926. These streamlined haircuts were perfect for tucking underneath a stylish cloche hat so nothing but a side curl or two was visible. While young women were the first to engage in the bobbed hair craze, by the end of the decade women of all ages were wearing the convenient and versatile bob.

"Marcel waves" were a tremendously popular feature of the bobbed haircut. In 1872, Marcel Grateau, a French hairstylist, invented a method by which hair could be curled or waved with the use of a curling iron heated on a stove. By the 1920s, more convenient electric curling irons and crimpers became available, making it even easier for women to "marcel" their hair into the deep horizontal waves that were then fashionable. The water wave comb was another implement designed to create wavy hair. Wet hair was set with a series of combs that gently pushed the hair into waves. A scarf or ribbon was then wrapped around the head to keep the combs in place until the hair dried into soft waves and the combs could be removed. Women also created "finger waves" by applying "finger waving lotion" to their damp hair, then combing and pinching their short tresses into waves with their fingers. Until the damp waves

were completely dry, women protected their efforts with delicate nets made of real human hair. By the late 1920s, "permanent waves" were also available to women willing to undergo the strong chemical treatments. Although women went to great trouble creating curls and waves, short hair was in general a real timesaver.

While white women tried to make their hair wavy or curly, many African American women worked just as hard trying to make their hair straight. Black newspapers and magazines advertised special pomades, oils, soaps, shampoos, hot irons, and combs that were intended to help relax and straighten curly or kinky hair. Madame C. J. Walker, the nation's first black woman millionaire, developed a revolutionary system to soften and straighten black women's hair around the turn of the century, using a combination of special hair preparations and hot irons. In 1906, she founded the Madame C. J. Walker Manufacturing Company, and later she established a Harlem-based beautician school called the Walker College of Hair Culture, which claimed to teach its hairdressing students how to straighten kinky hair without using curling irons, and promoted a secret formula that supposedly accelerated hair growth. The Walker Manufacturing Company flourished during the 1920s under the leadership of Madame Walker's daughter, A'Lelia Walker, one of the richest and most extravagant residents of Harlem during the Jazz Age. Madame C. J. Walker realized not only that the African American community represented a virtually untapped consumer market, but also that many black women were attracted to products that promised a more "Caucasian" appearance.

WOMEN'S COSMETICS

The cosmetics industry boomed during the 1920s, and thousands of beautician schools and beauty parlors sprang up. Prior to World War I, an American woman who visibly wore makeup, or "paint," as it was often called, was immediately suspected of being immoral—a woman of "easy virtue." But during the 1920s, wearing cosmetics became not just fashionable but respectable. Inspired in part by the glamorous Hollywood movie stars who wore dark red lipstick and heavy black mascara, women of every age began to apply rouge, powder, lipstick, and eyeliner to their faces. They plucked their eyebrows into dramatic arches and then redrew them using eyebrow pencils. They reddened their lips into the pouty, "bee-stung" look popularized by Clara Bow and Theda Bara. Sales of cosmetics soared from $17 million in 1914 to $141 million in 1925.[2] Both Elizabeth Arden and Helena Rubenstein managed successful cosmetics empires in the 1920s. Following the lead of Coco Chanel and other fashion mavens, American women of the mid-1920s also stopped protecting their skin from the sun and instead gloried in suntans. A winter tan, in particular, became a prestigious status symbol, indicating that the possessor had both the money and the time to vacation in sunny locations such as California, Florida, or even Italy. Those without much disposable income often had to settle for self-tanning liquids and powders that claimed to achieve the effect of a natural suntan.

Not all women, however, desired a dark skin. Some African American women attempted to lighten their skin so it more closely resembled a white complexion. Bleaching lotions and other whitening potions were marketed in beauty shops, drugstores, newspapers, magazines, and mail-order catalogs. Advertisements for products with suggestive names such as "Black-No-More" and "Cocotone Skin Whitener" promised (or at least implied) that, with repeated applications, African American women would achieve pale skin tone. Not surprisingly, the very idea of skin whiteners sparked intense controversies in African American communities. While many African American women bought these ointments, others spurned these products and vehemently rejected the notion that lightening one's skin was either desirable or possible.

WOMEN'S ACCESSORIES

Hats remained a standard component of American women's wardrobes during the 1920s for most social engagements. A ban on feather from exotic birds, coupled with the popular short haircuts of the 1920s, signaled the end of the oversized hat. Around 1923, when the cloche hat (*cloche* means "bell" in French) was imported

from Paris, small, trim hats became de rigueur for stylish women. The cloche hat's deep crown and narrow brim fitted snugly over a woman's head and concealed her eyebrows and nearly all of her bobbed hair. Cloches were made of just about every material, including straw, felt, satin, velvet, rayon, and cotton, and could be worn year-round. By 1928, some cloche hats had even been stripped of their small brim, making them look almost like a helmet. Cloches were often decorated with appliqués, ribbons, rhinestones, buckles, beads, small feathers, artificial flowers, or decorative Art Deco hatpins. Most trimmings rested over the ear rather than on the front of the hat.

Although cloches were the dominant style of women's hats during the 1920s, other styles were also popular. During the 1910s, dancer Irene Castle initiated the fashion of wearing decorative bandeaux—headbands that wrapped around the forehead and could be made of anything from ribbons to rhinestones. By the early 1920s, women were wearing these headpieces as a standard part of their evening dress. Women also wore turbans, soft tams and berets, and when Greta Garbo wore a man's slouch hat in the popular film *A Woman of Affairs* (1928), she ignited another craze among American women. *Garbo* soon became a synonym for this style of soft felt hat with a high crown and drooping brim. And women riding in open cars sometimes protected their hair by donning leather aviator helmets resembling those worn by World War I pilots.

The pared-down women's fashions of the 1920s left little room for pockets, so handbags became necessary. While morning appointments generally called for a more casual handbag made of fabric or leather, afternoon and evening engagements required a dressier bag, often constructed of mesh or fancy beadwork. Some bags, called reticules, were pouch-style bags that closed with a drawstring and were made of fabric or, for eveningwear, crocheted out of strands of glass beads. The *pochette,* another popular style of handbag, was a simple, flat, rectangular bag that featured a clasp at the top and a short carrying strap. Metal mesh bags, introduced in the United States in the nineteenth century, also enjoyed tremendous popularity in the 1920s. They could be gold or silver plated, or enameled in Art Deco patterns resembling flowers, birds, sunbursts, or Egyptian or Oriental motifs. The late 1920s saw a vogue in reptile-skin bags, including those made from the hides of lizards, alligators, and snakes.

During the 1920s, Coco Chanel introduced inexpensive lines of what she called "illusion jewelry," better known as "costume jewelry," and soon the costume jewelry market exploded. Long strands of imitation pearls, faux gems, and opaque glass beads adorned the necks of both wealthy women and struggling shop girls across the nation. A popular, long necklace made of glass beads and ending in a beaded tassel, called a *sautoir,* became known as "flapper beads." Pendant earrings, frequently made of glass, often dangled below a woman's bobbed hair. Bangle bracelets, constructed of celluloid, Bakelite, chrome, or aluminum, were frequently worn several at a time, often on the upper arm left bare by a sleeveless evening dress. The 1922 discovery of King Tutankhamen's tomb initiated a craze for Egyptian-style jewelry, and the popularity of African American nightclub entertainer Josephine Baker sparked a rage for heavy African ivory bracelets. Of course, wealthy women still bought "real" jewelry, but fashion trends favored necklaces made of inexpensive glass, wood, and papier-mâché beads.

MEN'S FASHIONS

Just as women dieted to achieve the lean, boyish figure demanded by Jazz Age fashion, so too did men work to attain the ideal strong, slim body. One proponent of this new muscular male body was strongman Angelo Siciliano who, in 1922, won the title of "Most Perfectly Developed Man" and subsequently renamed himself Charles Atlas. (See "Food of the 1920s.") By the end of the 1920s, advertisements for his bodybuilding regimen appeared regularly in the back of men's true crime and adventure magazines.

While American women turned to Parisian designers for the latest fashions, American men looked to prestigious London designers on Bond Street and Saville Row. The most formal men's suit consisted of a black or midnight-blue worsted swallow-tailed coat ("tails"), trimmed with satin,

and a pair of matching trousers, trimmed down the sides with wide braid or satin ribbon. These were worn with a white, waist-length linen or piqué vest over a starched white dress shirt. Dress shirts had buttonholes on both sides of the front opening, but no buttons. Men kept their shirts closed by threading removable buttons, called studs, between each set of corresponding buttonholes. A stiff, detachable collar attached to the shirt with collar buttons, and cufflinks fastened the French-style cuffs. A white bow tie, black silk top hat, white gloves, patent leather oxford shoes, spats, a white silk handkerchief, and a white flower boutonnière completed the outfit. Such a formal outfit, or "full dress," as it was known, would have been appropriate for only the most important occasions, such as balls, large formal dinners, evening weddings, and opera performances. Not surprisingly, only wealthier gentlemen could afford such a suit.



Man modeling a walking suit, which was generally for the wealthy gentleman, 1925. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

A gentleman's semiformal suit, called a tuxedo, was made of black or dark blue worsted material. Unlike a full dress suit, the tuxedo jacket had no tails and the tuxedo pants were trimmed, if at all, in very narrow braid or ribbon. The tuxedo vest could be black or white, but, unlike the obligatory full-dress white tie, tuxedos ties were always black. Men usually completed their tuxedo outfit with all the same accessories as the full-dress suit, except that instead of top hats they would wear dark, dome-shaped hats called bowlers. Tuxedos were appropriate attire at the theater, small dinner parties, entertaining in the home, and dining in a restaurant.

A standard, conservative business suit in the 1920s consisted of a jacket, trousers, and a vest. It came in black and shades of gray, tan, brown, blue, and green. Instead of a bowtie, one would wear an ascot or a "regular" four-in-hand. In the decade's later years, the jackets became longer and roomier, with a less defined waist. Trousers had cuffs, front creases, and button or hook-and-eye flies throughout the 1920s (zippers were not widely used on trouser flies until the 1930s). Professional men wore business suits to work, but also to other daytime occasions, including theater matinees and church services.

During the early 1920s, most men's dress shirts had, instead of a collar, a narrow neckband with a buttonhole in both the front and back. Detachable collars, which came in a variety of styles, were designed to attach easily to the shirts. Men could choose a collar that was stiff, semi-stiff, or soft, with pointed, rounded, or wing-style flaps. Washable collars were made of fabric; others were made of celluloid and could be wiped clean with a damp cloth. By the mid-1920s, however, many men preferred shirts with attached collars, which were softer and more comfortable than rigid, detachable collars.

Men usually wore hats whenever they left the house. Certain hats, such as top hats and bowlers, were reserved for formal occasions. More casual hats included the popular fedora, which was usually made of soft felt and featured a decorative ribbon around the base of the crown and



Advertisement for Arrow Collars and Shirts, approximately 1920. Picture by J. C. Leyendecker. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

a distinctive crease that ran from front to back across the top. The fedora's brim usually curled up slightly, but young men often turned the front of the brim down. Another common men's hat was the peaked cap, which was a flat hat with a short front brim, often made of plaid, tweed, or herringbone woolen material, corduroy, or solid-colored poplin.

MEN'S COLLEGIATE STYLES

National celebrities exerted a profound influence on middle-class men's fashion. Sports stars such as golfer Bobby Jones and tennis player Bill Tilden became fashion trendsetters. Well-dressed young men might wear golfing knickers and a sweater or loose, white flannel trousers and V-necked sweater vests over a collared shirt, whether or not they actually played golf or tennis. Silent film star Rudolph Valentino introduced the image of the suave, sophisticated "sheik" to American men with the release of his 1921 movie *The Sheik*. Young men copied his look by shaving their beards and moustaches and parting their slicked-down hair in the middle or just off to one side. In 1927, after Charles Lindbergh completed his historic transatlantic flight, tens of thousands of men (and some women) bought leather aviation jackets and helmets to wear when riding in open automobiles. American men across imitated every aspect of Edward, Prince of Wales's extensive, impeccable wardrobe, from his stylish tweed plus-fours (baggy knickers worn with knee socks) to his colorful Fair Isle knitted sweaters.

Another British influence on young men's fashion emerged around 1925, when the students at Oxford University in England began to wear extremely loose, baggy trousers that extended all the way down to the tops of their shoes. Supposedly, students wore these "Oxford bags" to cover their knickers, which were considered improper classroom attire. These wide-leg trousers—sometimes measuring as much as 30 inches around the knees—caught on among the fashionable younger set in America. Other, less baggy flannel trousers also became popular on college campuses, and by the end of the decade the slim-fitting pants that had been fashionable in the early 1920s were decidedly passé.

Collegiate men usually wore sports jackets. Some featured a front pocket decorated with a badge or crest. Other jackets were designed in the Norfolk style, with a belt across the waist and box pleats down the sides. College freshmen were frequently required to wear a "dink" or beany—a small felt cap in the school colors—for the first few weeks of classes. The dinks made it easy for upperclassmen to identify the new freshmen and thus contribute to their "hazing" experience. As for outerwear, the bulky, knee-length raccoon overcoat made a strong fashion statement among college men who could afford it during the 1920s, as did the belted trench coat, modeled after British soldiers' apparel in World War I, and the formal knee-length Chesterfield coat, with its distinctive black velvet collar.

MEN'S SHOES, UNDERGARMENTS, AND ACCESSORIES

While formal and semiformal wear required shiny patent-leather shoes, men's casual footwear during the 1920s encompassed a range of styles. The oxford shoe largely replaced old-fashioned tall, lace-up boots. Sport oxfords were made with rubber soles and came mostly in the traditional colors of black, brown, tan, and white. Two-toned oxfords, made of white buckskin and black or brown leather, were also popular. Rubber galoshes with buckles or snaps protected these relatively flimsy shoes in rainy or snowy weather. Men's socks were made of cotton, silk, wool, or rayon. Tall, ribbed socks worn with knickers often featured colorful plaid, striped, or Argyle patterns. Because men's dress socks lacked elasticity, men had to wear adjustable hose garters around their calves to keep their socks from falling down.

During the 1920s, men's undergarments often consisted of the one-piece "union suit," which was a combination of undershirt and underpants. For cold weather, woolen union suits had long sleeves and long pants and featured a convenient "drop seat." For summer, loose one-piece cotton undergarments had short pants and sleeveless tops and buttoned up the front or at the tops of the shoulder straps. Separate undershirts and undershorts for men were also widely available.

Men's wallets were larger in the 1920s than they generally are today, primarily because American paper currency was larger. In 1929, American bills were reduced to their present size (6⅛ × 2⅝ inches), but before that, they measured $7^{7}/_{16} \times 3⅛$ inches. These larger wallets were usually folded into thirds and were customarily made of leather, pigskin, or sometimes ostrich skin. Most men carried a timepiece, either a pocket watch on a chain or a wristwatch—a style introduced in the 1920s that soon eclipsed the popularity of pocket watches. Despite National Prohibition, some men (and women) also carried pocket flasks—chrome-plated, monogrammed flasks were particularly trendy.

CHILDREN'S FASHIONS

Ready-to-wear clothing for children was quite popular during the 1920s. Infants, both boys and girls, often wore long dresses with matching bonnets. By the time they were toddlers, children tended to wear more gender-specific clothing. Little girls wore "bloomer dresses," which were short, loose dresses, often of checked or plaid material, coupled with matching panties that peeked out below the bottom of the skirt. In the early 1920s, girls up to about the age of 14 commonly wore loose, feminine dresses that were frequently embellished with lace, ruffles, or artificial flowers and tied with a sash. Also popular were long skirts topped with sailor-style middy blouses made of wool flannel, jean cloth, or serge. These long-sleeved blouses featured a shawl collar, contrasting necktie, and sometimes nautical insignia on the sleeves. Girls also wore thigh-length cardigan sweaters that buttoned up the front and, in some cases, belted around the middle. By the end of the 1920s, young girls had adopted many aspects of flapper fashions—long-waisted and short dresses, simple cloche hats, and bobbed hair. Matching dresses, either big-and-little sister dresses or mother-and-daughter dresses, also became trendy late in the 1920s.

Young boys usually wore shirts that buttoned to short matching pants. Often these two-piece outfits looked like sailor suits, complete with nautical necktie. Boys between five and ten years old frequently wore suits consisting of short pants, a belted jacket, and sometimes a matching vest. Dark stockings and lace-up ankle boots completed the outfit. Late in the 1920s, beltless jackets that more closely resembled adult fashions gradually replaced belted jackets. Young boys usually wore flat, peaked caps made of wool or wool blend fabric, just as their fathers and older brothers did.

Food of the 1920s

The 1920s saw the emergence of a more homogeneous American cuisine. Prior to World War I, no distinctive American cuisine existed, and diets varied widely according to people's ethnicity, class, income, and region. But during the 1920s, a more standardized diet developed, consisting largely of salads and light, simple meals that frequently included processed food products. The growing popularity of brand-name foods, the influence of scientific nutrition, and the mass marketing of new kitchen appliances, especially gas stoves and electric refrigerators, all contributed to the creation of a national cuisine. So, too, did the widespread use of cookbooks, the rise of mass-circulation women's magazines, and the introduction of radio cooking shows. The number of restaurants dramatically increased, and many immigrant families incorporated American cooking styles and eating habits into their traditional Old World cuisine. All of these national forces and trends resulted in more and more Americans sharing a popular food culture.

DINING IN THE HOME

American Homemakers

Americans continued to eat most of their meals at home during the 1920s. The decade witnessed a trend toward simpler meals that could be prepared comparatively quickly. Several factors accounted for this transformation. First, servants, once common in middle and upper-class homes, began to leave domestic service to take jobs as department store clerks, secretaries, typists, and telephone operators. Thus, middle-class wives who found themselves doing their own grocery shopping and cooking gravitated toward easy-to-prepare dishes. Second, more than three million married women had entered the workforce by the end of the 1920s, and these women had less time to prepare elaborate meals for their families. As a result, they relied on quick recipes and one-dish meals to feed their families.

Many homemakers relied on the dozens of packaged, commercially processed foods that became available during the 1920s. Many of these products, such as quick-cooking rolled oats or dry pancake mixes, were designed to make meal preparation faster and easier. Sales of canned goods and other prepared foods soared during the 1920s, and condensed soups, bottled condiments, and canned fruits and vegetables played an increasingly prominent role in the meals served.

New kitchen technologies and the introduction of electricity into many middle-class American homes also changed the way women prepared



Interior of a model modern kitchen, circa 1926. Frederick Apartments, Columbia, Missouri. Courtesy of Sabra Tull Meyer.

daily meals. Gas and, to a lesser degree, electric ranges replaced wood-and coal-burning stoves in many kitchens, and by 1930, approximately half of all American homes were equipped with gas stoves. During the early 1920s, most electric refrigerators were too expensive for average consumers. However, methods of mass production reduced the price of refrigerators significantly during the last half of the 1920s, and by 1929, more than 800,000 refrigerators were purchased annually.[1] With the advent of widespread electrification, electric pop-up toasters, pressure cookers, coffee percolators, waffle irons, and mixers also became common in middle-class kitchens. Despite the increased use of commercially prepared foods and new labor-saving electrical appliances, urban housewives still devoted an average of 19 hours per week to preparing meals and cleaning up after them during the 1920s, while rural housewives spent almost 24 hours per week on those same chores.

Giant Food Corporations and New Products

By 1920, food processing and manufacturing was one of the largest industries in the United States. Corporations including General Mills, Incorporated (formed in 1928), Standard Brands (1929), and General Foods Corporation (1929),

FOOD HIGHLIGHTS OF THE 1920s

1923 The executive chef at San Francisco's Palace Hotel reportedly invents "Green Goddess" salad dressing in tribute to actor George Arliss and his popular play of the same name. A bottled version by Seven Seas is popular through the 1970s.

1923 The USDA begins a program to grade and certify beef, lamb, pork, veal, and calf for American consumption.

1923 The Genesee Pure Food Company changes its name to Jell-O Company and in the same year markets D-Zerta, the first sugar-free gelatin dessert.

1926 Laura Scudder of Monterey Park, California, launches a food business and is credited with being the first to package potato chips in wax paper to preserve their freshness. She sells her food company in 1957 for $6 million, having rejected higher offers from buyers who couldn't guarantee that her employees would continue to have jobs.

1927 Experimenting with a fruit syrup recipe called Fruit Smack, Edwin Perkins converts it to a powder, packages it in envelopes, and names it Kool-Ade, later changing the spelling to Kool-Aid.

1927 To avoid the tedious chore of hand straining vegetables for her infant daughter, Sally, Dorothy Gerber has her husband do it at the family-owned Fremont Canning Company. By 1928, the Gerbers have developed a line of mass-produced strained baby foods ready for national distribution.

1928 In Minneapolis, Washburn Crosby Company merges with other regional mills to become General Mills.

spent millions of dollars researching and developing better methods of preserving and packaging food. Sugar and flour, once sold in bulk, now came packaged in bags, and milk, once marketed only in glass bottles, now also came in inexpensive cardboard cartons. As more efficient methods of manufacturing tin cans developed, canning became an increasingly economical way to preserve and package foods such as fruits, vegetables, ham, tuna, and even cheese. In 1924, Clarence Birdseye developed a process for flash-freezing fish, and five years later he sold his patents to the Postum Cereal Company (soon to be reorganized as the General Foods Corporation). In 1930, the company sold the first commercially packaged frozen fruits and vegetables under the brand name Birds Eye Frosted Foods, marking the advent of the frozen food industry.



Advertisement for Kellogg's corn flakes and for Camp Fire Girls, showing a Camp Fire Girl in her uniform feeding cereal to a small child, 1929. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

These processing and packaging innovations allowed corporations to market many mass-produced foods. Several new breakfast cereals appeared, including Post 40% Bran Flakes (1922), Wheaties (1924), and Kellogg's Rice Krispies (1928). In 1928, the J. L. Kraft & Brothers Company developed a processed cheese food called Velveeta, which came wrapped in a tinfoil package inside a wooden box and did not require refrigeration. Florida orange and grapefruit growers began selling canned pasteurized juice in 1929. Tomato juice, introduced in the mid-1920s, became a popular breakfast drink by 1928. Oscar Mayer & Company began marketing packaged sliced bacon in 1924, and George A. Hormel & Company sold the nation's first canned hams in 1926. Potato chips had been commercially manufactured and sold in bulk since the 1890s, but it wasn't until the development of the continuous fryer and the waxed paper bag in the 1920s that sales of potato chips soared. Other new foods included Wonder Bread (1921, but not sold sliced until 1930), Quick Quaker Oats (1921), Welch's Concord grape jelly (1923), Land O' Lakes butter (1924), Green Giant canned peas (1925), and Peter Pan peanut butter (1928).

Meals

Technological advancements provided a greater abundance and a wider assortment of foods during the decade. Gasoline-powered tractors and improved methods of scientific farming produced larger crop yields. Refrigerated railcars and over-the-road trucks distributed fresh meats, fruits, vegetables, dairy products, and grains across the nation. As a result, homemakers were able to purchase oranges, grapefruits, bananas, lettuce, and broccoli (first commercially grown in the United States in 1923) even during the winter months. Overall, food prices dropped significantly during the 1920s, which allowed even families with modest incomes to eat a wide variety of foods.

During the 1920s, middle-class Americans began to eat relatively light, healthful meals. Earlier generations had eaten breakfasts consisting of large amounts of bread, potatoes, and

meats such as steak, chops, sausage, and ham. But during the 1920s, home economists and nutritionists advised homemakers to serve their families breakfasts of citrus juice, dry cereal, eggs, and toast. Common lunches consisted of a sandwich, soup, or salad. Dinners, which changed the least of the three daily meals, typically included a simply prepared meat, potatoes, one or two vegetable side dishes, and dessert. Overall, Americans became more health conscious and as a result consumed smaller amounts of red meats, fats, and starches than they had during previous decades.

Popular dishes during the 1920s included broiled steaks and chops, meatloaf, Swiss steak, and spaghetti and meatballs. One-dish meals and casseroles streamlined food preparation. Several well-known salads were invented during the decade, including the Cobb salad, developed in 1926 by Robert Cobb at his Brown Derby Restaurant in Los Angeles, and the Green Goddess salad, created by Chef Philip Roemer in 1923 at the Grand Palace Hotel Restaurant in San Francisco. The most famous green salad of the decade was the Caesar salad, created by Caesar Cardini, an Italian chef who ran a restaurant in Tijuana, Mexico. In 1924, Cardini concocted his special salad for a group of visiting Hollywood celebrities, and soon the Caesar salad emerged as a favorite dish in the States. Since gas and electric ovens made baking easier, cakes became a common dessert during the 1920s, especially pineapple upside-down cake, devil's food cake, and chiffon cake (invented in 1927). Other dessert favorites included molded Jell-O salads, fruit salads, pineapple fluff, and chocolate mousse.

Cookbooks and Radio Cooking Shows

Cookbooks and promotional recipe booklets helped popularize modern ways of cooking and baking. Cookbooks, many of which were written by famous culinary experts such as Alice Bradley and Ida Bailey Allen, were exceedingly popular with homemakers. One of the standard cookbooks of the 1920s was *The Boston Cooking-School Cook Book,* by Fannie Merritt Farmer, which was first published in 1896. With the aid of cookbooks and recipes clipped from magazines and newspapers, more adventuresome homemakers dabbled in foreign cooking. Many American cookbooks contained a few Italian and Mexican recipes, but the number of cookbooks devoted exclusively to foreign cuisine, such as *Mexican Cookery for American Homes* (1923), also increased significantly after World War I. Most cookbooks published during the 1920s were written for housewives, but a few targeted other family members, such as *Young People's Cook Book* (1925) or *The Stag Cookbook, Written for Men, by Men* (1922), which included recipes for preparing fresh fish and wild game.

During the 1920s, most major food corporations distributed booklets filled with recipes that listed their brand-name products as necessary ingredients. Kitchen appliance manufacturers and women's magazines also published promotional cookbooks. *Good Housekeeping,* the women's periodical with the largest circulation during the decade, published *Good Housekeeping's Book of Menus, Recipes and Household Discoveries* (1924). The magazine also awarded its "Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval," introduced in 1910, to foods that the Good Housekeeping Institute had tested and approved, and this endorsement served to promote the products of many of the magazine's advertisers.

Homemakers also listened to radio cooking shows for advice about meal planning and cooking. In 1921, the advertising department of the Washburn-Crosby Company created a fictional homemaker spokesperson named Betty Crocker to assist in the promotion of its Gold Medal flour. Three years later, the company began sponsoring the nation's first radio cooking show, *The Betty Crocker School of the Air,* which was later broadcast on the NBC network. Another pioneering radio homemaker program was *Aunt Sammy,* first broadcast in 1926. Sponsored by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the program could be heard on 50 stations across the nation and led to the publication of a cookbook titled *Aunt Sammy's Radio Recipes* (1927). Cookbook author Ida Bailey Allen, known as "the nation's homemaker," provided cooking lessons and recipes on *The National Radio Home-Makers' Club* (CBS, 1928–1935).

Nutrition and Diet

New ideas about food science and nutrition also helped to transform American cooking and eating habits. A series of breakthroughs in food science in the 1910s and 1920s, including the discovery of vitamins A, B1, B2, C, D, and E made Americans more aware of the importance of proper nutrition. Fruits and vegetables, once considered unnecessary for a well-balanced diet, came to be understood as crucial to maintaining good health. Milk, once viewed as only a children's drink, became popular among adults. Many mothers attempted to feed their children a nutritionally balanced diet to ward off sickness and encourage healthy development. In 1928, the Fremont Canning Company introduced Gerber Baby Food, a line of commercially manufactured strained vegetables for infants, and soon launched a national advertising campaign, featuring the now-familiar Gerber baby, to promote its products.

By 1920, scientists and physicians clearly understood calories and the relationship between obesity and diseases such as diabetes. Many health-conscious Americans began counting calories and dieting, or "reducing." Dieting manuals, along with commercial diet programs, reducing creams, and other weight-loss products, flooded the market. The women's magazines and daily newspapers ran feature articles, advice columns, and weekly menu plans providing readers with hints about how to eat healthfully, count calories, and shed unwanted pounds.

Dieting for beauty's sake also became common among women. By the early 1920s, the curvaceous, hourglass figure of the Gibson Girl had been supplanted by the rail-thin, waistless figure of the flapper. Women dieted in order to conform to the new slimmer ideals of beauty as depicted in advertising and Hollywood motion pictures. New clothing styles also fueled the dieting craze. Many of the fashionable dresses of the 1920s sported hemlines that revealed much of the legs and sleeveless bodices that exposed the arms. (See "Fashion of the 1920s.")

Dozens of doctors and dieting gurus published weight loss books and articles. The most famous proponent of scientific dieting was Dr. Lulu Hunt Peters, a Los Angeles physician, whose *Diet and Health, With Key to the Calories* (1918) remained a national best seller throughout the 1920s. Peters advocated a weight-reduction program that combined calorie counting with the practice of slowly chewing everything—even milk and soup. Also popular was the "Hollywood Eighteen Day Diet," a restrictive, 585-calorie program that recommended eating only "grapefruit, oranges, Melba Toast, green vegetables and hard-boiled eggs."[2] Many medical doctors cautioned that many of these popular diet fads were potentially dangerous, but few heeded their warnings.

GROCERY SHOPPING AND CHAIN GROCERY STORES

Chain grocery stores sparked the beginning of a food merchandising revolution during the 1920s. Chain stores purchased in volume from wholesalers and, as a result, could offer cheaper prices and a wider selection than most independent markets. The nation's leading grocery store chain during the 1920s was the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company, better known as A&P, founded in 1859. By 1929, the A&P was operating more than 15,400 stores across the nation, with combined total sales of more than $1 billion. Other grocery store chains, such as American, Kroger, National, and Safeway, also prospered, and by 1928, some 860 rival chains crowded the highly competitive food retailing business. In 1926, small grocers formed the Independent Grocers Alliance (IGA), a national trade association that made it possible for independent grocery stores to obtain the same wholesale discounts as the large chains and adopt similar merchandising strategies.

Prior to World War I, most food items were located on shelves behind the counter, and store clerks would gather, bag, and often deliver groceries for customers. But in 1916, Clarence Saunders introduced a new self-service shopping format at his Piggly Wiggly grocery store in Memphis, Tennessee. Piggly Wiggly shoppers would select items from the rows of open shelves, place them in baskets, and carry them to the front of the store, where a clerk would ring up their total. By 1920, 515 Piggly Wiggly stores were operating in cities throughout the South and Midwest. The chain



The interior of a neat and tidy Washington, D.C., grocery store, circa 1920. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

grew to more than 2,600 stores by 1929. Self-service grocery stores employed fewer clerks, so savings could be passed on to shoppers in the form of lower prices. Self-service stores also allowed shoppers to handle and inspect the products before purchasing them. During the 1920s, most of the nation's grocery stores gradually converted to the self-service format.

DINING OUT

The Growth of Restaurants

During the 1920s, Americans dined out in restaurants and other eating establishments more often than earlier generations did, and the total number of restaurants in the United States tripled between 1919 and 1929.[3] The increasing number of commuters and working women contributed to the popularity of various kinds of eating establishments.

National Prohibition also transformed the American restaurant industry. After 1920, when it became illegal to serve alcohol, many of the nation's first-class restaurants, which had profited from the sale of expensive wines and spirits, went out of business. Prohibition also eliminated saloons as a source of inexpensive lunches for factory workers. Prior to 1920, most working-class saloons had offered "free lunches"—light meals of sausages, hard-boiled eggs, crackers, and cheese—with the purchase of a five-cent glass of beer. These saloons shut their doors in compliance with the Eighteenth Amendment.

Quick-Service Restaurants

During the 1920s, the growing numbers of workers demanded fast, convenient lunches, and thus a whole range of quick-service restaurants, including automats, cafés, lunchrooms, diners,

cafeterias, and sandwich shops, sprang up. Automats, which had been operating in the United States since 1902, featured rows of coin-operated vending machines that offered an assortment of both hot and cold prepared foods. For as little as a nickel, a patron could purchase a ham sandwich, a bowl of soup, a dish of ice cream, or a slice of pie.

Lunchrooms, which were usually located on the ground floor of downtown urban office buildings, sported U-shaped counters at which customers could eat cheap meals. Although most lunchrooms remained independently owned, chain lunchrooms made dramatic inroads during the 1910s and 1920s. By 1920, lunchroom chains such as Thompson's Lunchrooms and Baltimore Dairy Lunch were operating more than 100 outlets.

Diners remained popular among working-class Americans. Diners typically occupied free-standing, stainless steel structures that contained a grill, counter, stools, booths, and rest rooms. Diners usually remained open 24 hours a day, although they catered principally to a breakfast and lunch crowd. By 1932, an estimated 4,000 diners were operating across the United States.

Cafeterias allowed customers to assemble their own meals from a wide selection of inexpensive entrees, side dishes, and desserts kept warm on steam tables. This self-service system virtually eliminated the need for a wait staff. Several major cafeteria chains were launched during the 1920s, including Bishop's Cafeteria, Laughner's Cafeteria, Morrison's Cafeteria, and S&W Cafeteria. In 1929, New York City boasted 786 cafeterias, but the greatest concentrations of chain cafeterias were found in the Midwest and South, where regional cuisine, such as fried chicken and biscuits and gravy in the South, dominated the menu.

Tearooms

Affordably priced, mid-range restaurants also grew during the 1920s. One of the most popular formats was the tearoom, many of which were located in urban downtown districts. Most tearooms were owned and operated by women, and they generally catered to a predominantly middle-class female clientele. Tearooms served simple, moderately priced lunches and afternoon tea in warm, charming surroundings. Tearooms hoping to attract male customers sometimes offered hearty fare such as chopped beefsteak or tongue sandwiches. One of the most famous of this style of restaurant was the Russian Tea Room in New York City, opened in 1926 by exiled members of the Russian Imperial Ballet who had fled the Bolshevik Revolution. Although thousands of tearooms continued to operate throughout the 1920s, they declined in popularity as restaurants that offered faster service and lower prices attracted more customers.

Ethnic Restaurants

Partially as a result of National Prohibition, Italian cuisine became popular with Americans during the 1920s. An estimated one-quarter of all the immigrants who entered the United States between 1890 and 1914 were from Italy, and some of them opened pizzerias and ristorantes in the Italian neighborhoods of major American cities. Chefs often adapted traditional southern Italian cuisine to suit American tastes by adding meatballs to spaghetti dishes and expanding their menus to include such traditional fare as steaks and chops. During Prohibition, many Italian entrepreneurs continued illicitly to serve wine, which was central to Italian food culture. Americans who patronized these restaurants for their liquor often developed a fondness for spaghetti and meatballs, fettuccini Alfredo, and other Italian dishes.

Chinese food was another popular ethnic cuisine in the 1920s, and Chinese cooks altered traditional Cantonese, Hunan, and Mandarin cuisine to make them more appealing to American diners. As a result, the menus of many Chinese restaurants contained dishes such as chop suey, chow mein, and stir-fried rice, all of which originated in the United States. Other Americanized dishes featured such non-traditional ingredients as batter-fried meats and pineapple chunks. Other ethnic restaurants that flourished during the 1920s included German beer gardens, Swedish smorgasbords, and Jewish delicatessens. In California and the Southwest, Mexican and Tex-Mex cuisine was popular fare. French cooking declined in popularity during Prohibition because it was difficult to obtain the fine wines often required to prepare and accompany authentic Parisian cuisine.

Roadside Restaurants and Food Stands

During the 1920s, a bustling roadside restaurant industry emerged in the United States. Prior to World War I, when automobiles were less common, travelers had few places to purchase a meal along the road. But as the number of automobiles increased, restaurants catering to motorists sprang up across the country. These restaurants often used flashing neon signs (introduced in 1923), gaudy billboards, and distinctive architecture to attract passing motorists. Roadside restaurants and stands offered fare ranging from quick-service hamburgers, hot dogs, and soft drinks to sit-down meals of steaks, potatoes, and salads. They frequently operated near public beaches, amusement parks, and other local attractions. For example, Howard Johnson opened a handful of ice cream stands near the crowded Boston seashore during the mid-1920s, and he later parlayed these stands into a nationally known franchise of restaurants and hotels. In 1922, Roy W. Allen and Frank Wright opened three walk-up root beer stands in Sacramento, California, under the name of A&W (which combined the first letter of the owners' surnames). Two years later, after acquiring Wright's share of the business, Allen began to sell franchises and built A&W into one of the nation's first chains of franchise roadside restaurants, with 171 outlets across the nation by 1933.

One innovation of the 1920s roadside restaurant industry was curbside service. In 1921, J. G. Kirby and Dr. Reuben W. Jackson opened what is widely considered the nation's first drive-in sandwich restaurant, called the Pig Stand, along a busy highway on the outskirts of Dallas, Texas. A staff of "tray boys" delivered barbecued pork sandwiches and Coca-Colas to customers waiting curbside in their automobiles. By 1930, the Pig Stand Company, Incorporated was operating some 60 franchise roadside eateries across California and the Southwest. Other roadside restaurants soon adopted the drive-in service format.

White Castle and the Rise of Fast-Food Hamburger Chains

In 1921, Walter Anderson and Edgar Waldo "Billy" Ingram opened a hamburger restaurant in Wichita, Kansas, under the name of White Castle. Hamburgers had a reputation of being made from low-grade or spoiled meat scraps, so Anderson and Ingram stressed that their hamburgers were made from specially selected cuts of ground chuck delivered fresh to their restaurants twice daily. They grilled the burgers directly in front of customers, so they could see the sanitary conditions under which their food was being prepared. The first White Castle restaurant served hamburger sandwiches, smothered with cooked onions, for a nickel apiece.

The White Castle System of Eating Houses, as the chain was called, expanded rapidly due in part to its innovative marketing strategies. Originally, the chain catered to a largely working-class clientele, but during the last half of the 1920s it advertised its sandwiches as a convenient carryout food and by urged customers to "Buy 'em by the sack." By 1931, White Castle was operating 115 restaurants across the Midwest and East Coast, all of which featured the same floor plan and distinctive medieval architecture. A host of imitator hamburger chain restaurants sprang up around the nation, including White Tower (1926), White Tavern Shoppes (1929), Toddle House (1929), and Krystal (1932), all of which replicated the original concepts of mass-produced food and standardized service developed by White Castle. By the end of the 1920s, the hamburger had surpassed the hot dog as Americans' favorite fast food.

CANDY BARS AND ICE CREAM

During the 1920s, Americans ate more ice cream and candy bars than previous generations did, in part because technological advancements made them more widely available but also, perhaps, to compensate for the decline in alcohol consumption during Prohibition. Other trends also boosted the popularity of sweets. Chocolate candy bars, long considered primarily a woman's delicacy, did not become widely popular until around World War I. Beginning in 1917, the Hershey Chocolate Company and other American candy manufacturers supplied the U.S. government with chocolate for distribution to American soldiers. After the war, returning veterans helped



A 1929 photo of the first White Castle restaurant, Wichita, Kansas. Copyright © White Castle System, Inc. All Rights Reserved. Reprinted with permission.

spark a boom in chocolate and candy bar sales in the United States.

Technological innovations and rising consumption allowed candy manufacturers to expand and introduce new products. In 1921, the Hershey Chocolate Company manufactured more than eight million pounds of chocolate, with total sales of more than $20 million. By the end of the decade, its yearly sales topped $41 million. The other giant chocolate manufacturer of the 1920s was Mars Candies, founded in 1922 by a former candy wholesaler named Frank Mars. In 1923, Mars introduced his first candy bar, the Milky Way, which racked up sales of almost $800,000 in its first year. By 1929, Mars's Chicago plant was churning out 20 million candy bars a year. In 1920, the Curtiss Company introduced the Baby Ruth, named not for the New York Yankees slugger, as is often assumed, but for President Grover Cleveland's daughter Ruth. By 1925, the Baby Ruth was one of the nation's best-selling candy bars. The Curtiss Company's second candy bar, Butterfinger, first marketed in 1926, also proved to be a hit.

An estimated 30,000 different candy bars, most of them locally produced, were available during the 1920s.[4] Most were made of chocolate with centers of caramel, marshmallow, peanuts, crisped rice, or other ingredients. Other candy bars attempted to cash in on the popularity of national celebrities, fads, or trendy expressions, including candy bars called Bambino and Big Champ (both named for Babe Ruth), the Big Hearted "Al" bar (named for New York Governor Alfred E. Smith, the 1928 Democratic presidential candidate), the Pierce Arrow (named for the luxury automobile), and, after 1927, the Lindy bar and several other candy bars named for aviator Charles Lindbergh. A number of candy bars introduced during the 1920s remain popular today, including Oh Henry! (1920), the Charleston Chew! (1922), Mounds (1922), Reese's Peanut Butter Cup (1923), Bit-O-Honey (1924), and Mr. Goodbar (1925). Candy bars produced during the 1920s usually weighed around 1.25 ounces and sold for a nickel.

Other sweet treats were also introduced during the 1920s. Although Frank H. Fleer, owner of the Fleer Chewing Gum Company, had developed a bubble gum called Blibber Blubber Bubble Gum as early as 1906, it never reached the market. In 1928, an accountant at Fleer's company, Walter E. Diemer, accidentally invented a pink-colored gum that was so elastic that one could actually blow bubbles with it. Within months, the Fleer Company began selling the gum under the name of Dubble Bubble, and it became the nation's first commercially marketed bubble gum. Among other new candies introduced during the decade were Switzer's cherry licorice (1920), Jujyfruits (1920), Chuckles (1921), Dum Dum suckers (1924), Goobers (1925), Sugar Daddy (1925), Milk Duds (1926), Slo Poke suckers (1926), Mike & Ike (1928), Y & S Twizzlers licorice (1928), and Hot Tamales (1928).

With technological advancements and the widespread use of refrigeration, ice cream and other frozen treats became popular during the 1920s. Ice cream cones, first introduced at the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904, enjoyed unprecedented sales during the 1920s, but ice cream also evolved into several new frozen novelty treats. In 1920, Harry Burt, a Youngstown, Ohio ice cream parlor operator, developed a chocolate-coated ice

cream bar on a wooden stick that he called the Good Humor Bar. He soon began selling them in nearby neighborhoods using a fleet of trucks, each driven by a Good Humor Man and mounted with bells to alert customers of its approach. In 1921, a Des Moines, Iowa, ice cream plant superintendent named Russell Stover, in partnership with Christian Nelson, introduced the Eskimo Pie, which sold one million units during its first year on the market. In 1922, William Isaly created the Klondike Bar. In 1924, Frank Epperson began selling a frozen lemonade bar on a stick to visitors at an Oakland, California amusement park. Originally, he called his frozen treat Epsicles but soon changed the name to Popsicles, which quickly became a nationally popular brand name product.

BEVERAGES

Alcohol during National Prohibition

The onset of National Prohibition in 1920 made beer, wine, and spirits more difficult to obtain, but tens of millions of Americans continued to drink alcohol in defiance of the liquor laws. The cost of alcohol soared during Prohibition, but anyone with enough money could usually purchase whatever liquor he or she desired. One could buy a pint of whiskey from a neighborhood bootlegger or persuade a doctor to write a prescription for medicinal alcohol, which could be filled at a local drugstore. During the 1920s, *The New Yorker* published current bootleggers' prices and new cocktail recipes. Speakeasies sprang up across the nation and sold drinks by the glass. Some resourceful Americans, especially those of German and Italian ancestry, brewed their own beer, distilled their own spirits, or made their own wines in their cellars and garages. Prohibition drove many Americans to switch from drinking beer, which was difficult to purchase, to drinking more potent alcoholic beverages. In 1919, beer had accounted for 55 percent of all sales of alcoholic beverages in the United States, with spirits accounting for only 37 percent. By 1929, however, liquor and spirits accounted for 75 percent of the overall alcohol consumption in the nation, compared to only 15 percent for beer.[5] Cocktails became especially popular during the 1920s, as drinkers used soft drinks and sweet fruit juices to camouflage the foul taste of inferior whiskey or gin. Hard-core drunks with little money sometimes resorted to drinking cheap, alcohol-based household products such as aftershave lotion, hair tonic, and cough syrup. Thousands of unfortunate drinkers purchased adulterated booze that blinded, crippled, and occasionally even killed some, most of whom were poor or working-class men.

Coffee, Tea, and Soft Drinks

Coffee, tea, and soft drinks remained popular. The introduction of instant coffee (in 1910) and the marketing of electric coffee percolators for home use also contributed to an increase in coffee sales. In 1927 the Postum Cereal Company introduced Sanka (a contraction of *sans caffeine,* or "without caffeine"). The popularity of tearooms and tea parties, hosted by women's clubs and organizations, helped to boost tea sales.

For many, soft drinks became the non-alcoholic beverage of choice during the 1920s as a result of both National Prohibition and aggressive advertising campaigns and expanding merchandising venues. Between 1920 and 1929, annual sales of soft drinks jumped from 175 million cases of soda to almost 273 million cases, or an average of 53 bottles per person.[6] The Coca-Cola Company, one of the pioneers of modern advertising and the nation's leading soft-drink manufacturer, continued its extensive million-dollar promotional campaigns. The firm created a series of advertisements with memorable slogans, including "The Pause That Refreshes," which first appeared in a 1929 ad in *The Saturday Evening Post.*

Expanding merchandising outlets also helped to boost soft drink sales. During the 1920s, most soft drinks came in standard six-or seven-ounce bottles, and usually sold for a nickel. By around 1927, bottled soda accounted for the majority of soft drink sales. Other retail merchandising innovations also fueled sales. In 1924, the Coca-Cola Company began selling its product in six-bottle cartons, which gradually caught on throughout the soft drink industry. The Sodamat, one of the earliest coin-operated soft drink vending machines, was introduced in 1925.

The Coca-Cola Company and the Pepsi-Cola Corporation dominated the national soft drink market during the 1920s, but dozens of smaller, regionally produced colas also competed in the expanding soda market, often under highly derivative names. Among them were Celery Cola, Vera-Cola, Afri-Kola, Koca-Nola, and Chero-Cola. Grape-flavored sodas, such as Nu-Grape, Bluebird, and Brandywine, and orange drinks such as Orange Crush, Howdy, and Orange Kist were popular. Many of these soft drink manufacturers went out of business or merged with larger companies before World War II, but several of the brands that have remained popular since the 1920s are Dr. Pepper, A&W Root Beer, and Moxie (which actually outsold Coca-Cola in 1920). Ginger ale was another favorite soft drink. Two of the best-selling ginger ales were Cliquot Club Dry Ginger Ale and Canada Dry Pale Dry Ginger Ale, which billed itself as "the Champagne of Ginger Ale" and sold for 35 cents a bottle—seven times what the average soft drink cost.

Several other soft drinks also appeared on the market during the 1920s. In 1928, the Howdy Company introduced 7-Up, originally called Bib-Label Lithiated Lemon-Lime Soda because it contained lithium, a chemical widely prescribed to treat depression. Fizzier than other soft drinks, 7-Up was advertised as a cure for upset stomach, and it soon became the firm's best-selling product. Yoo-Hoo also appeared on the market during the 1920s, when Natale Olivieri, an Italian immigrant, perfected a process that enabled him to bottle a chocolate drink that would not spoil. In 1927, Edwin Perkins, who ran a mail-order fruit drink syrup business, invented Kool-Aid. Originally, Perkins shipped his syrups in glass bottles through the mail, but the bottles often broke or leaked. Inspired by Jell-O gelatin packaging, Perkins created a powdered form of his fruit drink syrups and began marketing a line of six flavors (cherry, grape, orange, raspberry, lemon-lime, and strawberry) that cost 10 cents per one-ounce package, under the new name of Kool-Ade (soon spelled Kool-Aid).

Music of the 1920s

The 1920s marked a watershed era in the development of American popular music, both in the ways that music was disseminated and in the ways that music actually sounded. During the 1920s, venues such as commercial radio, phonograph records, Broadway musicals, and sound motion pictures played an increasingly significant role in delivering the latest popular songs to far-flung audiences. The decade also witnessed the emergence of whole new genres of indigenous American music, most notably jazz. Jazz ranked as the nation's most popular music during the 1920s and reflected the expanding African American influence on mainstream culture. During the 1920s, record companies also began to record blues and hillbilly music in an effort to develop new ethnic and regional consumer markets.

AMERICAN POPULAR MUSIC

Tin Pan Alley

Since the 1890s, New York City's Tin Pan Alley had reigned as the undisputed capital of the American popular music industry, and it did so until its demise during the 1950s. By the 1920s, however, "Tin Pan Alley" had emerged as a generic term for the popular songwriting and music publishing industry, as well as a synonym for the commercial music it produced.

Songwriting and music publishing firms produced more new songs during the 1920s than during any other decade in the history of Tin Pan Alley. Many of these songs featured the syncopated rhythms commonly found in jazz and consisted of a series of stanzas, each of which was followed by a chorus, usually of 32 bars with four, eight-bar phrases. Many of these popular songs exemplified the spirit of reckless abandon and frivolity that is commonly associated with the 1920s, such as "Ain't We Got Fun" (1921) and "Yes! We Have No Bananas" (1923). Tin Pan Alley songwriting and music publishing firms were also quick to cash in on—and helped to fuel—the latest musical crazes. Dozens of popular songs, for example, reflected the vogue for jazz and blues, such as "Jazz Me Blues" (1921) and "Wabash Blues" (1921). Other numbers, such as "Charleston" (1923), "The Varsity Drag" (1927), and "Doin' the Raccoon" (1928), emerged as national hits largely because of their association with a particular dance.

FORMS OF MUSIC DISTRIBUTION

Sheet Music

Throughout the 1920s, published sheet music represented one of the most important commercial outlets for disseminating American music, and therefore one of Tin Pan Alley's primary sources

of revenue. Typically, sheet music consisted of four or five pages of musical notation scored for voice and piano (and sometimes even ukulele) and wrapped in attractive covers. Sheet music was sold at music stores, 5- and-10-cent chain stores, and through mail-order catalogs, usually for about 25 or 30 cents. However, as radio and phonograph ownership became more widespread, sheet music sales declined, and phonograph recordings routinely began to outsell sheet music.

Phonograph Records

Although phonograph recordings had existed since the 1890s, in the 1920s record sales grew large enough to attract the attention of Tin Pan Alley. By 1920, Victor, Columbia, Edison, and some 200 other independent companies were manufacturing phonographs and phonograph records and cylinders. Most of these recordings were issued on 12-inch, 78 rpm (revolutions per minute) discs that contained one three-minute selection on each side and generally sold for between 35 and 75 cents. In 1922, annual record sales reached 110 million discs (more than four times the number sold in 1914).[1] Beginning in 1920, the entertainment trade daily *Variety* published a Top Ten chart to track the sales of phonograph records. A smash hit record might sell two million or more copies, and by the mid-1920s, the sale of phonograph records had replaced the sale of sheet music as the gauge used to measure the commercial success of a song.

Commercial Radio

Beginning in 1920, popular music broadcasts formed the core of radio programming, and stations generally broadcast live studio performances, as opposed to phonograph records. By 1924, many stations were also airing so-called "remote" broadcasts of musical programs from locations such as opera houses, concert halls, and hotel ballrooms. During the highly experimental era of the early 1920s, radio stations broadcast a wide variety of musical entertainers, and as late as the mid-1920s, radio listeners might hear a pianist, an opera tenor, a classical violinist, an old-time string band, a glee club, a Hawaiian guitarist, and a jazz dance band all on the same day on one station.

With the formation of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) in 1926 and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in 1927, the range of popular music heard over the nation's airwaves became narrower and more standardized. Network radio typically featured corporate-sponsored musical programs, such as *The Palmolive Hour, The Goodrich Silvertown Orchestra,* and *The Voice of Firestone,* which originated in the network's main studios in New York City. As affiliated stations across the country began carrying the network's national programs, these network shows crowded out local programming and reduced the radio opportunities of amateur singers and musicians. By 1930, an estimated 51 million listeners tuned in nightly to listen to radio programs, and when they heard a song they liked, they often purchased the phonograph recording, the sheet music, or both.

Radio transformed both home entertainment and how Americans listened to music. Middle-class homemakers listened to the radio during the day while performing household chores, and entire families gathered around their radio sets for an evening of entertainment. Tin Pan Alley quickly seized upon the enormous potential of radio to catapult its latest songs into hits. As early as 1923, music-publishing firms employed "song-pluggers"—professional musicians who would perform a new song on the radio over and over again, hoping that the listening audience would like it enough to buy it. Commercial radio also sparked national crazes for certain songs and sometimes helped to make musicians into overnight celebrities. In 1923, for example, Wendell Hall, a staff musician on Chicago's KYW, sold two million copies of his record "It Ain't Gonna Rain No Mo'" by relentlessly bombarding his radio audience with the song.

Broadway Musicals and Revues

During the 1920s, Broadway theater eclipsed the vaudeville stage as the most important live performance venue for showcasing popular songs. As many as 50 musical shows opened each season on Broadway during the decade, and many of

these shows helped to popularize Tin Pan Alley songs. Among the most commercially successful musicals and musical comedies were *No, No, Nannette* (1925), *A Connecticut Yankee* (1927), *Show Boat* (1927), and *Good News* (1927), all of which featured catchy songs that became major hits. A series of all-black musicals and revues also produced hit songs. Among the best known of these shows were Eubie Blake and Noble Sissle's *Shuffle Along* (1921), which included "I'm Just Wild About Harry," and James P. Johnson and Cecil Mack's *Runnin' Wild* (1923), which introduced the song "Charleston" and the popular dance by that name. Musical revues (shows consisting of a series of unrelated song-and-dance numbers) were also highly celebrated, particularly the annual *Ziegfeld Follies, George White Scandals,* and Earl Carroll's *Vanities*. These revues introduced dozens of hit songs, such as "My Man" (1921), "Three O'Clock in the Morning" (1921), and "My Blue Heaven" (1927). African American revues also spawned hit songs, such as Jimmy McHugh and Dorothy Fields's *Blackbirds of 1928,* which popularized "I Can't Give You Anything But Love," and Andy Razaf and Fats Waller's *Hot Chocolates* (1929), which introduced "Ain't Misbehavin'."

Hollywood Motion Pictures

Beginning in the mid-1920s, Tin Pan Alley increasingly produced songs and music for motion pictures, including theme songs written expressly for a particular movie. One of the earliest successful movie theme songs was "Charmaine," scored for theater orchestras to accompany the Fox Film Corporation's silent feature *What Price Glory?* (1926). Although songwriters seldom composed music for the silent cinema, the overwhelming success of the first feature-length "talkie," Warner Brothers' *The Jazz Singer* (1927), demonstrated that the movies could provide an important venue for popularizing songs. By 1929, with motion pictures attracting audiences of nearly 100 million moviegoers a week, Hollywood studios began producing lavish, big-budget musicals, such as Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's *The Broadway Melody* (1929), which was the first musical to win the Academy Award for Best Picture.

POPULAR BANDS AND MUSICIANS

Dance Bands

Given the immense popularity of dancing during the 1920s, it is not surprising that dance bands flourished. Paul Whiteman and His Orchestra reigned as the most popular dance band of the 1920s, and Whiteman became known as "the King of Jazz." His first recording, "Whispering" (1920), which sold more than two million copies, made him a national celebrity. Over the next nine years, his orchestra had 28 number one hits and another 108 top 10 recordings, a record unmatched during the Jazz Age. Whiteman franchised his dance music; by 1930, he was operating 11 official Paul Whiteman bands in New York City and some 57 others across the nation. Other popular dance bands of the 1920s included Isham Jones and His Orchestra, Fred Waring and the Pennsylvanians, and Guy Lombardo and His Royal Canadians, as well as "all-girl" dance orchestras such as Babe Egan's Hollywood Red Heads. Most of these ensembles performed as the regular house bands at nationally renowned hotels and ballrooms in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and other major cities. These bands performed a wide range of music, including Tin Pan Alley songs, jazz instrumentals, symphonic compositions, and occasionally waltzes and tangos. They often performed over the radio via "remote" broadcasts, and recorded their most popular songs for major record companies. By 1929, according to *Variety,* more than 700 dance bands were touring throughout the nation, performing in hotels, cafés, vaudeville theaters, and dance halls.

Singing Stars

A number of individual singers also emerged as national celebrities. Most of them had begun on the vaudeville circuit, and then branched into radio, records, and film. The nation's greatest pop star of the 1920s was Al Jolson, a veteran vaudeville singer, dancer, and all-around showman who billed himself as "the World's Greatest Entertainer." Jolson first won national acclaim in 1911 in the Broadway revue *La Belle Paree,* with his dramatic, booming singing style and extraordinary stage presence. During the 1920s,

he appeared in a string of musical revues such as *Bombo* (1921) and *Big Boy* (1925), in which he often portrayed a blundering blackface character named Gus. Jolson recorded a dozen number one hits during the decade, including "Swanee" (1920), "Toot, Toot, Tootsie (Goo'bye)" (1922), "Sonny Boy" (1928), and "My Mammy" (1928). He became one of Hollywood's biggest box office attractions as a result of his starring roles in Warner Brothers' pioneering "talkies," *The Jazz Singer* (1927) and *The Singing Fool* (1929).

Eddie Cantor, whose large, expressive eyes earned him the nickname "Banjo Eyes," also ranked among the most popular male singers of the 1920s. Cantor emerged as a major pop idol after starring in a string of producer Florenz Ziegfeld's celebrated *Ziegfeld Follies* (1917–1919, 1923, and 1927) and the Broadway musical comedies *Kid Boots* (1923) and *Whoopee* (1928), in which he introduced "Makin' Whoopee" (1928), a comical song about the shortcomings of marriage. Cantor went on to star in the film versions of *Kid Boots* (1926) and *Whoopee* (1930) and became one of the leading stars of stage and screen during the late 1920s.

One of the most celebrated female entertainers of the decade was Sophie Tucker, a vaudeville and Broadway singer known for her racy, sexually suggestive songs and perhaps best remembered for her signature song, "Some of These Days" (1927). Her "I'm the Last of the Red Hot Mamas" (1929), which she introduced in her talking motion picture debut, Warner Brothers' *Honky Tonk* (1929), won her the stage billing, "the Last of the Red Hot Mamas."

Comedian and singer Fanny Brice starred in virtually every one of the annual *Ziegfeld Follies* produced between 1910 and 1923. Later, Brice's life served as the basis for the Broadway musical *Funny Girl* (1964) and the Oscar-winning Hollywood film of that same title (1968), starring Barbra Streisand.

Helen Kane achieved success for her roles in such Broadway musicals as *A Night in Spain* (1927) and *Good Boy* (1928), in which she introduced what became her theme song, "I Wanna Be Loved By You." Known as the "Boop-Boop-A-Doop Girl," Kane is remembered for her distinctive little-girl voice and as the inspiration for Betty Boop, an animated cartoon character introduced by Fleisher Studio in 1930.

HIT SONGS OF THE 1920S

Songs and Performers

"Second Hand Rose" (Fanny Brice)—1921

"I Wish I Could Shimmy Like My Sister Kate" (Jazzbo's Carolina Serenaders)—1922

"Yes, We Have No Bananas" (Billy Jones)—1923

"Charleston" (Paul Whiteman and His Orchestra)—1925

"Do, Do, Do" (Gertrude Lawrence)—1926

"My Mammy" (Al Jolson)—1927

"Blue Yodel No. 1 (T for Texas)" (Jimmie Rodgers)—1928

"Keep On the Sunny Side" (The Carter Family)—1928

"I Want To Be Loved By You" (Helen Kane)—1928

"Nobody Knows You When You're Down And Out" (Bessie Smith)—1929

Crooners and Torch Singers

Prior to the mid-1920s, most recording artists came out of vaudeville, where they typically sang in a loud, robust style so that their voices could reach the back rows of large theaters, but the introduction of sensitive electric microphones in 1925 led to the development of a more intimate, hushed style of singing known as crooning. Gene Austin recorded one of the biggest hits of the decade, "My Blue Heaven" (1927), which sold more than five million copies and dominated the number one spot on the record charts for 13 weeks. Other prominent crooners included Jack Smith, Nick Lucas, and Rudy Vallee. The rough equivalent for women performers was called torch singing. Torch songs were sad, sentimental songs about heartbreak and failed romance, with the singer still "carrying the torch" for an ex-lover. One of the best-known torch singers of the 1920s was Helen Morgan, star of the Broadway musical *Show Boat* (1927), whose signature song was the

self-pitying "Why Was I Born?" (1929). Other acclaimed torch singers of the 1920s included Ruth Etting and Libby Holman, both of whom also starred in several popular Broadway musicals.

JAZZ

Although initially considered a passing musical fad when it was first recorded in 1917, jazz became the most influential form of American popular music during the 1920s. Jazz combined elements of ragtime compositions, brass band marches, minstrel numbers, and, to a lesser degree, blues songs. Ragtime shared many stylistic similarities with jazz, particularly the use of "ragged," or syncopated, rhythms. Classical ragtime was essentially a composed music that stressed the performance of published musical works in precisely the way in which they had been written. Jazz, in contrast, was an unwritten, polyphonic music characterized, at least originally, by blues accents and collective improvisation. Early jazz bands featured cornets, clarinets, trombones, drums, and sometimes banjos, violins, and pianos. By the early 1920s, Chicago had emerged as the nation's jazz center, although bands were also appearing in dance halls, nightclubs, and speakeasies in many East and West Coast cities, and was attracting growing audiences of both black and white listeners.

The popularity of jazz provided new opportunities for African American musicians to make records, occasionally perform on radio, and play for live audiences. Largely as a result of the racism and discriminatory practices of the recording industry, African American musicians did not make any jazz recordings until 1922, when New Orleans Creole trombonist Edward "Kid" Ory and the Creole Orchestra, cut "Ory's Creole Trombone" and "Society Blues." Beginning in 1923, record companies scrambled to record popular jazz bands of both races. During the remaining years of the 1920s, record companies issued thousands of jazz recordings, including those of such legendary African American jazz ensembles as King Oliver and the Creole Jazz Band, Clarence Williams's Blue Five, Louis Armstrong and His Hot Five (and His Hot Seven), Fletcher Henderson and His Orchestra, and Bennie Moten's Kansas City Orchestra. The rising popularity of radio also helped to disseminate jazz music throughout the United States. As early as 1921, white dance bands such as Vincent Lopez and His Orchestra and the Coon-Sanders Nighthawks, whose repertoires included jazz numbers, were appearing on the radio. But African American musicians were largely excluded from performing on early commercial radio.

Hot Jazz

Beginning in the early 1920s, small African American bands pioneered a dynamic, emotionally charged musical style known as "hot jazz." Hot jazz, which peaked between 1925 and 1929, typically featured fast-paced individual solos and hard-driving, swinging rhythms. King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band ranked as one of the important hot jazz bands of the 1920s. Led by cornetist Joe "King" Oliver, the Creole Jazz Band featured some of the finest New Orleans jazz musicians, including cornetist Louis Armstrong, who joined the band in 1922. In 1923, the Creole Jazz Band made some three dozen recordings that stand out as the most important collection of early recorded jazz, including "Dipper Mouth Blues" and "High Society Rag." Another leading exponent of hot jazz was the flamboyant New Orleans Creole pianist Ferdinand "Jelly Roll" Morton, one of the earliest jazz composers and arrangers, who began playing piano as a teenager in the brothels of Storyville—New Orleans's red-light district. In 1926, Morton moved to New York City. There, between 1926 and 1930, Morton recorded more than 50 selections with his band, the Red Hot Peppers, including "Black Bottom Stomp" (1926) and "Original Jelly Roll Blues" (1926).

In the late 1920s, dozens of talented jazz musicians migrated to New York City, where most of the major recording companies were located. Consequently, New York City replaced Chicago as the nation's premier jazz center. Pianist Fletcher Henderson, who was sometimes billed as "the Colored King of Jazz," led one of the most popular African American jazz bands in Manhattan during the 1920s. Between 1924 and 1934, Henderson and His Orchestra performed as the house band at the prestigious Roseland Ballroom

in Times Square. Henderson's Orchestra produced a smooth, sophisticated sound and ranked as one of the most commercially successful black bands of the decade, recording such hit numbers as "Gulf Coast Blues" (1923), "Carolina" (1925), and "Dinah" (1926). In 1928, Henderson began arranging jazz numbers, and he is one of the first arrangers of what became known in the 1930s as swing music.

With the advent of National Prohibition, Harlem nightclubs and cabarets began to attract wealthy white partygoers and tourists who wanted to drink, dance, and hear "exotic" African American music. In 1929, *Variety* listed 11 major nightclubs in Harlem that catered to predominantly white crowds. These swanky nightclubs and cabarets employed hundreds of African American jazz musicians during the late 1920s, including bandleader Edward "Duke" Ellington, a formally trained pianist and the preeminent composer of jazz music. Between 1927 and 1931, Ellington's Orchestra performed as the house band at the Cotton Club, a segregated, white-patrons-only nightclub owned by a syndicate of mobsters and decorated to resemble a lavish antebellum southern plantation. Ellington recorded a series of his own compositions with his orchestra, including "Black and Tan Fantasy" (1927) and "Creole Love Call" (1927). In 1929, Ellington appeared in *Black and Tan,* the first of more than a dozen Hollywood films he would make. Ellington was among the few hot jazz musicians who successfully transitioned to swing music during the 1930s.

By far the greatest jazz musician of the 1920s was Louis Armstrong, a New Orleans-born cornetist and trumpeter whose inventive solos and technical brilliance marked the pinnacle of hot jazz. In 1922, Armstrong moved to Chicago to play with King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band, but in 1924, he joined Fletcher Henderson's Orchestra in New York City. There, during his 13-month stint with the band, he dazzled audiences with his solos and swinging rhythms. Between 1925 and 1928, Armstrong recorded a series of 65 selections for OKeh Records as the leader of his own bands, the Hot Five and the Hot Seven. Among these songs are such classics as "Heebie Jeebies" (1926), "Potato Head Blues" (1927), and "West End Blues" (1928).

A number of white jazz musicians also influenced the development of jazz, including cornet player Bix Beiderbecke, clarinetist Benny Goodman, trombonist Irving "Miff" Mole, soprano saxophonist Milton "Mezz" Mezzrow, guitarist Eddie Lang, violinist Joe Venuti, and trombonist Jack Teagarden.

Sweet Jazz

Although African American musicians were the principal innovators of jazz during the 1920s, most Americans would have heard a diluted, commercial form of the music called "sweet jazz," performed primarily by all-white orchestras. Sweet jazz featured slower tempos and less improvisation and was generally more appealing to the musical tastes of middlebrow white Americans. Paul Whiteman's band performed carefully arranged compositions that, although they included syncopated rhythms and blues accents, remained respectable and genteel. Indeed, Whiteman sought to refine jazz and make it more commercially accessible to mainstream white audiences. Whiteman's Orchestra, which sometimes contained as many as 30 musicians, featured some of the legendary white jazz soloists of the 1920s, including Tommy Dorsey, Frankie Trumbauer, Joe Venuti, Eddie Lang, and Bix Beiderbecke.

BLUES MUSIC

Another form of African American music that rose to prominence during the 1920s was the blues, which emerged around the turn of the twentieth century and evolved from a variety of traditional black musical forms, including field hollers, work songs, ballads, and rags.

Early folk often spoke of work, crime, gambling, alcohol, imprisonment, disasters, and hard times. Above all, the blues commented on the universal themes of troubled love relationships and sexual desire. Although the blues often conveyed a sense of overwhelming melancholy and resignation, many blues songs were high-spirited, rollicking party numbers.

W. C. Handy was one of the earliest composers to write and publish commercial songs inspired by folk blues. His early compositions, notably

"Memphis Blues" (1912) and "St. Louis Blues" (1914), earned him the title "Father of the Blues." In 1926, Handy published his edited collection titled *Blues: An Anthology,* one of the earliest studies to discuss the significant influence of the folk blues tradition on American jazz, popular, and classical music. The book not only celebrated the rich cultural heritage of African American musical traditions but also contributed to the growing interest in the blues and black folk culture.

Vaudeville Blues

Prior to 1920, the recording industry had virtually ignored African American music fans, and those recordings by black singers and musicians that were available consisted largely of racist "coon" songs, comedy monologues, dance numbers, and spirituals. But beginning in the 1920s, companies began to record and market blues music specifically for African American consumers. In 1920, Mamie Smith, accompanied by her band, the Jazz Hounds, recorded "Crazy Blues" for OKeh Records, marking the advent of commercial blues recordings. "Crazy Blues" sold 75,000 copies in its first month, convincing OKeh, Columbia, Paramount, and other white-owned record companies that a lucrative market existed among African Americans for what the industry soon called "race records." Within a few years, most of the great vaudeville blues singers (also known as classic blues singers) had made commercial recordings, including Clara Smith, Ethel Waters, Sara Martin, Bertha "Sippie" Wallace, and Victoria Spivey.



The great blues singer Bessie Smith. Courtesy of the Southern Folklife Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Vaudeville blues singers were almost exclusively women, and as veterans of the vaudeville stage, most of them sang in a light operatic style rather than in the soulful, expressive vocal style commonly associated with authentic blues singing. Small jazz combos usually provided the backup accompaniment, and many of the premier musicians of the 1920s performed on these recordings, including Louis Armstrong, Fletcher Henderson, and Coleman Hawkins.

One of the most influential vaudeville blues singers of the 1920s was Gertrude "Ma" Rainey, who flaunted expensive beaded gowns, a necklace made of $20 gold pieces, and ostentatious diamond earrings and rings. Rainey made her first recordings for Paramount Records in 1923. Billed as "the Mother of the Blues," she recorded more than 100 songs over the next five years. She sang in a raw, expressive style that was deeply influenced by southern folk blues, and she remained one of the preeminent vaudeville blues singers throughout the 1920s.

Rainey's young protégé, Bessie Smith, emerged as an even greater blues star. Smith's first record, "Gulf Coast Blues," coupled with "Downhearted Blues" (1923), sold 780,000 copies in its first six months on the market. Within two years, she became the nation's highest-paid African American entertainer. Billed as "the Empress of the Blues," she went on to record more than 150 songs for Columbia between 1923 and 1931, on which she was often accompanied by the greatest jazz musicians of the age, including Louis Armstrong, who

HOW OTHERS SEE US

The Spiritual in Europe

Toward the end of the 1920s, European audiences continued to embrace American musical forms—and became especially enamored of the "Negro spiritual," as it was called at the time. The traditional music of African American workers and worshippers had already developed into such forms as gospel, blues, and jazz, spurring an interest among music fans in London, Paris, Prague, and Berlin, as well as in American concert halls. The form's best-known international performer was Paul Robeson; its expression in movement was championed by the dancer Tamiris.

Robeson, a multi-talented actor, singer, and political activist, launched his first European concert tour in Paris in October, 1927. His imposing figure and sonorous bass voice lent a sense of depth and gravity to his program of spirituals and work songs, which he linked both musically and thematically to folk songs from Russia, Africa, and elsewhere. Robeson's conviction and commitment made a tremendous impression in Europe, and especially in Great Britain, where he went on to make films and now-legendary stage appearances.

The New York-based modern dancer Tamiris aimed to interpret African American musical forms in a program she called "Negro Spirituals." Trained in Russian ballet, Tamiris came to reject such imported and artificial dance techniques. Instead, her choreography evoked athletic moves, such as boxing and football, as well as physical labor and what many saw as the frenetic everyday actions of jazz-age Americans. Her program met with critical raves in Berlin, Salzburg, Paris, and other European capitals in 1928 and 1929, and helped inspire modern dance practitioners to explore their own local movement traditions.

played cornet on her classic rendition of "St. Louis Blues" (1925). In 1929, Smith starred in *St. Louis Blues,* one of the first all-black talking films. With her expressive, soulful phrasing, she remained the biggest blues star of the 1920s, and she is considered by music historians to be the greatest vaudeville blues singer of all time.

Country Blues

In 1924, music companies began to record country blues. Country bluesmen sang and performed in ways that more closely resembled the authentic folk blues than it resembled vaudeville blues. Solo guitarists often employed a call-and-response interaction in which an instrumental riff "answered" the human voice. Unlike vaudeville blues vocalists, country blues singers were almost exclusively men. Most were self-taught musicians who entertained on a semi-professional basis at local dances, barbecues, and other social gatherings.

One of the most influential country bluesmen to record during the 1920s was Blind Lemon Jefferson, a one-time itinerant street musician from Dallas who recording almost 100 songs, including "Black Snake Moan" (1927) and "Matchbox Blues" (1927). Charlie Patton, "the Father of the Delta Blues," recorded nearly 70 songs for Paramount between 1929 and his death from a heart attack in 1934, including his signature song "Pony Blues" (1929), as well as "Down the Dirt Road Blues" (1929), "Green River Blues" (1929), and "Spoonful Blues" (1929). Other famous country bluesmen of the 1920s include Texas Alexander, Mississippi John Hurt, Blind Willie McTell, Sleepy John Estes, and Blind Blake.

Throughout the late 1920s, as the blues craze intensified, many of the nation's leading record companies, particularly OKeh, Paramount, and Columbia, issued hundreds of race records specifically intended for an African American market. In 1927, African American record buyers purchased an estimated 10 million records. The commercial recording of the blues, like almost all other musical genres, drastically declined after the onset of the Great Depression.

HILLBILLY MUSIC

Another popular sound of the American South was "hillbilly music" (sometimes called "old-time music"), the forerunner of modern country

music. First broadcast and recorded in 1922, hillbilly music consisted chiefly of the vernacular music of ordinary white southerners, particularly amateur and semi-professional musicians. These musicians incorporated a wide range of musical influences, including traditional British ballads, fiddle tunes, sentimental pop songs of the 1890s, gospel numbers, blues songs, cowboy songs, and even the latest Tin Pan Alley hits.

Radio Barn Dances

As early as 1922, Atlanta's WSB began airing short live programs of old-time music performed by local fiddlers and string bands. The following year, WBAP, Fort Worth, Texas, launched what is considered the first "barn dance"—a variety program of old-time fiddlers, singing cowboys, and string bands. Other radio stations across the South and Midwest soon began airing their own live barn dances on Saturday nights.

One such popular program was Nashville WSM's *The Grand Ole Opry* (before 1927, *WSM Barn Dance*), which first aired in 1925. To enhance the program's rural image, WSM radio director George D. Hay required his musicians to wear rustic costumes of checkered work shirts, denim overalls, and straw hats for the live studio audiences. By the end of the 1920s, *The Grand Ole Opry* had emerged as a country music institution, and it remains on the air today, making it the longest-running radio show in American broadcasting history.

Hillbilly Recordings

In 1923, an Atlanta musician and radio star nicknamed Fiddlin' John Carson made the first commercially successful hillbilly record, "The Little Old Log Cabin in the Lane." Over the next few years, Columbia, Victor, and other companies began to record similar old-time music. By 1927, record companies were issuing more than a thousand new hillbilly records a year.

Although it often looked nostalgically to the past, many hillbilly recordings chronicled and critiqued significant current events, such as train wrecks, tornados, murders, or social trends. One of the best-known topical songs of the 1920s was Blind Alfred Reed's "Why Do You Bob Your Hair, Girls?" (1927), which accused fashionable young flappers of being unchristian. The greatest interpreter of topical hillbilly songs was Vernon Dalhart, a light opera singer by training, whose "The Prisoner's Song," paired with "The Wreck of the Old 97," (1924) became the first hillbilly disc to sell one million copies. Dalhart went on to make more than a thousand old-time recordings between 1924 and 1933, many of them songs about highly publicized national events, including "The Death of Floyd Collins" (1925), "The John T. Scopes Trial" (1925), "There's a New Star in Heaven Tonight (Rudolph Valentino)" (1926), and "Lindbergh (The Eagle of the U.S.A.)" (1927).

Hillbilly Stringbands

Originally, most commercial hillbilly musicians were solo artists or duos, but beginning in 1925, string bands emerged as the most commonly recorded ensembles on hillbilly records. String bands usually consisted of a fiddler or two, a guitarist, a banjo player, perhaps a mandolin player, or some combination of these. One of the most influential and commercially successful string bands of the 1920s was Charlie Poole and the North Carolina Ramblers, whose first release—"Don't Let Your Deal Go Down Blues," coupled with "Can I Sleep in Your Barn Tonight, Mister?" (1925)—sold 102,000 copies in an age when hillbilly record sales of 30,000 or more were rare.

The First Stars of Hillbilly Music

The first star of hillbilly music was Jimmie Rodgers, the "Father of Country Music," who sang songs that embodied the rough-and-rowdy ways of hoboes, drifters, and gamblers. A former railroad brakeman, his first hit record "Blue Yodel (T for Texas)" (1927), sold more than one million copies. Over the next five years, he recorded over 100 songs, including "Waiting for a Train" (1928) and "In the Jailhouse Now" (1928), as well as a series of 12 classic "blue yodels." In 1929, he appeared in *The Singing Brakeman* (1929), a film short that showcased his singing abilities. Billed as "The Singing Brakeman" and "America's Blue

Yodeler," Rodgers was largely responsible for transforming old-time music from an instrumentalist genre to one dominated by vocalists. Before he died in 1933 at the age of 35 from tuberculosis, Rodgers sold an estimated six million records, and his tremendous commercial success spawned many imitators, including Gene Autry, Jimmie Davis, and Ernest Tubb.

The other major hillbilly act of the 1920s was the Carter Family, "the First Family of Country Music." The Carters consisted of bass singer A. P. Carter, his wife, Sara, who sang lead and played autoharp (and sometimes second guitar), and her cousin, Maybelle, who played guitar. Between 1927 and 1941, the trio recorded more than 300 songs, including country music classics, such as "Keep on the Sunny Side" (1928), "Wildwood Flower" (1928), and "Wabash Cannonball" (1929). The Carters especially favored late-nineteenth-century sentimental ballads, parlor songs, and traditional mountain folk songs. The group also exerted a significant influence on the musical development of hillbilly music, particularly with their haunting close harmonies and Maybelle's signature guitar style.

HAWAIIAN MUSIC

During the 1920s, a Hawaiian music craze swept the nation. The first widespread exposure that many Americans had to this music came in 1915 at the Panama–Pacific International Exposition held in San Francisco. There, at the Hawaiian Pavilion, mainlanders could hear the lilting tropical melodies of ukuleles and Hawaiian guitars (Hawaiian guitar is an instrumental style in which the guitar is played on the seated performer's lap and is fretted by sliding a knife, steel bar, or other metal object on the strings). Throughout the 1920s, Hawaiian musicians such as steel guitarist Sol Hoopii and ukulele virtuoso Bennie Nawahi toured the continental United States in vaudeville shows and revues, and music companies greatly expanded their catalogs of Hawaiian recordings. Between 1915 and 1929, Tin Pan Alley songwriters wrote hundreds of novelty numbers about the alluring beauty and charms of Hawaiian life, including "Hello, Hawaii, How Are You?" (1915), "Oh, How She Could Yacki Hacki Wicki Wacki Woo" (1916), "Hula Hula Dream Girl" (1924), and "That Aloha Waltz" (1928).

The Hawaiian music craze inspired many to take up the ukulele. Inexpensive, portable, and relatively easy to play, ukuleles became one of the most popular instruments for home entertaining. Although the instrument was popularized by Hawaiians, its design was originally based on small guitars brought to Hawaii from Portugal in the 1870s. Some ukuleles, such as those produced by the C. F. Martin Company, were finely crafted, professional-quality instruments; most of the instruments manufactured were inexpensive, mass-produced models of varying quality. Correspondence courses and music schools offered lessons in the ukulele and Hawaiian guitar, and amateur musicians formed ukulele and Hawaiian guitar clubs. Music-publishing companies churned out ukulele instructional booklets and song collections. The mania for Hawaiian music and ukuleles waned in the late 1920s.

CLASSICAL MUSIC

The 1920s saw the emergence of several influential American composers, most notably Charles Ives, Aaron Copeland, Virgil Thomson, John Alden Carpenter, and William Grant Still, many of whom experimented with fusing jazz and blues with the art music of European tradition.

Paul Whiteman, bandleader of the most commercially successful dance orchestra of the 1920s, and his arranger, pianist Ferde Grofé, combined elements of modern jazz and classical music to create a synthesis called "symphonic jazz." Whiteman's most celebrated concert, "An Experiment in Modern Music," at New York City's Aeolian Hall in 1924, featured performances of popular songs, jazz instrumentals, and classical selections. This legendary concert included the critically acclaimed premiere of songwriter and pianist George Gershwin's jazz concerto, *Rhapsody in Blue,* which became an immediate sensation. Whiteman staged additional experimental concerts between 1925 and 1938, showcasing selections of popular music, jazz, and classical works. Although best known for his Tin Pan Alley songs and Broadway musical revues, Gershwin composed several



A happy group of young women in bathing suits playing ukuleles, 1926. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

other celebrated classical works, including *Concerto in F for Piano and Orchestra* (1925), *Three Preludes for Piano* (1926), *An American in Paris* (1928), and *Porgy and Bess* (1935).

Most ordinary Americans' exposure to the great European classical works came from phonograph recordings and radio broadcasts. Many of the best-selling classical discs of the 1920s appeared on Victor's prestigious Red Seal label, whose records cost as much as $7 apiece (or almost ten times as much as the company's pop records). During the 1920s, Victor spent millions of dollars advertising its premium-priced classical records and recruited some of the greatest international stars of symphonic music and grand opera to make recordings, including Russian pianist Sergei Rachmaninoff, Italian conductor Arturo Toscanini, and, before his death in 1921,

Italian tenor Enrico Caruso, longtime star of the New York Metropolitan Opera. Classical recordings sold relatively well, primarily to upper and upper-middle-class Americans, some of whom purchased these records more for their cultural prestige than for any appreciation of music. Even as record sales in general declined after the advent of commercial radio, Victor sold more than five million copies of its Red Seal records annually throughout the decade.

Radio networks prominently featured classical music programming and brought the music of nationally distinguished opera companies and symphony orchestras into millions of homes. In 1921, Chicago station KYW inaugurated weekly broadcasts of the Chicago Grand Opera Company, the first such company to have its productions regularly aired on radio. Soon, other stations began to carry operatic programs. Dozens of symphony orchestras, such as the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, appeared on network radio during the late 1920s. NBC in particular boasted a strong schedule of classical concert programs, including *General Motors Concerts* and *Mobil Oil Concerts.* Musical education programs such as NBC's *The Music Appreciation Hour,* which premiered in 1928, introduced millions of listeners to classical music. Hosted by Dr. Walter Damrosch, the longtime conductor of the New York Symphony Orchestra, this influential radio show combined classical music performances with down-to-earth explanations in order to foster appreciation for this music.

Sports

and Leisure of the 1920s

In the 1920s, rising numbers of Americans began to enjoy increasing amounts of consumer goods and leisure time. For most members of the middle and working classes, work weeks shortened to an average of 45 hours.[1] Vacations for both white-collar and blue-collar workers became increasingly common. Wages and salaries also rose, sometimes by as much as 30 percent, even as the cost of living remained comparatively steady. These employment-related trends provided ordinary Americans with more leisure time and more disposable income to spend on an ever-expanding variety of recreational activities. Between 1919 and 1929, the amount of money Americans spent on recreation and leisure activities nearly doubled to more than $4 billion a year.[2]

SPORTS

The expansion of commercialized leisure made ordinary people more sedentary. Instead of playing baseball, for example, many attended professional or semi-professional games. During the 1920s, watching and following college and professional sports became, for the first time, a pervasive pastime. Radio broadcasts of the World Series, college bowl games, prizefights, and horse races, as well as newspaper sports columns and daily box scores, boosted the popularity of the nation's spectator sports and transformed Babe Ruth, Red Grange, and Jack Dempsey into national celebrities. Sports mushroomed into a huge industry as press agents, sports promoters, sportswriters, radio announcers, chambers of commerce, and various media outlets promoted athletic events. For those who did participate in sports and physical exercise, golf and tennis skyrocketed in popularity, as men and women flooded the thousands of newly constructed golf courses and tennis courts. Cities and small towns built municipal athletic complexes. Popular wisdom conceded that exercise was as beneficial for women as it was for men, and so athletics was not limited to males.

During the 1920s, the popularity of sports grew spectacularly, but few professional athletes commanded enormous prestige or whopping salaries. Rather, Americans worshiped amateur athletes who provided admirable models of athletic fitness, moral character, and honorable spirit. Because they seemed to play for the sheer enjoyment and thrill of the sport, rather than for crass monetary reward, amateur athletes such as golfer Bobby Jones, tennis champion Helen Wills, and swimmer Johnny Weismuller became American idols. Over the course of the 1920s, however, hundreds of amateur and college athletes succumbed to the allure of large salaries promised by professional

sports clubs. Fans often responded negatively to amateurs who turned professional, believing they had "sold out" and compromised the purity of their sport. Professional baseball, however, never seemed to be troubled by this stigma.

Baseball

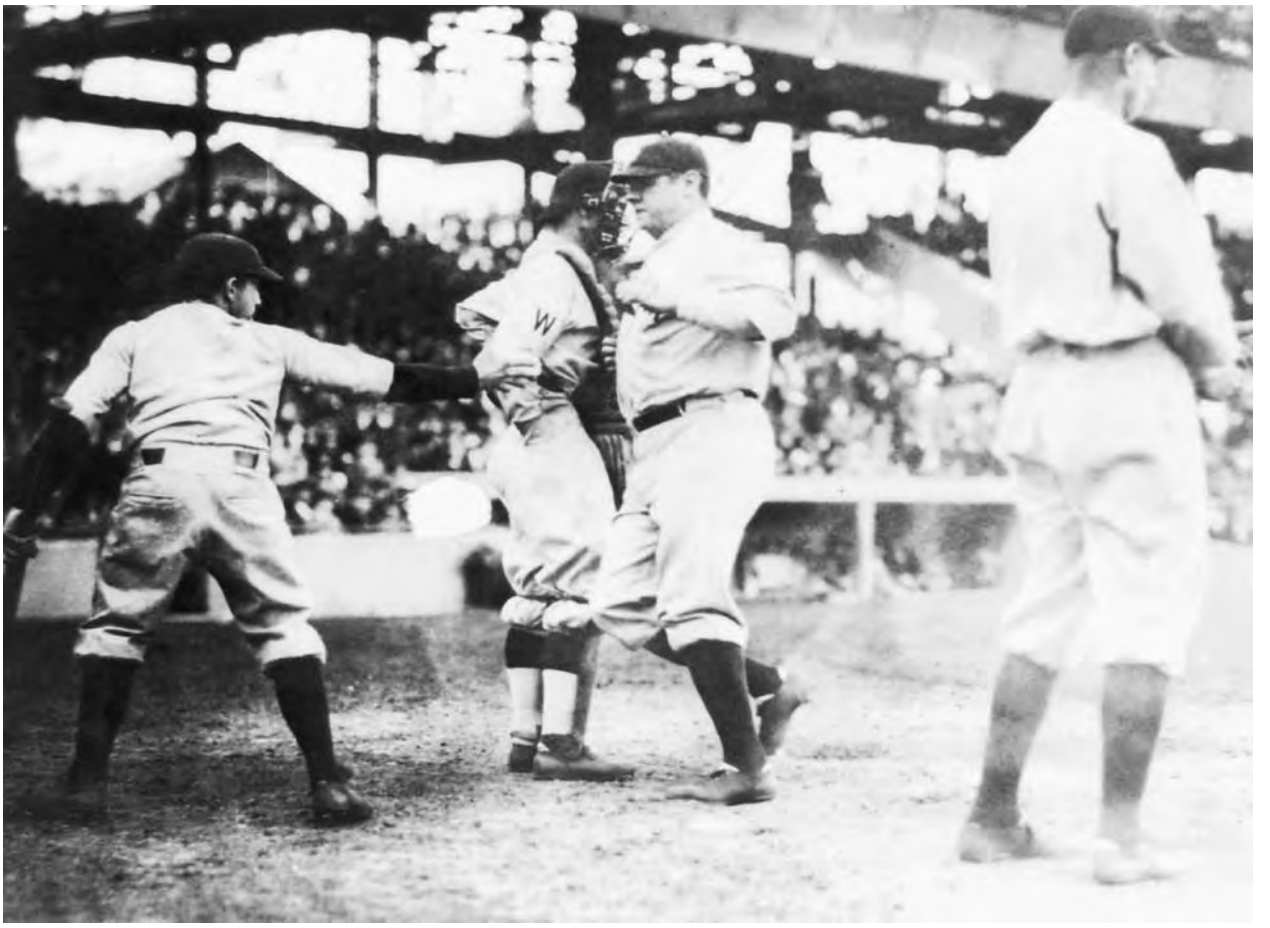
Major League Baseball (MLB) rose to prominence as the national pastime during the 1920s, but at the dawn of the decade the sport received a punishing blow, as the "Black Sox scandal" deeply shook Americans' faith in the game. In September 1920, eight members of the Chicago White Sox baseball club—including star outfielder Joe "Shoeless Joe" Jackson, one of the game's greatest hitters—were indicted for conspiring to throw the 1919 World Series against the Cincinnati Reds in exchange for a sizable payoff. During the 1921 trial in Chicago, the signed confessions and other evidence against the teammates mysteriously vanished, thus adding another level of intrigue and corruption to the scandal. The White Sox players were acquitted of intent to defraud, however, the newly installed first commissioner of baseball, Judge Kennesaw Mountain Landis, banned all eight players from the game for life.

Perhaps in part because of Commissioner Landis's fiat, the "Black Sox scandal" dissipated relatively quickly. Baseball soon became more exciting, due primarily to legendary slugger George Herman "Babe" Ruth and the thrill of dramatic home run hitting. In earlier decades, pitching had dominated the game, keeping scores low and strategy confined to singles hitting, bunts, hit-and-run plays, and base stealing. But when Babe Ruth crushed 29 home runs for the Boston Red Sox in 1919 and then followed with an unbelievable 54 home runs for the New York Yankees the next year, baseball fans began to favor these exciting, high-scoring games dominated by power hitters.

Major League Baseball made a number of rule changes that increased the batter's advantage against the pitcher. Beginning in 1920, pitchers were forbidden from scuffing baseballs or altering them with tobacco juice, saliva, mud, grease, or other foreign substances that made a pitched ball move erratically in the air and thus more difficult for batters to hit. In 1920, Cleveland Indian shortstop Roy Chapman was struck in the head and killed by a pitched ball. It was believed that Chapman had trouble seeing the ball because it was so soiled. In the wake of this tragic accident, the league instructed umpires to replace dirty baseballs with clean white ones. This steady rotation of new baseballs made it easier for batters to see, and therefore hit, the ball. The many new baseball stadiums constructed in the 1920s (including Yankee Stadium, completed in 1923, which held 62,000 fans and is still known as "the House that Ruth Built") gave long-ball hitters an edge by enclosing the outfields with fences and bleachers. As a result of this fast-paced, high-scoring style of play, average annual attendance at Major League Baseball games leaped from less than six million during the 1910s to more than nine million during the 1920s. Player salaries also increased, especially for power hitters. While superstars like New York Yankee outfielder Babe Ruth could earn $100,000 or more through salary, bonuses, and product endorsements, average players earned between $4,000 and $10,000 a year—a respectable wage.

Babe Ruth began his career as a pitcher with two remarkable seasons for the Boston Red Sox. After he was traded to the New York Yankees in 1920, he went on an unforgettable streak of record-breaking power hitting, including pounding 60 home runs in 1927—a record that stood until New York Yankee outfielder Roger Maris broke it in 1961. Nicknamed alternately "the Sultan of Swat," "the Bambino," or simply "the Babe," Ruth was one of the highest-paid sports heroes of the decade. Besides his baseball salary, Ruth raked in tremendous sums from his personal appearances and endorsements of sporting equipment, breakfast cereals, candy bars, and even underwear. In 1926, he spent 12 weeks on a nationwide vaudeville tour, earning more than $8,000 a week. He also appeared in several Hollywood films between 1920 and 1931, including *Heading Home, Play Ball with Babe Ruth,* and *How Babe Ruth Hits a Home Run.*

Ruth anchored the lineup of the New York Yankees—the dominant club of the decade. The 1927 team, nicknamed "Murderers' Row," included such stars as first baseman Lou Gehrig, second baseman Tony Lazzeri, and outfielders



Babe Ruth crossing the plate after making his first home run of the season, 1924. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Earle Combs and Bob Meusel. Under manager Miller Huggins, the Yankees won six American League pennants and three World Series (1923, 1927, and 1928) during the 1920s. But Ruth and his Yankee teammates were not the only baseball stars. Detroit outfielder Ty Cobb, a ferocious, hard-nosed competitor who had a lifetime batting average of .366, enjoyed a remarkable career that spanned 24 years (1904–1928). Cobb made his mark with clutch singles and smart, aggressive base running. His career record of 892 stolen bases stood until 1977. Other baseball heroes of the 1920s included Cleveland Indians outfielder Tristram "Tris" Speaker, Pittsburgh Pirates third baseman Harold "Pie" Traynor, and St. Louis Cardinals infielder Rogers Hornsby.

Until 1947, strict racial segregation prohibited African Americans from joining professional baseball. In 1920, Andrew "Rube" Foster, the owner and manager of the Chicago American Giants, founded the National Negro Baseball League (NNBL). The NNBL proved to be a remarkable success, despite the difficulties posed by segregated hotels and passenger trains, along with the high fees for the use of white-owned ballparks. The NNLB drew more than 400,000 spectators during the 1923 season. Salaries for African American players compared poorly to those of white MLB players, but the stars of the all-black league, such as pitcher Leroy "Satchel" Paige and catcher Josh Gibson, could earn as much as $1,000 a month.

Boxing

Prior to World War I, boxing was considered to be a disreputable, lowbrow sport that attracted primarily gamblers, drinkers, and rowdies. In 1920, prizefighting was legal only in New York

WORLD SERIES

1920 Cleveland (AL), 5 games; Brooklyn Robins (NL), 2 games

1921 New York Giants (NL), 5 games; New York Yankees (AL), 3 games

1922 New York Giants (NL), 4 games; New York Yankees (AL), 0 games

1923 New York Yankees (AL), 4 games; New York Giants (NL), 2 games

1924 Washington Senators (AL), 4 games; New York Giants (NL), 3 games

1925 Pittsburgh Pirates (NL), 4 games; Washington Senators (AL), 3 games

1926 St. Louis Cardinals (NL), 4 games; New York Yankees (AL), 3 games

1927 New York Yankees (AL), 4 games; Pittsburgh Pirates (NL), 0 games

1928 New York Yankees (AL), 4 games; St. Louis Cardinals (NL), 0 games

1929 Philadelphia Athletics (AL), 4 games; Chicago Cubs (NL), 1 game

and New Jersey, but over the next 10 years, many state legislatures lifted the bans and restrictions on boxing, and state commissioners sought to sanitize this traditionally notorious sport. Boxing promoters such as George "Tex" Rickard publicized big matches to such an extent that gate receipts occasionally topped $1 million and matches began to attract fans from all classes of American society.

The 1920s saw an abundance of boxing champions in virtually every weight class. Lightweight Benny Leonard, welterweight Edward "Mickey" Walker, and middleweights Harry Greb and Theodore "Tiger" Flowers (the first black middleweight champion) are considered by sports historians to be among the finest boxers in history, and they generated a large fan following during the 1920s. Jack Dempsey and Gene Tunney dominated heavyweight boxing in the 1920s. In 1921, Dempsey fought in the first $1 million match against a French war hero named Georges Carpentier, and in 1927, Dempsey's famous bout with Tunney generated a $2 million gate—a record that would stand for half a century. Dempsey held the heavyweight championship title for seven years (1919–1926), until Tunney finally unseated him in 1926. Tunney retained his title until Jack Sharkey, another great heavyweight of the 1920s, defeated him in 1928.

Football

The popularity of college football rose dramatically as college and university enrollments nearly doubled during the 1920s. Universities built enormous stadiums. Yale University's new stadium held 75,000 spectators, Stanford University's seated more than 86,000, and the University of Michigan's accommodated nearly 102,000. Ticket receipts for college football actually exceeded those for Major League Baseball during much of the 1920s. In 1927, more than 30 million spectators attended college football games.

College football's popularity soared for several reasons. The sport had recently evolved from a strictly running game to a faster, more exciting passing game. Furthermore, the focus of college football had expanded beyond the eastern schools of the Ivy League to include large Midwestern universities such as Notre Dame, Michigan, and Illinois. Famed coach Knute Rockne led his Notre Dame squad to tremendous heights during the decade, including an undefeated 1924 season and a Rose Bowl victory, and he coached superstar halfback George Gipp in 1920 and the phenomenal backfield nicknamed the "Four Horsemen of Notre Dame" (quarterback Harry Stuhldreher, fullback Elmer Layden, and halfbacks Jim Crowley and Don Miller) from 1922 to 1924. These players became national celebrities and further boosted the popularity of the game. The extensive radio broadcasting of college games and the newsreels of game highlights, which were shown in movie theaters nationwide, also contributed to the sport's growing fan base.

Perhaps the best-known college football player of the 1920s and certainly one of the most talented was a halfback named Harold "Red" Grange, whom sportswriter Grantland Rice of the *New York Herald Tribune* dubbed "the Galloping Ghost." At the University of Illinois, where he starred as a three-time All-American (1923–1925), Grange first captured national attention in 1924, when he rushed for 263 yards to score



The University of North Carolina versus University of Virginia football game, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1929. Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

four touchdowns in the first 12 minutes of a game against the University of Michigan. In 1925, he became the first athlete featured on the cover of *Time* magazine. In 1925, the day after playing his final college game, Grange signed a lucrative contract with the professional Chicago Bears football team, guaranteeing him an annual salary of at least $100,000. Many fans felt betrayed by Grange's leap into professional football because they believed he had placed financial gain above the pure love of football. Grange almost single-handedly jump-started a stagnant National Football League. He parlayed his gridiron stardom into stardom on the silver screen by appearing in two Hollywood films and a 12-episode movie serial about college football titled *The Galloping Ghost* (1931).

Professional football had existed since the 1890s, but suffered from a lack of organization and fan support. In 1920, the American Professional Football Association (APFA) was founded, in part to provide the nation's fragmented collection of professional teams a stronger sense of organization and leadership. Jim Thorpe, a former Olympic athlete and football star, was elected the association's president, and Stanley Cofall, a former Notre Dame football great, became the vice president. In 1922, this fledgling association was renamed the National Football League (NFL), and several of the original 11 franchises relocated from small towns in Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana to somewhat larger markets in Green Bay, Detroit, Buffalo, and Cincinnati. Nonetheless, professional football continued to limp along until 1925, when Red Grange joined the Chicago Bears. Spurred on by the tremendous exposure generated by Grange, other NFL teams began to recruit more heavily from the pool of talented college players.

Golf

Golf enjoyed a surge in popularity during the 1920s among the middle classes. Fans attended

tournaments and followed their favorite golfers in the newspaper. The greatest public acclaim for golfers was for amateurs. In fact, professionals were considered almost a class of servants, whose responsibilities included giving golf lessons, making and repairing clubs, working in the pro shop, and generally serving the needs of country club members. The most prestigious golf tournaments were reserved for amateurs who played merely for the love of the sport.

Three players led American golf during the 1920s: Walter Hagen, Gene Sarazen, and Bobby Jones. In 1922, Walter Hagen became the first American to win the British Open. Hagen, a professional golfer, consistently agitated for including professionals in the major tournaments—a controversial position in the 1920s. Gene Sarazen won the U.S. Open in 1922 as an amateur, before turning professional. He became the first golfer to win all four major tournaments: the U.S. Open (1922), the British Open (1932), the Professional Golfers' Association (PGA) Championship (1922, 1923, and 1933), and the Masters (1935). The most famous and beloved golfer during the 1920s was Bobby Jones, who competed as an amateur throughout his entire career. Between 1923 and 1930, he won 13 of the 21 national championship tournaments he entered. Jones hated to practice and sometimes went several months without ever playing, and he played in only 52 tournaments altogether. In 1930, at the age of 28, Jones became the first player to win the Grand Slam (by winning the British Amateur, the British Open, the U.S. Open, and the U.S. Amateur all in the same year). Later that year, believing that competitive golf held no more challenges for him, Jones retired. In retirement, he designed golf clubs for A. G. Spalding and Company and helped draw up plans for the Augusta National golf course. A member of the World Golf Hall of Fame, Jones is considered by many sports historians to be the greatest golfer of all time.

Tennis

Like golf, tennis enjoyed a tremendous surge in popularity during the 1920s. Middle-class men and women played the game, which had long been seen as the domain of the wealthy. Amateur tennis was seen as more honorable than professional tennis, and many tournaments barred professional players from competing. Both men and women tennis stars captured the public's attention, particularly Bill Tilden and Helen Wills.

Helen Wills, a middle-class Californian, began her tennis career by playing rugged, athletic matches on public dirt courts. She won the U.S. tennis championship in 1924 and 1925. Between 1927 and 1933, Wills was virtually unbeatable. She won eight Wimbledon tournaments, seven U.S. championships, and four French championships, and during those six years she never lost a set in singles competition.

William "Big Bill" Tilden occupied a similarly dominant position in men's tennis. Tilden, the son of a wealthy Philadelphia family, didn't develop a real talent for the game until he was in his 20s. He cultivated a tennis game based on powerful serves and drives as well as on style, finesse, and grace. He became known for his remarkable sportsmanship, and if he believed he had received an undeserved call, he would botch his next shot intentionally to rectify the error. In 1920, Tilden became the first American to win the men's singles title at Wimbledon. He won again in 1921 and 1930. He also won seven U.S. Open Singles Championships, and in 1925 he won 56 consecutive games over two tournaments. Tilden surprised the world in 1930 when he forfeited his amateur status in order to make a series of Hollywood motion pictures. He began playing tennis on the professional circuit the following year and continued to tour until his death in 1953.

Basketball

Although basketball was invented in 1891, its rules still had not been widely codified by the 1920s, so rules were interpreted differently on each court. The same referees generally officiated whenever a team played at home, so visiting teams seldom won. These games generated low scores and even lower fan interest. A handful of eastern colleges, such as New York University and the University of Pennsylvania, were considered strong basketball schools, but nationwide, college basketball was a minor sport. The national championship tournament, which was established at the end

of the 1920 season, was perhaps the only national recognition that college basketball received.

Professional basketball was somewhat more popular during the 1920s, but it lagged far behind baseball, football, and other professional sports in terms of fans and revenue. Professional basketball was an extremely rough, highly unorganized game. Players signed on with whichever team offered the biggest paychecks per game and often changed teams several times each season. This constant shifting of players effectively prevented the development of real team cohesion or strategy. Basketball's disorganized style of play changed abruptly in 1918, when manager Jim Furey hired a head coach and assembled a roster of players called the "Original Celtics," based in New York City. He required players to sign contracts for the entire season in exchange for a guaranteed annual salary. The team dominated the sport throughout the 1920s. Because they played together for the whole season, the athletes were able to develop plays and strategies that other teams could not match. The Original Celtics often played games every day of the week and two games on Sundays throughout the winter. During the 1922–1923 season, the Original Celtics compiled a 204–11 record; in 1924–1925 they went 134–6, and the following year, 90–12. Their overwhelming success bolstered the national reputation of professional basketball and inspired other managers to sign similar contracts with their players. By the end of the 1920s, basketball had markedly increased in both professionalism and popularity.

Like professional baseball, professional basketball was strictly segregated during the 1920s, but all-black club teams did flourish in large cities. Early all-black club teams with substantial fan support included the Smart Set Athletic Club of Brooklyn, the St. Christopher's Club of New Jersey, and the Loendi Club of Pittsburgh. In 1922, Caribbean native Robert L. Douglass founded the Harlem Renaissance Big 5, a team of talented African American basketball players who took their name from the Renaissance Casino ballroom in Harlem. The "Rens" toured the country during the 1920s and 1930s, playing against black and white teams and usually winning. In 1927, team owner Abe Saperstein changed the name of his Chicago-based black basketball team (the Savoy Big Five) to the Harlem Globetrotters. The Globetrotters combined their considerable basketball skills with astounding tricks and comedy routines, and they played exhibition games and entertained crowds across the nation.

Swimming

Competitive swimming claimed several genuine champions during the 1920s, and their widespread fame led Americans to take up swimming at public beaches and municipal pools. In 1926, 19-year-old Gertrude Ederle became the first woman to swim the English Channel. She completed the 21-mile swim in 14 hours and 31 minutes—besting the men's record by nearly two hours. The feat earned her lasting fame and a ticker-tape parade when she returned to New York City. Ederle also won a gold and two bronze medals at the 1924 Olympics in Paris. Most notable among competitive swimmers was Johnny Weissmuller, who never lost an individual freestyle race throughout his amateur swimming career. In 1921, in his first meet, Weissmuller won the first Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) championship in the 50-yard freestyle. Soon he became known as "the Human Hydroplane" and "the Prince of the Waves." Weissmuller won three gold medals at the 1924 Olympics and two more at the 1928 Olympics in Amsterdam. Overall, Weissmuller won 52 national championships and 67 world championships, and set 51 world records in various swimming categories. After giving up competitive swimming in 1929, he portrayed Tarzan in a dozen different films, beginning, in 1932, with *Tarzan, the Ape Man.*

Horse Racing

Prior to World War I, horse racing did not enjoy widespread popularity in the United States. Considered either a hobby for the privileged elite or a magnet for crooks and gamblers, horse racing was avoided or simply ignored by most middle-class Americans. But between 1919 and 1920, a powerful chestnut thoroughbred named Man o' War attracted the attention and admiration of millions of Americans when he compiled an incredible track record of 20 wins and only

one loss (in 1919 to a horse named, appropriately enough, Upset). The beauty, speed, and near invincibility of Man o' War made him such a beloved figure that he is credited with helping to popularize horse racing among the general public. Although his career ended after only two years of competitive racing, in his retirement he sired horses that won dozens of races during the 1920s and 1930s. When, in the late 1920s, network radio began to broadcast major horse races over the airwaves, fans across the country became even more enamored with the Preakness, the Kentucky Derby, the Belmont, and other high-stakes horse races.

Auto Racing

Automobile racing experienced its first surge of widespread popularity during the 1920s, as racecar drivers and their teams invented new ways to soup up their engines and streamline their vehicles. In 1920, Gaston Chevrolet won the Indianapolis 500 with an average speed of just under 89 mph. By the late 1920s, average winning speeds began to approach 100 mph. However, specially built cars designed to break land-speed records dazzled racing fans. In 1927, British driver H.O.D. Seagrave exceeded 200 miles per hour. Despite British dominance in the sport, Americans claimed their own auto racing superstars. In 1921, driver Jimmy Murphy became the first American to win a major European race, the French Grand Prix, driving an American-built Dusenberg automobile. The following year he won the Indianapolis 500 and was the national champion racecar driver in 1922 and 1924, before he was killed in a car crash in late 1924.

Olympics

The 1920 Summer Olympics were held in Antwerp, Belgium, after the cancellation of the 1916 games scheduled for Berlin. Some 29 countries participated in the Antwerp games, with the United States winning 41 gold, 27 silver, and 27 bronze medals, more than any other country. Sweden placed second with 43 total medals, while Great Britain came in third with 43.



View of two-man autos rounding the curve in a race, 1922. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

The first Olympic Winter Games were held in Chamonix, France, in 1924. The new winter festival was held in conjunction with the 1924 Summer Olympics in Paris. The U.S. once again won the most summer medals with 99, while Finland placed second (37), and host nation France in third (38). The 1924 games marked the arrival on the world stage of swimmer Johnny Weissmuller, who won three gold medals. He won two more gold medals at the 1928 games in Amsterdam. As a swimmer, Weissmuller set 67 world records. The athlete parlayed his athletic prowess into a long career as an actor and American icon, with his most famous role being Tarzan.

American athletes won the most medals in the 1928 festival (56), followed by Germany (31), and Finland (25). The 1928 Winter Olympics were held in St. Moritz, Switzerland, the first time as a stand-alone festival. Norway claimed the most medals with 15. The U.S. placed second with six.

TOYS AND GAMES

Although children today seem drawn to the latest high-tech electronic toys and computer games, many of the old-fashioned toys and games that children still enjoy were also favorites during the 1920s. Since 1903, when the first five-cent, eight-crayon box of Crayolas was introduced, coloring with crayons has ranked high on the list of childhood pastimes. Marbles, crayons, jacks, jigsaw puzzles, checkers, dominoes, tiddlywinks, and other traditional games continued to delight children. But by the 1920s, most children's playthings and games were commercially manufactured rather than homemade. By the end of the 1920s, the United States had become the world's leading toy manufacturer, with 539 toy companies in operation and revenues exceeding $90 million a year.

During the 1920s, many American children poured through mail-order catalogs and visited department stores to see the latest toys and games. Many of these toys revealed sharp distinctions between playtime activities of girls and boys. Toys and games designed specifically for girls included Raggedy Ann and Andy dolls, toy sewing machines, sewing baskets, vacuum cleaners, irons and ironing boards, stoves and ovens, and even ringer washtubs and laundry racks. Life-size baby dolls sometimes featured real hair and eyelashes, winking eyes, turning heads and poseable limbs. Concern about children's educational and moral development influenced the toys that were sold during the 1920s, and playing with dolls, sewing machines, and washtubs supposedly prepared girls for their future roles as wives, mothers, and homemakers.

Toys for boys included miniature tool sets, popguns, bows and arrows, train sets, and even fully operational miniature steam engines. Among the most popular playthings for boys were construction toys, including Lincoln Logs, which were invented in 1916 by John Lloyd Wright, the son of architect Frank Lloyd Wright. These sets were named in honor of President Abraham Lincoln, who lived in a log cabin as a child. The Erector set, one of America's oldest continuously produced toys, was introduced at New York's American Toy Fair in 1913 by its inventor, A. C. Gilbert. Tinkertoys, which were introduced at the 1914 American Toy Fair, allowed children to build three-dimensional structures. After sluggish initial sales, Tinkertoys gained enduring popularity.

Wooden, steel, or cast-iron models of trains, cars, trucks, buses, taxicabs, fire engines, tractors, motorcycles, airplanes, zeppelins, and boats remained popular throughout the decade. Charles Lindbergh's historic 1927 flight from New York to Paris boosted sales of toy airplanes, and dozens of new model planes appeared on the market, some of them with wind-up mechanisms that allowed the toy to remain aloft for a few seconds.

Children also enjoyed metal-stamped wagons, such as those manufactured by the Liberty Coaster Manufacturing Company (later Radio Steel and Manufacturing, which built the quintessential Radio Flyer wagons). Two and three-wheeled scooters, and Flexible Flyer and Flying Arrow brand snow sleds appealed to children who desired a speedy way to travel, but nothing could compare to the attraction of a three-wheeled cycles called velocipedes and regular bicycles, complete with headlamp and bell.

FADS AND CRAZES

During the 1920s, the growing influence of Hollywood motion pictures, commercial radio, modern advertising, and mass-circulation magazines and newspapers generated enthusiasm for new fads. Advertising agencies and publicists often encouraged these fads and crazes to promote a particular product or celebrity. Fads often attracted tens of thousands of adherents because they offered a way for people to conform to the social behavior of others and, at the same time, distinguish themselves from everyone else.

Some people sought to perform feats so bizarre that no one else had ever done them, while others attempted to do something more times than anyone else. For example, an Indiana high school student made headlines by chewing 40 sticks of gum while singing "Home, Sweet Home" and, between stanzas, chugging a gallon of milk. A New Jersey youth, subsisting only on eggs and black coffee, won a $150 contest by staying awake for 155 hours, continuously listening to the radio.[3] Journalists and critics often denigrated these media-hungry record breakers, but during the 1920s, millions of Americans, particularly college students, participated in such fads with great enthusiasm.

Mahjong and crossword puzzles also occupied Americans during the 1920s. The most popular parlor game in the United States during the first half of the decade was Mahjong, a Chinese game of skill usually played by four people using a set of 144 decorated tiles. Introduced to the United States in 1922, mahjong originated in China in the mid to late-nineteenth century. It was marketed in the United States as an ancient Chinese game dating back to the age of Confucius. Parker Brothers and other American game companies began manufacturing sets, complete with simplified rule books based on the original Chinese parlor game. By 1923, an estimated 10 to 15 million Americans were playing the game regularly. Cheap Mahjong sets cost a couple of dollars, but deluxe sets, with beautifully handcrafted, inlaid tiles, could cost $500. The game became so popular that some newspapers published daily Mahjong columns. In 1923, Eddie Cantor immortalized the game in the song "Since Ma Is Playing Mah Jong."

CRAZY FOR CROSSWORDS

The first modern crossword puzzle ran in the *New York World* in 1913, and over the next decade the game gained a foothold in U.S. newspapers. In 1924, Richard L. Simon and Max L. Schuster launched their new publishing company by releasing *The Cross Word Puzzle Book,* the first such collection. The book became a national best seller, and sales of dictionaries and thesauruses also soared.

A few months later, the pastime hopped the Atlantic. London's *Sunday Express* ran its first American-style crossword puzzle in November 1924 (it was, in fact, an American puzzle adapted for British English), and in short order the English-language newspapers of Paris ran them too. They were an immediate sensation, and within weeks European puzzle makers were creating versions in their own languages. First out of the gate was *Le Soir* in Brussels, Belgium. The newspaper promoted its crossword with the offer of cash prizes for solvers. More than 6,000 solutions poured in before the authorities shut down the contest, declaring it an illegal lottery. Meanwhile, French newspapers took pains to declare that the crossword was in fact a French invention—that the American puzzle was a mere variation of a "square-word" game created in France in the late 1800s.

Dance Crazes

The decade saw a series of dance crazes, including the Charleston, the Black Bottom, the collegiate, the varsity drag, the raccoon, and the tango. A related fad was the dance marathon, which began in March 1923, when Alma Cummings established an international record of 27 hours of nonstop dancing at a contest held in New York City's Audubon Ballroom. Soon, contestants in cities across the country were dancing for days in an effort to break the record. By the end of 1923, the record



Congressman T. S. McMillan of South Carolina shows Misses Sylvia Clavans and Ruth Bennett how to do the Charleston, with the Capitol building in the background, 1926. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

for nonstop dancing, set by a Youngstown, Ohio, couple, stood at 182 hours and 8 minutes.

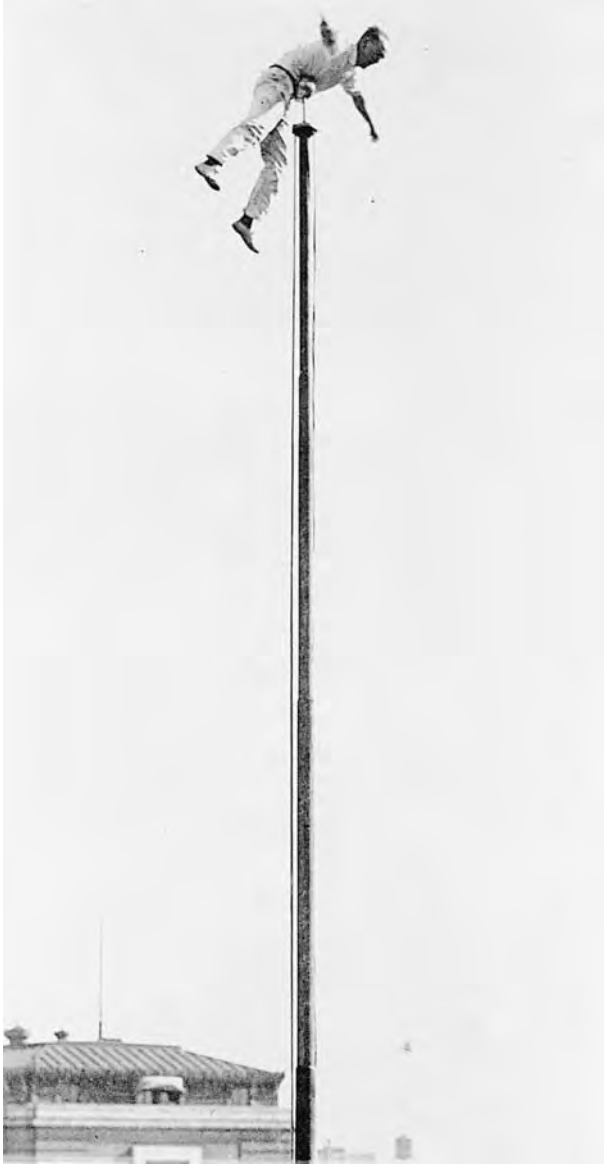
Dance marathons became spectacles, with emcees, orchestras, teams of doctors and nurses, thousands of spectators, and dozens of vendors. By 1924, these contests featured dancing 24 hours a day, usually with hourly 15-minute breaks to allow contestants to rest, eat a snack, and use the rest room. Dance marathons could drag on for weeks, as dancing couples, near exhaustion and suffering from aching feet, shuffled across the floor. Radio broadcasts and tabloid newspaper coverage allowed Americans to follow the day-to-day drama. The most famous dance marathon of the decade occurred in 1928, when Hollywood press agent Milton Crandall staged "the Dance Derby of the Century" at New York's Madison Square Garden. More than 100 couples competed for the $5,000 first prize, but after a grueling first week, only 13 couples remained. Thousands of spectators paid the $2.20 admission price to watch the spectacle, but the Board of Health stopped the marathon after 428 hours, when one contestant collapsed and had to be hospitalized. Although dance marathons flourished in the 1920s, their popularity soared during the Great Depression, when unemployed Americans competed for badly needed cash prizes.

Flagpole Sitting and Other Endurance Crazes

Endurance contests enthralled the nation. In 1928, for example, sports agent and promoter

C. C. Pyle organized a 3,422-mile transcontinental footrace between Los Angeles and New York City that an inventive sportswriter billed as the "Bunion Derby." A field of nearly 200 runners competed for prizes totaling $48,500. A 19-year-old Oklahoman named Andrew Payne won the first-place prize of $25,000 with a time of 573 hours. Americans competed in rocking-chair derbies, milk-drinking marathons, egg-eating races, gum-chewing contests, marathon eating, and even nonstop talking contests. Children competed in jump-rope contests, ball-bouncing marathons, yo-yoing competitions, and long-distance bicycle races.

Perhaps the most outrageous endurance craze of the 1920s was flagpole sitting, which amounted to perching on top of a flagpole for days and sometimes weeks. The most famous flagpole sitter was Alvin "Shipwreck" Kelly, a Hollywood stuntman who ignited this fad in 1924 when he spent 13 hours, 13 minutes atop a flagpole as part of a publicity stunt for a Hollywood theater. Within weeks, scores of fame seekers across the country attempted to break Kelly's record. Businessmen and promoters hired Kelly to stage flagpole sitting exhibitions at store openings, amusement parks, and county fairs. To ensure his comfort and safety, Kelly perched on a small, cushioned seat, 13 inches in diameter, sometimes outfitted with stirrups for his feet that helped him to maintain his balance. While aloft, he took five-minute catnaps and even shaved and had his hair cut. He didn't eat solid food, drinking broth and water hoisted up to him in buckets; a discreetly concealed tube transported his bodily waste down the flagpole. In 1930, 20,000 spectators watched Kelly shatter his own record after he sat atop a flagpole on the Atlantic City boardwalk for more than 49 days. The flagpole sitting faded from the national scene during the Depression.



A "human fly" on top of the Times-Herald Building, Washington, D.C., 1924. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Pogo Sticks, Yo Yos, and Miniature Golf

Some crazes of the 1920s evolved out of new children's toys, such as the pogo stick. Wooden pogo sticks had been manufactured in Germany before 1919, but they tended to warp in high humidity. In 1919, George Hansburg patented a pogo stick constructed out of a metal tube with an enclosed spring, which proved to be more practical and durable. Bouncing on pogo sticks became a national craze after the chorus girls of *The Ziegfeld Follies* performed a dance routine performed on pogo sticks. Publicity stunts such as endurance pogo-sticking contests, attempts at world records for most consecutive jumps, and even marriage ceremonies performed on pogo sticks also fueled the fad.

The yo-yo also became popular during the late 1920s. The yo-yo probably originated in China, with the oldest surviving examples dating back to the fifth century B.C. in Greece. However, in Santa Barbara, California, in 1928, Pedro Flores, who remembered playing with a toy similar to a yo-yo as a child in the Philippines, founded the first American company to manufacture these spinning wooden disks. Flores named them "yo-yos" after the Filipino word for "spring." Flores looped a piece of string around the axle of the disk instead of tying it tight, which allowed the yo-yo to spin in place, or "sleep." His first yo-yos soon became a California craze, and Flores further promoted his yo-yos by sponsoring spinning contests. Around 1930, Donald Duncan acquired Flores's company and obtained a trademark on the word *yo-yo*. He, too, began hosting highly publicized yo-yo competitions to boost sales of his Duncan yo-yo.

Miniature golf, also called "Tom Thumb golf" and "pygmy golf," became a national rage during the late 1920s. Most accounts credit Garnet Carter, the owner of a hotel and golf course on Lookout Mountain near Chattanooga, Tennessee, with developing the first American miniature golf course in 1927. Carter originally built his tiny course, which he called "Fairyland," to generate publicity for his resort, but his miniature links attracted so many golfers that he soon began charging his guests to play. By the end of the 1920s, an estimated four million people a day were putting on the nation's nearly 40,000 miniature golf courses—some of them indoor—complete with tiny windmills, clown faces, and medieval castles. Miniature golf became so popular that Hollywood studio executives feared the movie industry would suffer if couples continued to hit the mini-links instead of buying movie tickets.

Body Building and Fitness

The urge for self-improvement sparked health and fitness fads, including dieting and bodybuilding. Weight-conscious Americans, particularly young women, began dieting to maintain proper health and to conform to the new slimmer standards of American beauty embodied by the boyish-figured flapper. Meanwhile, a bodybuilding fad erupted among men and teenage boys. One of the decade's chief promoters of bodybuilding was Bernarr Macfadden, the so-called "Father of Physical Culture," who publicized his gospel of exercise, health, and fitness in his monthly magazine, *Muscle Builder*. The most famous bodybuilding guru of the 1920s was Charles Atlas, an Italian immigrant born Angelo Siciliano, who developed a total-fitness method of muscle building that pitted one muscle against another. Atlas claimed that he had used this program to transform himself from a 97-pound weakling into a muscle-bound he-man. In 1922, Atlas won the title of "Most Perfectly Developed Man" at a Madison Square Garden competition, and two years later, he began marketing mail-order courses of his "Dynamic Tension" program in the back pages of pulp magazines and other male-oriented periodicals. As a result, tens of thousands of American men and boys joined the bodybuilding craze.

Self-improvement impulses also included the psychological. Emile Coué, a French pharmacist turned psychotherapist, made highly publicized lecture tours of the United States in 1923 and again in 1924. The author of the best-selling *Self-Mastery Through Conscious Autosuggestion* (1922), Coué promoted the idea that people could improve their mental health and happiness through a self-hypnosis program that focused on the repetition of an affirmation.[4] The psychosexual theories of Austrian psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud also captivated the nation. Freud's influential *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900) was widely cited, although seldom read or understood by many Americans during the 1920s. Freudianism became a fad, and such terms as *repression, sublimation,* and *complex* entered people's everyday vocabulary. Conservative critics, however, worried that Freudianism encouraged sexual promiscuity and licentious behavior.

"Exotic" Cultures

An obsession with Egyptian, Asian, and other "exotic" world cultures also produced fleeting fads. In 1922, for example, the spectacular archaeological discovery and excavation of Pharaoh King Tutankhamen's tomb inspired an Egyptian craze in the United States. The iconography

influenced not only the styles of American clothing, jewelry, cosmetics, and hairstyles but also architecture, music, and motion pictures. In 1923, the musical team of Billy Jones and Ernest Hare recorded the novelty song "Old King Tut (In Old King Tutankhamen's Day)." The discovery of King Tut's tomb also inspired the architectural design and interior décor of Grauman's Egyptian Theatre, built in Hollywood in 1922, which featured massive Egyptian columns in the fore-court, hieroglyphics, and huge dog-headed Egyptian god statues. Grauman's Chinese Theatre, which opened one block away in 1927, featured ornate architecture resembling a giant red pagoda, complete with sculptures of huge silver dragons on the interior ceilings.

Middle Eastern and Hawaiian culture also enjoyed widespread popularity in the United States during the early to mid-1920s. Tens of thousands of Americans strummed easy-to-play Hawaiian ukuleles and sang Tin Pan Alley ditties about the Hawaiian Islands. (See "Music of the 1920.") Other foreign cultures, particularly those of Turkey and the Middle East, likewise inspired national obsessions. Fraternal organizations, for example, adopted supposedly exotic symbols and motifs, such as fezzes, as part of their initiation ceremonies, official uniforms, and lodge decor. Hollywood silent film heartthrob Rudolph Valentino's 1921 movie *The Sheik* and its 1926 sequel, *The Son of the Sheik,* also helped fuel the American craze for Middle Eastern exoticism.

Travel

of the 1920s

During the 1920s, Americans were bombarded with advertisements describing wonderful, scenic vacationlands, as well as newer, faster modes of transportation to help them get there. With more leisure time and disposable income, middle-class families traveled farther from their homes to visit seaside resorts, national parks, historic sites, and campgrounds. Railroad and bus lines reached virtually every corner of the United States, and the increasing affordability of automobiles and the nation's expanding network of roads and highways allowed middle-class and even many working-class Americans opportunities to enjoy a Sunday drive, a weekend of auto-camping, or a driving vacation. By the end of the decade, commercial passenger airlines made long-distance travel faster than ever before. As Americans became a mobile society, new businesses—from motels and roadside restaurants to automobile associations and car insurance companies—sprang up to cater to their needs.

MOTOR VEHICLE TRAVEL

Automobiles

Prior to World War I, automobiles were generally unreliable and too expensive for all but the most affluent, but by the 1920s, automobiles were more dependable and, as a result of mass production and new credit plans, more affordable. In 1910, 458,000 passenger cars traversed the nation's roadways. By 1920, that number had soared to eight million, and by 1930, 23 million.[1]

Henry Ford and the Model T

The individual most responsible for putting so many Americans behind the wheel was Henry Ford. (See Travel chapters in 1900s and 1910s.) In 1908, Ford had introduced the sturdy, dependable Model T, a four-cylinder, 20-horsepower automobile that was the first car designed for a mass market. By 1920, half of all cars on the road were Model Ts, and a single car took only an hour and a half to build from start to finish, as opposed to the 14 hours it took in 1913.[2]

Ford's mass production methods revolutionized the automobile industry and transformed his company into the world's largest automobile manufacturer. Ford realized that, by accepting a smaller profit margin on a larger volume of sales, he could reap enormous profits, and through his revolutionary business strategy, he was able to slash the price of his automobiles. In 1909, the Model T sold for $950, but by 1925, a new Model T cost only $290.[3] As a result, middle-class and even many working-class Americans could

now purchase their own Model Ts. Consequently, Ford became a national hero and one of the most celebrated men in 1920s America.

The Automobile Industry

As other car companies copied Ford's efficient methods of mass production, automobile manufacturing grew into one of the nation's largest and most important industries. In 1920, slightly more than 100 automobile manufacturing companies crowded the U.S. market, but the so-called Big Three of Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler accounted for more than 70 percent of all of new car sales. Other U.S. manufacturers concentrated on producing more modern, luxurious automobiles that offered an array of newfangled accessories such as self-starters, fuel gauges, and car radios (available as early as 1923). By 1927, General Motors was producing 72 different models of Cadillacs, Buicks, and Chevrolets, each of which could be purchased with an assortment of features and in a wide selection of colors. Smaller companies, such as Packard, Nash, Pierce-Arrow, and Hudson, also commanded a respectable share of the market by providing expensive, high-quality automobiles to wealthier drivers. Although the number of manufacturers had fallen to 44 by 1929, annual automobile production reached 5.3 million in the United States—a figure not surpassed for another 20 years.[4]

Automobile manufacturers generated enormous sales during the 1920s through a marketing strategy of planned obsolescence, sophisticated advertising, and seductive installment plans. Manufacturers unveiled a new line of automobile models each year to encourage consumers to trade in their old cars for newer ones that were faster and incorporated the most modern designs available. The automobile companies spent millions of dollars advertising technical aspects and such intangibles as the pleasures of driving and the freedoms that automobiles offered. Affordable credit plans also encouraged consumers to purchase automobiles, even if they could not pay in cash. Ford and General Motors financed their own car sales, while smaller companies engaged independent finance companies and banks to provide credit to their customers. As a result, 75 percent of all automobile sales by 1925 were purchased on deferred-payment credit plans.

The Ford Motor Company continued to dominate the auto industry during the early 1920s, but its share of the market slipped in the mid-1920s. While General Motors and other companies designed new car models every year, Ford refused to revamp his aging Model T, which had remained virtually unchanged since 1908. Many consumers chose to purchase secondhand Chevrolets, which were more stylish and comfortable, for a few hundred dollars more rather than purchase a new Model T. In 1927, Ford finally introduced a new automobile, the Model A, which proved to be a great success. Nevertheless, General Motors overtook the Ford Motor Company as the leader of the automobile industry in the late 1920s.

Automobiles and American Prosperity

Automobile production helped fuel the nation's booming economy by stimulating the growth and development of related industries, including steel, petroleum, glass, and rubber manufacturing.

Soaring automobile sales also accelerated the expansion and development of America's highways, and government spending on massive road-building projects pumped tens of millions of dollars into the American economy during the 1920s. Since the 1900s, automobile clubs and trucking companies had lobbied federal and state governments to build better roads. In 1921, Congress passed the Federal Highway Act, which provided the states with matching federal funds to finance the construction of a national network of two-lane, hard-surface roads. By 1927, the national highway system totaled more than 96,000 miles, and several transcontinental highways bisected the nation, including U.S. Route 30, which stretched from Atlantic City, New Jersey, to Astoria, Oregon, and U.S. Route 66, known as "the Main Street of America," which ran from Chicago to Santa Monica, California. Automobile travel also stimulated the construction of bridges, tunnels, bypasses, and other structures designed to improve the flow of traffic on the nation's roadways. For example, the Holland Tunnel, which runs under the Hudson River and connects New York and New Jersey, opened in 1927. On its first

day, more than 51,000 motorists paid the 50-cent toll to pass through what was then the world's longest underwater tunnel.

Meanwhile, an entire roadside service industry of filling stations, garages, camping grounds, motels, and restaurants sprang up across the nation. Between 1921 and 1929, for example, the number of drive-in gas stations ballooned from 12,000 to 143,000.[5] Insurance companies began selling auto insurance policies, and in 1927, Massachusetts became the first state to pass a law requiring all drivers to carry car insurance. Automobile rental companies, which emerged around World War I, catered to traveling salesmen and to those who could not afford to buy their own automobiles. In 1923, John D. Hertz, the owner of a Chicago taxicab company, established the Hertz Drive-Ur-Self Company, the forerunner of Hertz Rent-a-Car.

On the downside, automobiles created numerous problems. Traffic jams, parking problems, and speeding tickets became common. Increased levels of congestion, noise, and air pollution plagued city dwellers. Automobile travel contributed to the destruction of the rural countryside, as motorists tossed trash along the roads, and gaudy billboards and roadway businesses diminished the natural beauty. The rapidly increasing number of cars on the road caused an upsurge in motor vehicle accidents. The death toll from automobile accidents reached 32,900 (most of them pedestrians) in 1930.[6]

Automobiles and American Life

Mass ownership of automobiles spurred the expansion of middle-class suburbs. Many white-collar professionals chose to reside in the suburbs and commute to work. The nation's first suburban shopping center, Country Club Plaza, opened in Kansas City, Missouri, in 1923. Cars enabled farm families to make frequent trips to town, resulting in the closing of many rural crossroad stores, churches, and one-room schoolhouses.

Automobiles created new leisure activities. Cars made it possible to travel long distances relatively easily (by 1925, for example, motorists could cover about 200 miles in an average day), and unlike railroads, automobiles allowed travelers to determine their own departure times, routes, and rates of speed. Family automobile vacations



A clean and inviting Red Hat gasoline station, Columbia, Missouri. Courtesy of the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.

became common for middle-class Americans. Driving around for the sheer pleasure of it became a popular pastime. Originally, though, driving was strictly a fair-weather pursuit, since most automobiles were open-topped touring cars. But beginning in 1923, when sales of closed cars surpassed those of open-tops, driving became a year-round, though often cold and drafty, activity.

For many, automobiles represented the new freedoms of the modern age, but for others, cars symbolized the nation's crumbling moral standards. Conservative politicians, religious leaders, and social workers condemned the automobile for eroding the cohesion of American families and morally corrupting the nation's youth. Automobiles bred fears about increased rates of premarital sexual activity among young people, and ministers thundered about "the desecration of the Sabbath," as some members of their congregations went out for Sunday drives rather than attend church services. Most middle-class Americans, however, had become too attached to their automobiles to be swayed by such condemnation.

THE AUTOMOBILE AND POPULAR CULTURE

Beginning around 1900, automobiles regularly cropped up as the subject of songs, theater shows, motion pictures, magazines, comic strips, joke books, and children's toys. Tin Pan Alley songwriters composed hundreds of novelty numbers about automobiles; more than 60 popular song titles specifically mentioned Henry Ford and his Model T. During the 1910s and 1920s, the Model T inspired a series of joke books that poked fun at Ford's rattletraps. Broadway comedies such as *Six Cylinder Love* (1921) and *Nervous Wreck* (1923) featured plots that revolved around the automobile. Noted illustrator John Held Jr. immortalized flappers and their sporty roadsters in the caricatures he drew for the covers of *Life* and *Judge* magazines. Automobiles featured prominently in Hollywood motion pictures, especially gangster films and slapstick comedies. Mack Sennett's *Keystone Kops* serials, for example, depicted a troupe of bumbling policemen who chased criminals (and narrowly dodged locomotives and pedestrians) in their overloaded Ford patrol wagon. Cast-iron cars, trucks, buses, taxicabs, and fire engines became favorite playthings for boys.

PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION

Buses

Long-distance bus companies emerged in the 1910s to meet growing public transportation needs. Originally, bus lines were designed to transport groups of workers over short distances. For example, in 1914, Eric Wickman began shuttling iron miners in his first "bus"—a seven-passenger Hupmobile—between Hibbing and Alice, Minnesota. Wickman soon commissioned the construction of more "buses"—elongated auto bodies welded onto truck frames—and hired additional drivers. In 1915, he and two partners formed the Mesaba Transportation Company in Hibbing, which went through a series of company names before becoming, in 1930, Greyhound Bus Lines. Greyhound was a nickname because of the early bus's appearance: grey and white and considered sleek.[7]

By the mid-1920s, networks of bus lines across the United States carried travelers from city to city. Local bus service also expanded, as passengers and commuters began to take buses across town or back and forth to work. Originally, most of these "buses" were customized automobiles or trucks, but as the demand grew, automobile manufacturers began producing specially designed multi-passenger vehicles for mass transit. By 1925, at least 3,600 different bus companies operated more than 21,000 vehicles across nearly a quarter of a million miles of America's roads.[8] By 1930, an estimated 41,000 buses navigated the nation's roadways. For a one-way fare of $72, passengers in 1928 could travel by bus from Los Angeles to New York, stopping at 132 towns during the five-and-a-half day trip. Although buses proved popular among business travelers, factory workers, and lower-income families who did not own cars, tourists preferred driving their own cars or taking trains. Well-to-do travelers visiting new locales often took scenic bus rides, letting the driver negotiate the unfamiliar terrain while they relaxed and enjoyed the sights.

Taxicabs

Thousands of independent owners and operators pressed their private autos into makeshift service as cabs during the 1910s and 1920s. By the 1920s, Ford and General Motors operated extensive fleets of taxicabs in major urban centers across the United States. In 1915, Chicago businessmen Walden W. Shaw and John D. Hertz formed the Yellow Cab Company, the nation's largest and oldest taxicab company. This pioneering company operated specially designed taxis that were painted bright yellow in order to make them stand out on busy streets. A Russian immigrant named Morris Markin founded the Checkered Cab Manufacturing Company in Kalamazoo, Michigan in 1922. Soon, his distinctive yellow and black taxis became common in many American cities.

Streetcars

Since the 1890s, urban dwellers had relied heavily on public streetcars for transportation within their cities. In 1917, 80,000 electric trolleys traversed 45,000 miles of track in cities and towns nationwide. Streetcars were an affordable means of mass transit, and low-wage employees depended upon them for their daily commutes. By 1923, however, ridership had begun to dwindle. Most cities failed to give streetcars the right-of-way over private cars, which slowed streetcar service and frustrated passengers. Others abandoned trolleys to ride subways (in major metropolitan areas such



A woman taxi driver prepares to get into her vehicle. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

as New York and Boston) or city buses, which offered more flexible service than trolleys. As the automobile became more affordable and popular, more middle-class Americans drove their own cars, and the popularity of streetcars waned.

VACATIONS

The number of Americans who vacationed rose considerably in the decade. One day excursions to amusements parks, the seashore, or the countryside were common, but vacations of a week or more, spent either at a single location or touring about in an automobile, became increasingly frequent.

Of course, vacationing depended on sufficient time off from work and enough disposable income to spend on travel expenses. In the 1920s, salaried middle-class employees increasingly received short paid vacations. By the end of the decade, an estimated 80 percent of white-collar workers received at least some paid vacation time from their employers. Most took inexpensive trips, such as visiting relatives, fishing, camping, or touring a portion of the country.

Paid vacations were seldom extended to the working classes. In large part, this bias evolved from the notion that industrial workers did not "need" vacations, since only those who worked with their minds, not their muscles, suffered the sort of mental strain and emotional tension that vacations could alleviate. Men employed in automobile factories, textile mills, or meatpacking plants could rest on Sundays and, went this logic, feel refreshed again by Monday morning. Furthermore, blue-collar wage earners seldom worked for a solid year, owing largely to work stoppages or layoffs during slow seasons. Thus, employers believed that their workers already enjoyed plenty of time off (though this was at the employees' expense).

In addition, working-class Americans seldom had the financial resources to take extended vacations. Thus, the working classes spent their leisure hours on more local pursuits. Men joined fraternal organizations, attended prizefights, or watched baseball games. Husbands and wives went to the movies, dance halls, or vaudeville shows, and whole families spend weekend afternoons picnicking or going to an amusement park.

A few progressive business owners did realize that providing paid vacations to their blue-collar employees increased efficiency, promoted loyalty, reduced turnover, and boosted morale. Many of the companies that furnished paid time off guided their employees in choosing the "best" vacations, since employers feared that idle workers with money in their pockets might drink and carouse the whole time and return to work exhausted and in ill health. Thus, many companies actively encouraged camping trips and other low cost, outdoor vacations. Some firms even established their own summer camps, where workers could vacation for little or no money and at the same time be supervised by company employed recreational directors and social workers.

Auto-camping

Since the mid-1910s, "auto-camping" appealed to millions as an enjoyable way to escape the daily pressures of modern life. President Warren G. Harding joined avid outdoorsmen Henry Ford, Thomas A. Edison, and Harvey Firestone on a highly publicized camping trip in 1921. Camping provided outdoor adventure, and, after the initial outlay for a tent and other equipment, it was comparatively inexpensive.

Since the earliest days of auto-camping, motorists had customized their cars and trucks by adding sleeping compartments and other gadgets to outfit them for outdoor living. During the mid-1910s and 1920s, specialized camping trailers appeared on the market, such as the Automobile Telescope Touring Apartment, first manufactured in 1916, which folded out into a bed, kitchen, and shower. Other motorists pulled trailers, or "trailer coaches," introduced in the mid-1920s, which served as both sleeping and cooking quarters. Camping equipment manufacturers, such as Coleman, L. L. Bean, and Eddie Bauer, also produced extensive lines of collapsible beds, portable stoves, folding chairs, ice chests, and other outdoor gear designed to make life on the road more comfortable.

Originally, motorists simply pitched tents and set up campsites along the roadside, often without obtaining the permission of the property owner. But by 1920, cities and towns along well-traveled

tourist routes had begun to establish municipal camping grounds to capture tourist dollars and to prevent campers from damaging private property. These campgrounds, which were funded by local taxes, were open to all travelers, and the better ones offered free access to toilets and showers, electric lights, firewood, potable water, and a community kitchen. By 1925, however, many of these municipal campgrounds began to charge entrance and registration fees, as well as to impose stricter regulations and time limits, in order to discourage hoboes and transients from squatting at these campsites.

As the number of free municipal campgrounds dwindled, entrepreneurs began to establish private campgrounds that charged entrance fees, called auto-camps, many of which went by homey, unpretentious names such as "Dew Drop Inn." Cabin camps rented small, sparsely furnished cabins that usually were little more than shacks. Some of the better facilities featured clean, comfortable buildings and the additional amenities of community rest rooms and showers, gasoline stations, grocery stores, lunch counters, and recreation halls. Most of these roadside cabin camps were located in the South and Southwest, where the warm climate made tourism a year round industry. Although hotels continued to accommodate most travelers and tourists, cabin camps attracted tens of thousands of visitors each year who desired something cheaper than a hotel and more comfortable than a campsite.

Motels

Like auto-camps and cabin camps, motels first emerged as a thrifty alternative to hotels. Although motels date to at least the 1910s, the first to use the term was the Milestone Mo-Tel, which opened in San Luis Obispo, California, in 1925. Soon *motel* became a generic term to describe a wide variety of roadside accommodations. As opposed to hotels, which were located in downtown urban centers or at country resorts, motels consisted of a number of small cottages clustered around a main office building. Roadside motels catered to middle-class families who chose affordability and convenience over luxury. Motels did not generally feature a main lobby area, so road-weary tourists had no fear of looking unpresentable in front of other guests. Motel patrons carried their own bags in from the car, so there was no need to tip a bellboy. And since few motels offered room service, families could eat their picnic meals in their own room or perhaps drive to an affordable roadside eatery. By 1928, there were an estimated 3,000 motels across the nation.[9] One early motel chain, the Alamo Plaza Tourist Court, opened its first outlet in Waco, Texas, in 1929. That same year, the Pierce Petroleum Corporation built a chain of five 40-room hotels in the Midwest along U.S. Route 66.

TRAVEL DESTINATIONS

Resort cities and towns lured millions of vacationers to their hotels, beaches, and boardwalks each year. Resorts offered activities such as swimming, gambling, hunting, fishing, tennis, and viewing the scenery. Racial segregation, anti-Semitism, and other forms of prejudice prevented members of certain minority groups from staying at these desirable resorts. Some African Americans responded to this lack of accessibility by opening their own hotels, boardinghouses, and restaurants in established resort areas and then catering to a black middle-class clientele. Others, unwilling to risk unpleasant confrontations, frequented different vacation destinations. Black seaside resorts sprang up, for example, in Wilmington, North Carolina, Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, Sag Harbor, New York, and Highland Beach, Virginia. Jewish vacationers, also unwelcome at many resorts, established their own vacation getaways in the Catskill Mountains of New York and the Poconos of Pennsylvania.

While resorts appealed to vacationers who could afford them, far more Americans chose to "rough it" in the fresh air and scenic beauty of the nation's less-populated areas. For many, this involved a trek to one of the western national parks. In 1916, President Woodrow Wilson signed a bill creating the National Park Service, a division of the Department of the Interior which was charged with conserving the natural resources and beauty of the nation's parks and, at the same time, providing ways for travelers to enjoy these protected public lands. Under this mandate, the Park Service

authorized the limited construction of roadways and hotel accommodations within the boundaries of national parks. A vigorous publicity campaign encouraged visitors to travel, by car or by train, to such stunning destinations as Yellowstone National Park (Wyoming), Yosemite National Park (California), Grand Canyon National Park (Arizona), and Glacier National Park (Montana). In 1917, approximately 55,000 automobiles entered the national parks, but by 1926 that number had grown to 400,000.[10] Railways carried thousands of guests to the western national parks. For example, between 1921 and 1925, the Yosemite Valley Railroad sold an average of 20,000 tickets annually, and by 1930, five different railroads carried passengers into Yellowstone National Park. Some well-to-do visitors stayed in hotels and inns inside the parks, but the vast majority pitched their tents in designated campgrounds. Conservationists feared the destruction of these protected areas, due to the parks' increasing commercialization and subsequent overuse by hundreds of thousands of tourists, but carefully designed networks of roads and buildings did protect and conserve most of these wild public lands.

Florida's tourist industry successfully touted the state as a tropical playground, despite devastating hurricanes and the infamous Florida land boom and bust of the early 1920s. By 1925, more than a half-million tourists each year motored to Florida, and resorts in Miami Beach, Sarasota, Coral Gables, and Key West attracted visitors from all over the United States.

TRAIN TRAVEL

In 1920, trains were still the preferred means of inter-city passenger travel and, equally important, the primary method of hauling freight. Train travel in the United States peaked in 1920, when a record 1.2 billion passengers purchased rail tickets.

Railroad company advertisements stressed their fine amenities and services. Dining cars allowed travelers to relax, socialize, and watch the scenery, while enjoying an exquisite menu that rivaled those of the nation's best restaurants. Smoking lounges, hair salons, café cars, and observation cars helped passengers to while away the hours. Sleeper cars, most of which were owned and operated by the Pullman Company, offered guests private quarters attended by porters, but such comforts were reserved for first-class passengers. For coach-class passengers, traveling by train during the 1920s could be hot and dirty, particularly during the summer months, since air-conditioning was nonexistent on parlor cars, and dirt and cinders inevitably blew through open windows. Coach passengers could not always access dining cars, and therefore had to pack their own lunches, eat at depots when the train stopped, or rely on the vendors who walked the train cars selling candy, cigarettes, and sandwiches. Despite the convenience of train travel, it was not comfortable, and a cross-country train trip could take a week or longer.

By 1929, the popularity of automobiles had drastically reduced the number of passengers opting for rail travel; by then, private automobiles carried five times as many passengers as did trains.[11]



Passengers getting off the back of a train, 1927. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

OCEAN TRAVEL

For Americans, the only way to reach Europe during the 1920s was by ocean liner. Henry Ford, Charlie Chaplin, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and dozens of other famous millionaires, politicians, and celebrities sailed to Europe in high style and elegance on these grand floating palaces. And for the millions of European immigrants who crowded onto them between the 1890s and the 1920s, these ships represented the opportunity to build better lives in the United States.

After the end of World War I, the demand for transatlantic passenger service grew as the British Isles and continental Europe once again opened to American tourism, despite the tragic losses of life in the sinkings of the *Titanic* in 1912 and the *Lusitania* in 1915. During the 1920s, approximately 80 companies operated dozens of ships that provided weekly express service between New York Harbor and various European ports. Among the great North Atlantic liners of the decade were Cunard Line's *Aquitania,* White Star Line's *Leviathan,* the North German Lloyd Line's *Bremen,* and the French Line's *Iˆle de France.* These ships sometimes approached 1,000 feet in length and topped 50,000 gross tons. Large ocean liners could carry as many as 3,350 passengers, most of whom were booked in third and fourth-class accommodations. Averaging speeds of around 27 knots, the fastest of these powerful ships could make a transatlantic crossing in four or five days.

The great ocean liners such as the *Aquitania* and the *Iˆle de France* offered first-class passengers world-class dining, well-appointed staterooms, and quality recreation and entertainment, including golf, ballroom dancing, soaking in the spa, or working out in the gymnasium. Physicians, nurses, activities directors, chefs, waiters, valets, maids, tailors, and shoeshine boys catered to a first-class passenger's every need.

Most steamship passengers purchased far more affordable third and fourth-class tickets, which provided just basic accommodations. These passengers occupied less desirable cabins in the bowels of the ship, and sometimes as many as 2,700 steerage passengers would be crowded into as little as one-fifth of the ship's entire space. During the 1920s, the United States severely restricted immigration, causing a dramatic drop in the number of steerage tickets sold. In response, foreign shipping lines sought to appeal to middle-class American passengers by creating economical "cabin-class" and "tourist-class" rates. Shipping lines recruited some of best graphic artists and illustrators to promote steamship travel through modern, stylish advertising materials. These colorful posters, magazine advertisements, and brochures enticed many well-off Americans to travel to France, Italy, Spain, England, and other European nations. Of course, sailing aboard ocean liners was an experience largely reserved for the upper classes, who could spend several weeks or months touring various destinations. Some middle-class travelers did splurge on a once in-a-lifetime "grand tour" of Europe, but transatlantic travel remained quite uncommon among ordinary Americans.

AIR TRAVEL

The use of planes for combat and reconnaissance during World War I led to rapid development in American aircraft technology. After the war ended, anyone with a few hundred dollars could purchase a surplus military biplane. At the time no airline regulatory system existed—no examinations or licenses for pilots, no safety certificates for the planes. Ex-fighter pilots (and more than a few self-taught fliers) bought these discarded planes, fixed them up, and barnstormed from town to town, thrilling county fairgoers at air shows by offering $5 rides and performing daredevil stunts such as flying upside down and "barrel-rolling" in midair. "Wing-walkers" stood on the wings of a biplane in flight, hit golf balls, turned cartwheels, or parachuted safely to the ground. Self-employed pilots often took odd jobs crop dusting, skywriting, assisting with aerial mapping, ferrying passengers short distances, or even smuggling illegal liquor. Full-fledged commercial airlines, with regular routes, schedules, and employees, did not yet exist.

The earliest commercial passenger airlines used seaplanes, outfitted with pontoon landing gear, to ferry tourists between coastal resort towns. Because seaplanes flew low over the water and could land at any time, they were commonly considered safer than regular planes. Passenger airlines



The comfortable and formal-looking drawing room of a Handley Page Air Liner, with seven passengers, 1930. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

soon inaugurated short-distance service between New York and Atlantic City, Chicago and Detroit, Miami and Nassau, and Key West and Havana. Most of these companies were only seasonal operations, and, since most biplanes could accommodate only one passenger at a time, they failed to be very profitable.

Charles Lindbergh

The commercial aviation industry received an enormous boost from Charles A. Lindbergh's historic 1927 transatlantic flight. In 1919, a French hotelier offered a $25,000 prize to the first pilot or team of pilots who could complete a nonstop transatlantic flight between the United States and France. Several aviators attempted to claim the prize, but each flight ended in disappointment or disaster, including the deaths of at least six pilots. In 1927, former barnstormer and airmail pilot Charles A. Lindbergh made his bid for the prize, flying solo in his single-engine monoplane, *Spirit of St. Louis.* On Friday, May 20, 1927, he taxied down the runway at Roosevelt Field on Long Island, New York. He landed 33 and a half hours later at Paris's Le Bourget Aerodrome. A shy, introverted Minnesotan who dreaded the glare of the media spotlight, Lindbergh was dismayed to find that his flight had catapulted him to international celebrity. President Calvin Coolidge dispatched the navy cruiser *USS Memphis* to retrieve the nation's newly minted hero, and upon his return, four million fans turned out for a ticker-tape parade in New York City to celebrate his accomplishment. Lindbergh, the unknown pilot, became "Lucky Lindy," the national hero.

More than any other figure of the 1920s, Lindbergh became an object of American hero worship. His celebrity arose from two ideas about what his historic flight meant. First, Lindbergh embodied the courageous individualism and pioneer spirit that many Americans associated



Charles A. Lindbergh, 1927. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

with the founding and settlement of the United States. For them, his feat demonstrated that even in an increasingly bureaucratic and mechanized modern age, the individual human spirit could still triumph. Second, Lindbergh symbolized the wonders and progress of the Machine Age. President Coolidge congratulated Lindbergh for flying a plane constructed of materials and parts produced by more than 100 different companies, acknowledging that the *Spirit of St. Louis* was the result of the research, development, and labor of countless American engineers and workers.

The Rise of Commercial Airlines

After Lindbergh's historic achievement, the possibilities of flight captured the American imagination like never before. The commercial airline industry purchased larger, more powerful planes and expanded their passenger services and routes. In 1926, American aircraft manufacturers, including Boeing, Ryan, Curtiss-Wright, and even Ford, had produced a collective total of only about 1,000 airplanes, but in 1929 that figure reached 6,200. Meanwhile, the number of airline passengers soared from 5,800 in 1926 to 417,000 in 1930.[12] By 1929, airline passengers could travel coast-to-coast by flying during the day and riding trains at night (night flight was still deemed unsafe for passenger planes). For around $400, for example, a traveler could purchase a ticket on the transcontinental "Lindbergh Line"—a two-day adventure that required passengers to ride from New York to Ohio aboard a sleeper train, then in the morning board a Ford Tri-Motor monoplane and fly to Oklahoma, then board another

HOW OTHERS SEE US

Paris Does the Lindy

Contrary to expectations, Charles Lindbergh's 1927 solo flight across the Atlantic made him a hero in France, where his 33 and a half hour journey ended on the night of May 21.

Lindbergh's audacious choice to fly solo (not a requirement of the competition) and his flight's New York starting point led some to fear that he would be met with stony silence, or worse, if he landed safely at Le Bourget airfield near Paris.

Instead, the French keenly followed progress reports that ground observers cabled to Paris newspapers as the *Spirit of St. Louis* made its way over Newfoundland, Ireland, and western France. During the final minutes of Lindbergh's flight, excited Parisians scanned the skies for signs of his plane. At least 25,000 cheering Frenchmen thronged Le Bourget to welcome Lindbergh, creating a human wave that overwhelmed the police and military attempting to keep order. At the airfield and in the streets, people celebrated for hours after his landing.

In the week that followed, amid ceremonies and speeches, Paris restaurants named dishes after Lindbergh, people delivered hundreds of congratulatory bouquets to the American embassy, and fashionable women adopted the leather airman's helmet as the latest in hats. The 25-year-old flyer was hailed as "just such a hero as this tired world has been looking for."

After all, as one French soldier commented on joining the airfield celebration, "Il n'est pas Français, mais, après tout, ça se passe a Paris" (loosely, "Okay, he's not French—at least he landed in Paris").

overnight train to New Mexico, and then the next day fly to Los Angeles. Dozens of small carriers flew thousands of passengers along shorter routes. Through a series of mergers and acquisitions, American Airways, Eastern Air Lines, United Airlines, and Transcontinental and Western Air (later Trans-World Airlines) dominated long-distance air travel by the end of the 1920s. A fifth, Pan-American, was the only American airline to win contracts for mail routes between the United States and Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean. By 1930, Pan-Am served 20 countries and ranked as the largest commercial airline in the world.

Air travel in the 1920s was far from luxurious. Airplane engines and propellers were noisy and flights were often bumpy. Cabins were neither pressurized nor heated, so flying at high altitudes meant passengers endured freezing temperatures, and flying too high for too long caused many passengers to faint. Many suffered terrible airsickness, and while some opened the windows and stuck their heads out to vomit into the skies, others simply threw up in the cabin. In fact, the industry's first flight attendants, hired by Boeing Air Transport for its regular passenger routes in 1930, were trained nurses. Since airmail contracts—not passenger tickets—still generated the bulk of commercial airline companies' revenues in the late 1920s, airlines did not yet offer comfortable seats, decent meals, or other amenities.

Visual Arts

of the 1920s

By the 1920s, American visual arts, especially painting and sculpture, had entered the era of modernism, as evidenced by the 1929 opening of New York's Museum of Modern Art. Although many artists gravitated toward more traditional landscape, portrait, and still-life scenes, some artists created avant-garde works that attempted to capture the realities of the modern world.

MODERNIST MOVEMENTS

A number of European artistic movements in the early twentieth century influenced American modern art during the 1920s. Cubism, perhaps the most influential artistic movement in twentieth century art, began in France in the late 1900s and flourished throughout the 1910s and into the early 1920s. Cubist art emphasized shifting viewpoints, focused on geometric shapes (including cubes), and rendered three-dimensional objects in terms of flat, two-dimensional planes. The Dadaist movement also influenced American art of the 1920s. Rejecting conventional styles of representation, Dadaists sought new ways to express their ideas and shock their audiences. The Philadelphia-born artist and photographer Man Ray is the only American who played a significant role in the evolution of Dadaism, but other American artists absorbed some of Dadaism's unorthodox techniques and philosophies. Surrealism originated in the nihilistic ideas of the Dadaists, but also found inspiration in the psychoanalytic theories of Sigmund Freud and the political ideology of Karl Marx. Surrealist paintings were full of confusing, startling images and unexpected juxtapositions that seem, in some cases, to mirror an irrational, dreamlike reality or the workings of the unconscious mind. Surrealism flourished overseas, but Americans made few important contributions to this movement during the 1920s.

The most important introduction of European modernism to American audiences occurred in 1913, when the International Exhibition of Modern Art, better known as the Armory Show, was held at the 69th Regiment Armory in New York City. (See "Art of the 1910s.") Despite relentless ridicule by critics and near riots by art fans (particularly in Boston), the Armory Show reverberated in American art circles for decades. Modern art had arrived in America.

AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ART

During the 1920s, many American artists experimented with techniques borrowed from the European modernists. However, new schools of distinctly American art emerged, several of which rejected the notion that Europeans had

monopolized new methods of artistic expression. Rather, these American artists found in their native country the inspiration to create powerful and bold artistic styles.

The Ashcan School

Robert Henri, an innovative American painter of the 1920s who had studied art in Europe, founded one of the most important new schools of American art. Henri's New York art school placed him at the center of a group of urban realist painters who called themselves "the Eight." The group consisted of Henri, John Sloan, William J. Glackens, Everett Shinn, George Luks, Arthur B. Davies, Ernest Lawson, and Maurice Prendergast. These painters became known as members of the "Ashcan school," a disparaging term coined by critic Holger Cahill in 1934, because these artists rejected classical themes in order to paint scenes of ordinary street life and working people.

Two prominent painters closely associated with the Ashcan school were George Bellows and Edward Hopper. Bellows, who studied under Robert Henri, is best remembered for his vivid paintings of boxing matches. In 1923, after boxing had been legalized in New York, the *New York Evening Journal* commissioned Bellows to paint the heavyweight championship bout between Jack Dempsey and Argentinean challenger Luis Firpo. Bellows's famous *Dempsey and Firpo* (1924) depicted the dramatic moment in the first round of their 1923 fight when Firpo knocked Dempsey out of the ring and onto a desk full of sportswriters (Dempsey returned to the ring and retained the heavyweight belt by knocking Firpo out in the second round). Edward Hopper, another of Robert Henri's students, launched his artistic career as an illustrator for magazines such



"Annual parade of the cable-trolley cripple club" by George Luks, a member of the Ashcan school of art. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

as *Adventure* and *Scribner's*. His first one-man exhibition as a painter, in 1920, met with little acclaim, but by the mid-1920s, his reputation as an accomplished watercolorist had begun to grow. Hopper's *House by the Railroad* (1925), depicting a solitary house standing starkly alongside the railroad tracks, is considered an American classic, and it was the first painting acquired by the Museum of Modern Art.

American Scene Painting

American Scene painting, another form of American realism rooted in the tradition of the Ashcan school, was exceptionally popular with American audiences during the 1920s and 1930s. American Scene painters captured particular moments in the lives of ordinary Americans; their works often featured rural farm scenes, small-town festivities, or big-city streetscapes. For example, watercolorist Charles Burchfield portrayed commonplace scenes of provincial America in his paintings *House of Mystery* (1924), *Scrap Iron* (1929), and *Rainy Night* (1929–1930). Other important members of this school include Reginald March, Isabel Bishop, and Alexander Brook.

Precisionism

Precisionism, or Cubist Realism, was another American art movement that peaked during the 1920s. *Precisionism,* a term coined in the 1920s, describes a uniquely American painting style that emphasized sharply defined, geometric forms and flat planes. Precisionist painters composed highly structured, somewhat realistic scenes that typically depicted the skyscrapers, bridges, office buildings, and smokestacks of the modern city or the barns, farmhouses, and agricultural machinery of the rural landscape. Three of the most significant members of this school were Charles Sheeler and Georgia O'Keeffe. Sheeler, who also became a well-known photographer, was deeply influenced by the European art movements of Cubism and Dadaism. His Precisionist works of the 1920s, including *New York* (1920), *Offices* (1922), and *Upper Deck* (1929), capture the sharp geometry he saw in the modern metropolitan streetscape. An even more famous exponent of Precisionism was



Thin line drawing shows a jazz singing flapper accompanied by a trombone player on the left and a saxophone player on the right, 1927. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Georgia O'Keeffe, best remembered for her exquisite portraits of enormous flowers and southwestern landscapes. Her large, close-up paintings of flowers, including *Petunia No. 2* (1924) and *White Flower* (1929) emphasized the organic geometry of the blossoms. O'Keeffe also painted cityscapes during the 1920s, including *New York With Moon* (1925), *City Night* (1926), and *The Shelton With Sunspots* (1926). These paintings combined the flat planes and geometric shapes of Precisionism with abstract elements and photographic characteristics. O'Keeffe was well versed in the aesthetics of photography, no doubt due in part to her marriage to famous American photographer Alfred Stieglitz.

ART OF THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE

The Harlem Renaissance, or New Negro Movement, of the 1920s witnessed an outpouring of significant artistic works by African Americans, including sculptors Richard Barthé, Augusta Savage, and May Howard Jackson; photographers Richard S. Roberts and James Van Der Zee; and

black painters and illustrators such as Archibald J. Motley Jr., Palmer Hayden, and William E. Braxton. However, the deeply ingrained racism of American culture prevented many of these talented artists from achieving the public recognition received by their white counterparts.

Some museums refused to exhibit the work of black artists, and some art schools declined to consider black applicants for scholarships. In 1923, sculptor Augusta Savage brought this discrimination against black artists to the attention of the American public when, after being rejected for a summer art school in France because of her race, she appealed to the press. Her story appeared in newspapers, and while she never did receive the scholarship, she did focus public scrutiny on the problem. Wealthy white philanthropist William Elmer Harmon tried to rectify this unfortunate situation by establishing the Harmon Foundation in 1922, which gave annual awards and cash prizes for African American achievement in seven categories: literature, fine arts, science, education, industry, religion, and music. In 1928, the Harmon Foundation began to sponsor all-black art exhibits that helped gain more widespread public exposure for the work of African American artists.



A painting by Aaron Douglas, 1925. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Perhaps the best-known African American painter of the Harlem Renaissance was Aaron Douglas. Douglas was a student of the German artist Winold Reiss, who painted African Americans not as crude stereotypes, but as dignified, unique individuals. Reiss encouraged Douglas to incorporate African imagery into his paintings, which he did with great success. His May 1927 cover for the Urban League's magazine *Opportunity,* for example, depicts the proud profile of a long-necked Mangbetu woman with an elaborate African hairstyle. Many of Douglas's works, including this one, feature angular, elongated figures, usually painted in silhouette and often accented by contrasting outlines and radiating circles and waves. Douglas illustrated celebrated novels by Countee Cullen, James Weldon Johnson, and Langston Hughes, and others. In 1928, Douglas became the first president of the Harlem Artists Guild, an organization that helped black artists secure federal funding from the Works Progress Administration during the Great Depression.

PHOTOGRAPHY

During the 1920s, photographs became more common in newspapers, magazines, and illustrated books than ever. However, photography was not generally considered an important art form. Few art museums collected or exhibited photographs, and photography was largely seen as either the pastime of hobbyists or merely an element of journalism and advertising. By the end of the 1920s, several important art museums had begun to include photographs in their displays, including the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Museum of Modern Art, and the careers of such famous art photographers as Ansel Adams, Imogen Cunningham, Edward Steichen, and Man Ray had been launched.

Art photography constituted only a tiny aspect of the world of photography during the 1920s. Amateur photography was an exceptionally popular pastime during the decade. Around the turn of the century, technological advances helped to

democratize photography by making cameras much simpler, lighter, and more efficient, and making film developing easier and cheaper. From 1914 through the mid-1920s, Kodak promoted various models of its popular "Autographic Kodak" folding cameras, which allowed users to write on each negative a short sentence identifying the date, place, and subject of the photograph. Kodak advertising convinced consumers that chronicling the lives of their families, particularly their children, was an important endeavor, and sales of photography equipment escalated.

Photography enthusiasts often joined camera clubs, which had flourished since the 1890s. Members gathered to discuss the latest camera technologies and development techniques, though by the 1920s most casual photographers chose to have their film developed in labs rather than doing it themselves. Despite the popularity of amateur photography, professional studios also thrived. By the 1920s, most small towns counted at least one studio photographer among its Main Street businesses.

Photojournalism and Commercial Photography

Newspapers and magazines began to incorporate an increasing number of photographs into their pages during the 1920s, and photography was recognized as an important medium for documenting the political and social realities. The immensely popular tabloid newspapers, such as the *New York Daily News* and the *New York Evening Graphic,* filled their pages with photographs of everything from national celebrities to accused criminals to dramatic images of reenacted or fictional events (called "composographs"). Composographs were collages of photographs juxtaposed in such a way that they portrayed events never actually captured on film. Users of this technique often sacrificed realism for sensationalism. For example, when Rudolph Valentino died in 1926, the *Evening Graphic* published a composograph of the deceased film star meeting his fellow countryman, Italian opera star Enrico Caruso, in heaven. Often the front page of tabloids consisted of nothing but pictures and a single headline. Inside, more photographs—some authentic, some fabricated—taught readers to rely on images to tell them a story. In 1928, the *New York Daily News* published an illicit photograph of the actual electrocution of Ruth Snyder, a Queens, New York, housewife convicted of murdering her husband. Disobeying the orders of prison officials, a newsman snapped the gruesome image with a hidden camera strapped to his ankle, and when published on the cover of the tabloid, the photograph ignited a storm of controversy. Nonetheless, that edition of the *Daily News* sold an extra half-million copies.[1]

Advertisers were slow to realize the potential of photographs. In 1925, only about six percent of national newspaper ads contained photographs, and advertisers still believed that the best way to attract consumers' attention was through the use of striking artwork and, when possible, bold colors. But by the end of the decade, photography had become increasingly prevalent in newspaper and magazine advertising. Advertising photographers used a variety of artistic techniques, including extreme camera angles, distorting lenses, and artificial backgrounds, to entice consumers into purchasing its product. The fashion industry also began to use photography to showcase the latest stylish outfits. And many commercial photographers experimented with retouching photographs or superimposing multiple photographs onto one another in order to create stunning visual effects.

SCULPTURE

Sculpture remained a rarefied art form that was accessible mostly to urban museumgoers. The general public was exposed, however, to a certain amount of outdoor sculpture, often in the form of large bronze statues of Confederate soldiers, famous generals, or presidents. Tourists in Washington, D.C., could visit the impressive Lincoln Memorial, which opened in 1922 and featured Daniel Chester French's sculpture of a seated President Lincoln. One innovative sculptor of the 1920s, however, set his sights on creating artistic sculpture of a scale never before attempted. Gutzon Borglum's work attracted national headlines as he labored to carve and blast mountains into art.

Borglum is best remembered for carving South Dakota's Mount Rushmore, but he also created numerous public monuments and outdoor statues, including a dramatic bronze figure of Union General Philip Sheridan on horseback (1924), and an enormous bronze casting of 42 life-size figures, horses, and cannons that memorialized American soldiers and sailors, titled *Wars of America* (1926).

In 1915, the United Daughters of the Confederacy invited Borglum to carve the head of Confederate General Robert E. Lee onto the granite face of Stone Mountain near Atlanta, Georgia. Borglum soon expanded the scope of this project to include the images of Confederate President Jefferson Davis and General Stonewall Jackson, as well as a long procession of Confederate soldiers on foot and on horseback. Stone carving on such a massive scale had never before been attempted, and Borglum had to invent several new techniques to turn the mountainside into art. Using a specially designed projector, he devised a way to project an image onto the side of the mountain so that it could then be outlined in paint. He also worked with engineers to develop techniques for dynamiting out pieces of rock without irreparably damaging the sculpture itself. Drilling began in June 1923, and, seven months later, Borglum unveiled the partially completed sculpture of Lee's head at a dramatic dedication ceremony. In the spring of 1924, however, a rift developed between the sculptor and the Stone Mountain Confederate Memorial Association, formed in 1923 to solicit financial support for the project. Borglum was fired from the unfinished project, and his vision of the enormous mountain sculpture was never fully realized (although, in 1970, the carvings of Lee, Jefferson Davis, and Stonewall Jackson were finally completed). Later in 1924, at the invitation of the South Dakota state historian, Borglum traveled to the Black Hills to begin planning his immense sculpture of four U.S. presidents on Mount Rushmore. Carving began in 1927, and although Borglum died in 1941, before he could put the finishing touches on his great sculpted portraits, he did live long enough to see the gigantic visages of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt emerge from the stone.

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American Pop

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Foreword: Popular Culture's Roots Run Deep

Ray B. Browne

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Although *American Pop* focuses on popular culture as it developed in the twentieth century, it is critical that readers understand that most of these topics did not spring to life without roots running deep into the nation's past. In today's fast-paced, computer-dominated society, it is easy to forget history and innovation because so much of American idealism is based on looking toward the bright future. We are a nation obsessed with the idea that better days are on the horizon.

What one discovers when examining the development of culture over the course of the twentieth century is that each innovation builds off a predecessor. America has always had a popular culture, although what that means might change with each new technological breakthrough, national craze, or demographic shift. And, while defining culture is not an easy task, it can be seen as a kind of living entity. Similar to a growing garden, culture is the gatherings of community beliefs and behaviors, which depends on its roots for sustenance. As the plants grow both individually and collectively, they develop and influence the surrounding societies.

People in Colonial America, for example, had their cultural roots deeply implanted from the cultures of the lands from which they emigrated, but every people or group of individuals must harmonize the old with the new in order to justify one's culture. The unifying themes that emerged from the development of a new national culture enabled people to make sense of the world and their relationship to it. American colonists, therefore, adjusted to the old-world cultures of the people who were already settling the nation, while at the same time creating a new popular culture based on their lives as members of the new country.

The harmonization of the new with the old might be called *folk-pop* or *pop-folk* because the result led to a new everyday culture. This evolution is a neverending process in which the new is blended with the old and a new is born. Human nature demands

cultural and individual cooperation for safety and advancement, which it achieves in various ways. Inventions and discoveries, for example, are not as helpful in shaping cultures as are innovation and dissemination of those inventions and discoveries. Culture must speak to its constituencies in their vernacular before it can be understood and fully appreciated. Cultures both lead and follow cultural politics, policies, and social movements.

The fields of entertainment from which the colonists could draw were rich: traveling acrobats, jugglers, circuses of various kinds, animal shows, "magic lantern" shows, group or individual singers, Black "Olios" (one-act specialities), drinking houses, card games, and other group activities.

In the conventional forms of culture development certain figures stand tall. Benjamin Franklin, after his move to Philadelphia, contributed in various ways through his writings in *Poor Richard's Almanac* (1732–1757) and others. He stated that his highest admiration was for "the people of this province…chiefly industrious farmers, artificers [skilled craftsmen] or men in trade [who] are fond of freedom." Inventor of the lightning rod and the Franklin Stove, and many more technological and cultural innovations, no one did more to advance popular culture in these early days than Franklin. In the twenty-first century, one finds similar figures who are much revered for their ability to create. Steve Jobs, Apple founder and executive, is a modern day Franklin in many respects, inventing products that transform popular culture, while at the same time, cementing his place in that history.

Less comprehensive but far more inflammatory were the political contributions of Thomas Paine (1737–1809). On January 10, 1776, he published *Common Sense* and sold it for a few cents so that everybody could own a copy. In a few months no fewer than 500,000 copies had been sold. Another of his great contributions was *The American Crisis,* which opens with the fiery words, "These are the times that try men's souls." Paine intuited and valued the power of the popular culture and wrote his works as if by a common citizen for other common citizens. Today's Thomas Paines may be the countless citizen journalists, primarily Internet-based, blogging, posting, and carrying out the kind of agenda Paine advocated. The writer turned to pamphlets as a method of keeping down price, just as today's bloggers use inexpensive tools to reach audiences nationwide.

Another powerful voice in popular culture was Harriet Beecher Stowe. Through *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) Stowe alerted the public to the evils of slavery (with the help of the Almighty, in her words). After the enormous success of the work, the author claimed that God had dictated the book, with her merely writing down His words. Regardless of these claims, for the next 50 years the work was performed on stages worldwide more frequently than any other play in English (with the possible exception of Shakespeare's collected works).

A little more than a century later, racism still plagued the nation, but instead of being represented by a novel, two charismatic leaders took center stage. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X stood at opposite poles in the fight for equality, King preaching nonviolence, while Malcolm advocated "by any means necessary." As powerful as these leaders were, however, they became icons after their assassinations. As a result, their images transcend who they were as leaders, attaining a kind of immortality as popular culture figures.

Colonists loved professional plays. The first such presentation in America was "Ye Beare and Ye Cubbin Accomac County" staged in Virginia in 1665. The first theater in the Colonies was built in Williamsburg, Virginia, sometime between 1716 and 1718.

Romeo and Juliet may have been presented in New York City in 1730 and *Richard III* in 1750, in addition to Williamsburg a year later. In 1752 the Charleston, South Carolina, theater presented 58 different offerings, including Shakespeare. Fourteen of Shakespeare's plays were staged 150 times in pre-Revolutionary Virginia, and from the 1850s to the Civil War Shakespeare was performed in all the major cities and several small ones.

For the second half of the nineteenth century one of the distributors of popular culture was widespread black-faced minstrelsy—thousands of such dramatics were presented on stage by whites with faces blackened by charcoal. No one can identify exactly when and why the first Negro minstrel show became so popular. Some authorities suggest that African Americans seem to be natural-born entertainers. Others are firm in their belief that the minstrel show flourished because blacks saw it as a means of social equality with whites who otherwise held them in slavery.

Minstrelsy was in its heyday from 1830 to 1870. So-called songsters, cheap songbooks running from 20 to some 50 pages and selling for 10–50 cents, were the main distributors of minstrel pieces, as well as songs from other sources. During the popularity of the minstrel show there were more than 100 shows running and some 2,000 songsters distributing at least 20,000 songs. Not all minstrel shows were black-on-white. Some were black-on-black, after black actors realized that white shows were exploiting them and they could in fact create their own shows. Minstrel shows were later eclipsed by vaudeville.

From these beginnings, one can trace the origins of Tin Pan Alley, which helped launch ragtime and jazz. In addition, the songsters and minstrel shows initiated a kind of crossover success that became the gold standard in the music business. "Crossing over," or scoring hit records in different genres, would come to define many of the industry's biggest stars from Elvis Presley and Johnny Cash to Chuck Berry and Little Richard.

The most enduring form of popular culture is the printed page, even though some observers feel that books, magazines, and newspapers are doomed in the Internet age. Books in particular, though, carry a special place in peoples' hearts, not only as tools for learning but as objects of affection. Many readers simply like to hold a book in their hands and feel the pages glide through their fingers. Even the most ardent techie does not get the same emotional lift from reading text on a screen, whether a laptop or handheld device.

The most influential literary form breaching the gap between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been the detective story. This form of literature has from its beginning satisfied deep interests of large groups. From the earliest times, people have wanted answers to the mysteries of life that keeps us continually looking back at history. Our fascination with the archaeological and anthropological past, for example, leads many to believe in monsters such as Big-Foot (Sasquatch) and the Loch Ness Monster. Many small towns and local villages have similar folktales of creatures frequenting dark mountains, forests, and deep lakes. Today, this love affair with fear and the unknown drives much of the current film and television industries. From the low budget sensation *The Blair Witch Project* to big budget movies filled with blood and gore, people thrive on their imaginations resulting from a collective indoctrination to fear.

These prehistoric beings supposedly living among us also help keep alive the mysteries and manifestations of the past, delivering some kind of answer in the form of explanations and comforting conclusions. Histories and mysteries need what scholar Russel Nye called a "hook" to keep readers on the edge of their curiosity. But mysteries search more deeply into human existence and help explain us to ourselves. Einstein was

certainly right when he said, "The most beautiful thing we can experience is the mysterious. It is the source of all true art and science." The enticement of the mysterious is a never fading light in the darkness of life's many anxieties.

Literary interest in horror developed in Europe in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) and pushed ahead vigorously in the *Memoirs* of Francois Eugene Vidocq, a reformed French thief who joined the police force and electrified Europe with publication of his underground activities in 1829. Edgar Allan Poe (1809–1849) caught the imagination of Americans beginning with *Murders in the Rue Morgue* (1841). Film scholars see Poe's writing inspiring the American film noir movement in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s.

The coals ignited by the interest in mystery and drama glowed especially in the publication of the adventures of Sherlock Holmes and Dr. Watson in 1887. Many Americans tried their pens at the art. Mark Twain published several works in the type, for instance, but found little success. But the door into the riches of mysteries had been opened to authors and readers of the twenty-first century. Mystery, having metamorphosed through the broadened titles of "Crime Fiction" and lately "Novels of Suspense," is the most popular form of fiction today, and is being used by historians for the true human emotions and actions contained in them. Historians a century or more from now may find themselves doing the same with the novels of Stephen King or James Patterson, novelists who sell millions of books, yet are taken less seriously by the cultural elite because they do so well.

One of the results of popular culture's interest in the make-believe and distortion of the minstrel show was the literary hoax, which flourished in such works as Poe's "Balloon Hoax," published in the *New York Sun* on April 13, 1844, an account of eight men crossing the Atlantic in a large balloon held up by coal gas. Others include Mark Twain's "The Petrified Man" (one of several by him), in which a character is discovered with his thumb on his nose in the timeless insulting gesture—the credulous public does not recognize the joke.

Other real-life hoaxes cropped up on every street corner. P. T. Barnum (1810–1891), famous for working under the philosophy that there's a sucker born every minute, opened his American Museum of Freaks in New York City, exhibiting all kinds of freaks and captivating the public especially with his Cardiff Giant, a plaster duplicate of the discovery on a farm outside Cardiff, New York. It was 10 feet long and weighed 3,000 pounds and had been proven a hoax, but still fascinated the public. The hoax, literary or physical, fed the American dreams of freedom and expansion and was an example of the American dream of personal fulfillment.

Another stalk growing from the same root included the works of the so-called Southwest humorists, who carried on in their stories and language the literature of the hoax. David Ross Locke (Petroleum V. Nasby), Henry Wheeler Show (Josh Billings), and George Washington and his Sut Lovingood stories created exaggerated physical and linguistic caricatures of their fellow citizens in a world they expected and hoped would be recognized as hoaxes. Instead of laughable hoaxes, however, they created a world of reality that is carried over in American popular culture today. The stereotype of the illiterate Southerner has a central role in the twenty-first century, particularly in television sit-coms and movies. The standup routines of Jeff Foxworthy and Larry the Cable Guy are built around the premise of the South being strangely (although often lovingly) different than the rest of the nation.

Another popular form of literature developed out of the idea of the hoax—graphic caricature and literature. Although the caricature had been common from the earliest days of America, the so-called common caricature known as the comic strip narrative,

developed by the Swiss cartoonist Rodolphe Topfer in 1846, was probably introduced into America in the *San Francisco Examiner* on February 16, 1896, as "The Yellow Kid." Since then most newspapers have run their series of comic pages in the United States and abroad—especially in Japan, where they are read by all members of a family under the name *anime*. They are likewise pervasive in American (and world) culture, especially in animation, movies, and advertising, particularly when used to pitch products to children and young people.

Because of our growing knowledge of and interest in archaeology and anthropology, our interest in the 6,000 or so languages spoken worldwide, and the suspicion that humanity may be doomed to future space travel and colonization, more works are developing in comics and movies of the extreme past and the imaginative future. Such comic strips and books, now called graphic novels, to a certain extent feed on the hoax works of the nineteenth century and intellectually are not rocket science, as we freely admit.

Many of the ideas and artwork in today's comic books are useful in understanding modern popular culture and its influence. For example, graphic novels have been published for both political parties in the 2008 presidential campaigns. Furthermore, many of the ideas and artwork are highly suggestive to the genuine rocket scientist, and the art work is highly prized for its newness of ideas and execution of detail by comic book aficionados. One original picture of Mickey Mouse, for example, recently sold for $700,000. Many comic book fans live in a world of their own making, but to a certain extent in America's broad, rich, and complicated popular culture, each area is something of an island of culture all its own, justifying its existence.

Just as English poet William Wordsworth said that the child is father to the man, so a culture in one form and one power or another is always a product and variant of its predecessors. It grows and alters or breaks down the restrictions of its sometimes elite, sometimes popular predecessors as the force of the new development becomes overwhelming and suggestive. Sometimes the popular culture grows and sometimes fades, but, although it may diminish in use and memory, it seldom disappears. Popular culture is like animated wall murals and graffiti that permanently etches a record of the lifeblood of a culture of the moment.

The cornucopia of twentieth-century present and developing American popular culture has resulted from the free flow of opportunity provided by its predecessors. So it was up to the last century. The garden of popular culture seemed to the culture traditionalist a patch of weeds overwhelming the flowers. But a new culture in the process of finding and developing itself was not crowded. The new cultures were driven by the changing dynamic of a new people in a new land with opportunities for all men and women to live by and in the cultures they both desired and found satisfactory. Suggestions and opportunities will continue to be found and developed.

The power of the twentieth century continues to develop in the twenty-first as the richest and most energetic culture so far produced continues to flourish—sometimes to the bewilderment and consternation of the citizenry, but always irresistibly, Americans and non-Americans—as long as human nature insists that it wants or needs something new, improved, or just different and finds it in America. Popular culture is the voice of a worldwide, but especially American, growing insistence on democracy in all aspects of life, and the voices of the people—especially in America—will continue to flourish, be creative, and heard.

From the beginning, American popular culture, given a virgin land in which to grow, has developed fully and rapidly. Its influence has been especially forceful domestically and globally in the twentieth century as a result of its growth in the preceding century

in the arts and extended cultures. American popular culture impacts the cultures of the world everyday, creating and resolving tensions that are labeled "Created and Made in America." In the popular cultural world in all its manifestations the most influential label on world life at the present is and in the future will be "Lived in America."

Preface

American Pop: Popular Culture Decade by Decade provides a survey of popular culture across America from 1900 to the present and presents the heart and soul of America, acting as a unifying bridge across time and bringing together generations of diverse backgrounds. Whether looking at the bright lights of the Jazz Age in the 1920s, the rock 'n' roll and lifestyle revolutions of the 1960s and 1970s, or the thriving social networking Web sites of today, each period in America's cultural history develops its own unique take on the qualities that define our lives. *American Pop* is a four-volume set that examines the trends and events across decades and eras by shedding light on the experiences of Americans young and old, rich and poor, along with the influences of arts, entertainment, sports, and other cultural forces.

Based partly on Greenwood's "American Popular Culture through History" series, this four-volume set is designed to give students and general readers a broad and interdisciplinary overview of the numerous aspects of popular culture. Each of the topical chapters stands alone as a testament to the individual decade, yet taken together, they offer an integrated history and allow readers to make connections among each of the decades. Of course, this organization also encourages readers to compare the sometimes striking differences among decades.

WHAT'S INCLUDED IN *AMERICAN POP*

The volumes in this set cover the following chronological periods.

- Volume 1, 1900–1929
- Volume 2, 1930–1959
- Volume 3, 1960–1989
- Volume 4, 1990–Present

Each volume, in turn, covers the popular culture of the decades through chapters focused on specific areas of popular culture, including:

- An Overview of the Decade
- Advertising
- Architecture
- Books, Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics
- Entertainment
- Fashion
- Food
- Music
- Sports and Leisure
- Travel
- Visual Arts

In addition, each group of chapters is preceded by a timeline of events for the decade, which gives extra oversight and context to the study of the period.

Sidebars and Other Features

Within many of the chapters, the text is supplemented by sidebars that feature the significant, fascinating, troubling, or just plain weird people, trends, books, movies, radio and television programs, advertisements, places, and events of the decade. In addition sidebars provide lists of new words and phrases for the decade; new foods introduced during the decade; and "How Others See Us," information on how people outside of the United States adopted, reacted to, or disdained American popular culture. The chapters are enhanced with photos and illustrations from the period. Each volume closes with a Resource Guide, providing selected books, articles, Web sites, and videos for further research.

The appendices feature "The Cost of Products"—which spans from 1900 to the present and shows the prices of selected items from food to clothing to furniture—and a list of potential classroom resources of activities and assignments for teachers to use in a school setting. A carefully selected general bibliography for the set, covering popular culture resources of a general or sizeable nature, rounds out the final volume. A comprehensive index offers access to the entire set.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

American Pop is an audacious project that pulls together more than one million words about popular culture in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. A series like this one owes a large debt to many wonderful authors, researchers, writers, and editors. First and foremost, my deepest gratitude goes out to Ray B. Browne, the series editor of the original "American Popular Culture through History" books. Like so many other popular culture scholars over the past several decades, I owe Ray more than I could ever hope to repay.

I would also like to thank all of the authors who poured their collective hearts into the series: David Blanke, Kathleen Drowne, Patrick Huber, William H. Young, Nancy K. Young, Robert Sickels, Edward J. Rielly, Kelly Boyer Sagert, Scott Stoddart, and Marc Oxoby. Their work provides the backbone of this collection. Several excellent writers contributed to the more than 300 sidebars that appear throughout this set: Mary Kay Linge, Ken Zachmann, Martha Whitt, Micah L. Issitt, Josef Benson, Cindy Williams, Joy Austin, Angelica Benjamin, Peter Lazazzaro, Jillian Mann, Vanessa Martinez, Jessica Schultz, Jessica Seriano, and Brie Tomaszewski.

Not even Superman could edit a collection like *American Pop* without a superstar team of editors. I have been lucky to benefit from the wisdom and leadership skills of

Kristi Ward and Anne Thompson throughout the project. *American Pop* would not exist without their enthusiasm, hard work, and dedication. Thanks also to Cindy Williams for her original editing of the project. She is wonderful.

My great honor in editing *American Pop* has been picking up where Ray left off. I have had the pleasure of writing three books in the series, so all told, I have spent more than five years of my life with this series. My sincere thanks go to my parents, Jon and Linda Bowen, and my brother Bill Coyle for their support. As always, my wife, Kathy, has lived this collection with me. I appreciate her sense of humor, sound advice, and thoughtfulness. My whole heart belongs to our daughter Kassie. Her smile, hugs, and kisses were always awesome diversions from writing and editing.

Bob Batchelor
University of South Florida
Tampa, Florida

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Introduction

How does one encapsulate the Great Depression, World War II, and the early Cold War and at the same time do justice to three of the primary events in American history? The challenge is uncovering a method that simultaneously captures the era's broadness and also keeps it manageable. One solution is to look at the time period thematically. Breaking popular culture into broad categories enables an integrated perspective to bubble to the surface, yet still allows the nuances of each individual event to shine through.

By examining popular culture within the following categories—leaders, money, innovation, and culture—an overview of the 1930–1959 period will emerge that discusses the major issues driving everyday America during that time. A historical perspective makes it much easier to recognize forces driving change in popular culture, which may or may not have been discernable at the time. Few people, for example, could have fully understood how the financial mechanisms put in place after the collapse of Wall Street would unfold, or foresee how the technological innovations associated with America's war effort would transform consumerism in the postwar world.

Popular culture is about context. It may be difficult, if not impossible, to statistically measure the impact of Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) on the cultural development of the 1930s and 1940s, but understanding his leadership does provide the framework for grasping the broader meaning of culture during his tenure as an iconic political leader. Even more difficult is placing Elvis Presley into context over the course of a long career as a popular culture figure.

The ability to examine the actions of the government or a particular leader or group of leaders is arguably the most positive aspect of popular culture. Rooted in free speech, the rise of mass media enabled Americans to criticize their leaders and institutions, thus opening new opportunities for collective education and information.

As millions of Americans interacted with mass media, whether watching the same Hollywood movies or listening to Roosevelt's radio addresses during World Ward II, a common language developed that created lines of communication between disparate groups. The downside of this unintended focus on mass communications, some

argued, was that a growing fascination with pop culture actually diverted attention from important challenges the nation faced, ultimately serving as a kind of placebo. Therefore, popular culture enabled people to feel good about the world around them without really forcing them to directly confront critical issues.

LEADERS

Franklin D. Roosevelt is the dominant political and cultural figure of the 1930s and 1940s. The Roosevelt administration received criticism, however, even as it fought to alleviate the problems plaguing the economy during the Great Depression. In 1933 and 1934, unions organized around the country to fight for better wages, working conditions, and hours. On Labor Day in 1934, more than 300,000 textile workers from New England to the southern states staged a strike that became the most violent in American history. In Fall River, Massachusetts, approximately 10,000 protestors surrounded a mill, trapping the strikebreakers inside. Riots broke out across New England, and at many sites corporate guards, special deputies, and the police fought with strikers and their supporters. As the violence increased, the National Guard was mobilized in every New England state except New Hampshire and Vermont. President Roosevelt had to intervene personally to end the confrontation between owners and workers.

Roosevelt took office in the midst of a banking crisis, but with a deft touch and a supportive Congress, he got the Emergency Banking Act passed in 1933, which allayed depositors' fears and gave banks a shot of confidence. Next, Roosevelt used a series of fireside chats to calm the nation, and he created programs that put people back to work and gave them hope for the future.

The Roosevelt administration heard the pleas of those who wanted to work but could not find jobs. Roosevelt championed the Civil Works Administration in 1933 and within two weeks 800,000 people were put to work. Several months later, more than four million people were working in the program, which focused on the construction of roads, bridges, schools, playgrounds, and hospitals. Roosevelt and his aides realized that hunger was not negotiable and that putting people to work would relieve some of the doldrums the nation confronted.

In early 1933 the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) began operations with an initial enrollment of 250,000 at a cost of $500 million. The next summer, Roosevelt enlarged the group to 350,000, then to 500,000 in 1935. CCC "soil soldiers" built roads, installed telephone lines, planted trees, and worked for several federal agencies. Although the CCC was a nationwide effort, it helped ease the plight of northeastern urban centers by relocating young unemployed men out of the cities.

Later, Roosevelt pushed through the Emergency Relief Appropriation of 1935, which enabled him to create the Works Progress Administration (WPA). Although the WPA cost more than making direct payments to the poor, the program helped lift people's spirits, in the northeast and elsewhere, making them feel worthy of having a job.

By pushing the boundaries of the federal government into areas it had traditionally resisted, FDR changed the way people viewed the institution. Roosevelt's moves personalized the government. He convinced people that the government could help them and should be involved in areas that were previously off limits.

Roosevelt expanded the government's power, as well as the president's role as national leader, to exert influence on the corporate sector and in people's private lives. He achieved these measures because the nation so desperately wanted out of the Great Depression. Roosevelt's initiatives, although seemingly haphazard at the time, were acts

of mercy. In return, the public accepted the government intervention and turned the president into a national hero.

MONEY

In 1931 nearly 200,000 New Yorkers were evicted from their apartments for failure to pay rent. Many who were not evicted sold off their valuables so they could pay, or they moved from apartment to apartment. If furniture had been purchased on credit, owners simply left it behind when they could no longer make payments. In Philadelphia 1,300 evictions occurred per month during the year following the Wall Street crash.

Given its place at the heart of the American economic system, the northeast suffered mightily during the Great Depression. New York City reigned as the capital of global finance. The American people looked to Wall Street financiers to bail them out, as did the entire world, which hoped that an economic recovery would begin in New York City.

Prior to the crash, the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* had trumpeted the success of the market and kept tabs on the stock market's movers and shakers. Despite the widespread panic gripping the nation after the collapse, newspapers across the region were filled with reassuring stories about the long-term viability of the market system.

Psychologically, money was at the center of American culture in the 1920s. Brokers and investment bankers were society's new superheroes. Markets fluctuations, hot stocks, and trading exploits became juicy gossip items during this era. The growing consumer culture required money. The impulse to live it up necessitated an ever-growing cash flow. Many relied on stocks and a line of credit to finance their new lifestyles. The "get rich quick" mentality lured people into the market.

Men in conservative dark suits swarmed up and down Wall Street, streaming in and out of the buildings that line the financial epicenter of the American economy. Looking west toward Trinity Church, the scene was awash in a sea of fashionable hats—most men sporting the tan, round-brimmed ones popular at the time.

Wall Street represented a new religion in the United States. Its priests were the men who ran Wall Street's successful brokerages and investment banks. These men formed a sort of exclusive gentleman's club, each belonging to the same clubs, vacationing together, and mainly living on the Upper East Side of Manhattan. The ultimate club was the New York Stock Exchange, with a mere 1,100 seats. The only way in was to purchase an existing seat from one of the members or investment banks that owned the seat.

While Wall Street's leaders breezed through an insulated world high above the trading floor, an entirely different kind of trader fueled the stock overspeculation that would lead to the crash. Many traders only cared about stock fluctuation, borrowing enough money to buy and sell, then quickly moving the stock to make money on the difference. Timing, not knowledge, mattered most. By the summer of 1929, stock market value hit $67 billion, up from $27 billion two years earlier.

The economic freefall that took place in and after October 1929 decimated the American economy. Within three years, 75 percent of the value of all securities—a whopping $90 billion—disappeared. The year after the crash, more than 26,000 businesses went bankrupt, surpassed in 1931 by more than 28,000 failures. In December 1930 the Bank of the United States went bankrupt, wiping out approximately 400,000 depositors.

As debilitating as the stock market crash was to the nation's economy, the crushing blow came from the way it demoralized the American people. The collapse shocked everyone and shook people's faith in the national economic system. Businessmen and

corporations reacted by making drastic cuts, while anxious consumers virtually stopped spending beyond bare necessities. Millions of workers lost their jobs as businesses desperately cut their operations to the bare essentials. Construction in New York City, for example, came to a near halt as 64 percent of construction workers were laid off soon after the stock market collapsed. Unemployment in 1929 was slightly over three percent, but by 1932 the figure had reached 24 percent. Millions more were involuntarily working in part-time positions.

The psychological toll unemployment took on the American people caused high levels of stress and anxiety. While some took to the streets to sell whatever they could gather, others turned to crime in an effort to find food. In Pittsburgh a man stole a loaf of bread to feed his children, and then later hanged himself in shame. In New York City, hundreds of thousands of unemployed or underemployed workers turned to soup kitchens. By October 1933, New York City counted 1.25 million people on relief. Even more telling is that another one million were eligible for relief but did not accept it. Six thousand New Yorkers tried to make money selling apples on the streets. But by the end of 1931, most street vendors were gone. Grocery store sales dropped by 50 percent during the Depression. Many urban dwellers scoured garbage cans and dumps looking for food. Studies estimated that 65 percent of the African American children in Harlem were plagued by malnutrition during this time.

Countless people in New York City were forced to live on the streets or in shantytowns located along the banks of the East River and the Hudson River. These clusters of makeshift abodes were dubbed *Hoovervilles*—a backhanded tribute to President Herbert Hoover. The city's largest camp was in Central Park. Ironically, the Central Park shantytown became a tourist attraction and featured daily performances by an unemployed tightrope walker and other out-of-work artists.

Even the rich were not immune to the harsh realities of the Great Depression. By the early 1930s, the situation was so glum that it became fashionable among the wealthy to brag about how much they had lost in the crash. Even professions one would think were insulated from economic hardship were affected. In Brooklyn, one-third of all doctors were forced out of business.

When people learned of the role business leaders had played in the stock market crash, they changed their formerly favorable opinions to outright scorn. The Wall Street collapse proved that these exalted financial leaders did not know what they were talking about in the years leading up to that fateful October as they continually hyped the market. Remarkably, in the days immediately after the collapse, the nation's business leaders (from Sears, AT&T, and General Motors, among others) issued cheery reports about swelling sales and stability in an attempt to bolster public confidence.

The Depression in the northeast was not confined to the region's urban centers. Farming—work still performed by one-fourth of the U.S. population—had been depressed for nearly a decade. Farmers suffered as exports, crop prices, and land values all dropped. The Great Depression hit farmers and rural areas in the Midwest and west much harder than the northeast because those areas depended much more on farming as part of the regional economy. In addition, many of the farmers who left their land during the crisis headed west to find a better life in California's agricultural regions and urban centers.

The bleak economic conditions in the northeast led to direct confrontation between those who were suffering and various authorities. The Communist and Socialist parties, for instance, agitated unemployed workers to rise up against those controlling the economy. While party bosses, like the communist leader William Z. Foster, dreamed of

the end of the capitalist system, hungry and fearful workers demanded food, jobs, and some form of meaningful relief. In early 1930, communist activists staged rallies against unemployment that drew protestors in New York, Washington, D.C., Boston, and many other cities. At some sites, demonstrators fought with police, who used force against the agitators, including tear gas in the nation's capital. New York police used nightsticks to break up a crowd of 35,000 who had turned out in Union Square to hear Foster speak.

INNOVATION

Innovation is usually associated with machinery, manufacturing, and assembly. In the 1950s, however, innovation took hold in the food industry, serving as a vital weapon in the Cold War battle with the Soviet Union. Although it is difficult to imagine in the twenty-first century, the way Americans manufactured, sold, and prepared food transformed the very notion of food from simple nourishment into a symbol of national might. The supermarket, of all places, helped America prove its global power.

When Queen Elizabeth II visited the United States in 1957, her trip included a stop at a typical supermarket. Two years later, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev toured America. He formally requested that he be given the chance to meet John Wayne and visit Disneyland (denied over security concerns), but it was an impromptu trip to a California supermarket that befuddled him. Khrushchev did not need an interpreter to understand how American abundance dwarfed the meager foodstuffs available in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, he could not have predicted how the economic showdown between the two nations would eventually topple the Berlin Wall more than four decades later, essentially ending the Cold War.

The idea of abundance powered the United States during the post–World War II era and into the early Cold War. Simultaneously, the mass communications industries of public relations, marketing, and advertising became better at spreading the message of American affluence domestically and globally.

For example, General Dwight Eisenhower employed the ad agency Batten, Darton, Durstine, and Osborne (BBD&O) when he ran for the presidency in 1952. The firm mapped out a strategy that emphasized Eisenhower's image as a commander and wise father figure, without engaging in a deep discussion of the issues. As a result, he won in a landslide over his Democratic challenger, Adlai Stevenson, whose issues-based candidacy earned him the reputation as an "egghead" among voters.

Looking at advertisements for common consumer goods in the 1950s, one would assume that the typical American lived in some suburban utopia of sparkling cleanliness, wide smiles, and overwhelming satisfaction. At home, the race for new, better, and improved products led to neighbors fighting to keep up with one another. Overseas, war-torn Europe rode American purse strings in its rebuilding effort, linking the United States and the Continent for the next 50 years. In the Soviet Union, however, the communist system could not offer the same kind of idyllic vision. The race between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. boiled down to one of abundance, guaranteeing that the United States would ultimately win the Cold War, if the war remained cold.

CULTURE

Unintended consequences often sprout up at odd places. For example, if it were not for the need to ration paper in the 1940s, the publishing industry may never have figured out the desire for mass-market paperbacks. At the same time, if American GIs

during World War II did not have so much free time on their hands on bases at home and abroad, then they might not have turned to reading to fill idle hours. Luckily, however, these sparks came together to ignite the creation of cheap paperbacks. As a result, hundreds of millions of books went into print that otherwise may have been lost to history's dustbin.

One could argue that the creation of tens or hundreds of millions of cheap paperbacks did unimaginable damage to the environment or that they may still be rotting away in landfills, but mass production enabled many outstanding works to stay in print. *The Great Gatsby,* for one, may have been virtually lost if not for mass-market paperbacks, even though F. Scott Fitzgerald, who died in December 1940, would not personally reap any of the financial rewards from the reprints. Ernest Hemingway, although hardly in need of additional publicity in the 1940s and 1950s, still benefited from a new generation of readers introduced to his work.

Perhaps for the first time in American history, publishers had to devise new ways to get books into the hands of literature-starved readers. The postal system had the capacity to handle a book order business, so publishers set up book clubs that mailed books to readers based on their specific interests. Soon, more than a million books a month were sold through the dozens of book clubs across America.

Mass-market paperbacks were also sent to soldiers fighting during World War II, spawning a love for reading that then, in turn, swelled book club memberships after soldiers returned from the war. Reading for pleasure probably reached its all-time pinnacle in the mid-1940s.

In the 1950s, the love of reading left over from the war, combined with America's obsession with self-education, led to the Great Books Program, an intensive reading course through 54-volumes from across history. Devised by University of Chicago President Robert Maynard Hutchins and professor Mortimer J. Adler, the set promised to teach the reader everything that the "well-read" person should know, from Aristotle and Plato to Milton and Shakespeare. The affluence of the 1950s, however, enabled middle-class purchasers to buy the series in fancy, leather-bound editions. Series marketers understood that consumers wanted something elegant to display in their home libraries.

The prewar 1930s and the postwar 1950s present a study in stark contrasts. People in the 1930s battled the twin evils of financial misery and global anxiety represented by the Great Depression and military turmoil in Europe. As unrest overseas laid the groundwork for war, Americans turned to President Franklin D. Roosevelt for relief from the economic chaos at home.

The 1950s, on the other hand, symbolized a new beginning for the United States. The launch of the "American century" delivered unprecedented prosperity for much of the nation. Driven by innovation and new technologies, the subsequent abundance of consumer goods transformed life. The cause of national anxiety changed dramatically in the two eras, from real war in Europe to Cold War across the globe, primarily fought in the minds of politicians and diplomats in Washington, D.C., and Moscow.

Standing between these contrasting times is the 1940s—filled with World War II and the immediate slide into the Cold War. The Great Depression and the war fundamentally altered American society. The national popular culture structure responded to the twin crises on a number of fronts, from use as a weapon to increase nationalistic feelings or to prop people back up when their darkest days still seemed ahead of them. Hollywood, for example, responded to World War II by producing films that emphasized America's heroism and patriotism. The film industry also kept citizens informed

by creating a variety of newsreels, documentaries, and special reports about the day's issues.

The fascination with movies carried over from the 1940s to the 1950s. When soldiers returned from the war, they had money to spend. The booming economy and college aid programs gave them new opportunities to either work at high-paying jobs or go back to school for little or no money. In 1946 more than 100 million people went to the movies each week, about two-thirds of the total population.

Certainly, the nostalgic feelings later generations held regarding the 1950s glossed over a darker, troubling time, fueled by rapid cultural changes and emotions still fresh from World War II. For those willing to view the postwar world as a new beginning, however, the future looked dazzling.

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1930s

Timeline

of Popular Culture Events, 1930s

1930

May 27: The Chrysler Building opens in New York City; it is briefly the world's tallest skyscraper.

November 17: Bobby Jones wins the Grand Slam of golf and announces his retirement.

U.S. population stands at approximately 123 million. Unemployment is about 4.5 million, almost 9 percent of the total workforce, for the year.

Men selling apples at a nickel apiece begin to appear on street corners.

Miniature golf becomes a fad, and dance marathons regain popularity.

Commercial air travel between New York and Los Angeles is initiated in October. United Airlines hires the first stewardesses.

Grant Wood's *American Gothic* is unveiled at the Art Institute of Chicago in the fall.

The impact of the movies is felt in fashion: the cool, sophisticated looks of Greta Garbo, Joan Crawford, Jean Harlow, and Marlene Dietrich gain popularity.

Little Caesar, a gangster epic starring Edward G. Robinson, opens, and *Anna Christie* allows audiences to hear Greta Garbo talk.

1931

May 1: The Empire State Building opens in New York City; it is the world's tallest skyscraper.

October: Chester Gould's *Dick Tracy* makes its debut in newspaper comic strips.

Unemployment swells to 16 percent; 8 million are out of work. For the first time ever in America, more people are leaving the country than are entering it.

Babe Ruth and Lou Gehrig hit 46 home runs apiece for the New York Yankees.

Birds Eye frozen vegetables appear, along with Hostess Twinkies and Snickers candy bars.

"Life is Just a Bowl of Cherries," recorded by Rudy Vallee, reflects American disdain for the Depression, Bing Crosby's rendition of "Where the Blue of the Night Meets the Gold of the Day" establishes his fame as a crooner, and Kate Smith's "When the Moon Comes Over the Mountain" sells so well she is named America's "Songbird of the South."

Pearl Buck's *The Good Earth* dominates the best-seller lists.

Two new afternoon radio serials, based on popular comic strips, come on the air: *Buck Rogers* and *Little Orphan Annie.*

The movie *Dracula* reflects the growing popularity of horror films and makes Bela Lugosi a star. It is followed by *Frankenstein,* which establishes the fame of Boris Karloff.

1932

February: The first Winter Olympics are held at Lake Placid, New York, sparking an interest in skiing.

March: The infant son of Charles and Anne Lindbergh is kidnapped, setting off sensational press coverage. His body is found in May.

Unemployment reaches almost 24 percent; 14 million are without jobs. Wages are 60 percent less than in 1929. Franklin D. Roosevelt promises a "new deal" at the Democratic convention in June; he defeats incumbent Herbert Hoover for the presidency in the November elections.

Despite the Depression, Radio City Music Hall, part of the unfinished Rockefeller Center, opens in New York City at Christmastime.

The song "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?" sums up the disillusionment that accompanies the worsening Depression.

The Jack Benny Program and *The Fred Allen Show* premiere on network radio.

The first Big Little Book comes out; it features *Dick Tracy.*

Shirley Temple makes her film debut at three years old.

Walt Disney receives a special Academy Award for his creation of Mickey Mouse.

1933

February: Congress votes to repeal Prohibition. By early December, enough states approve the measure, and the Twenty-first Amendment (Repeal) is passed.

March: Franklin D. Roosevelt assumes the presidency. He faces 25 percent unemployment, with 15 million workers affected. Family income has dropped almost 40 percent since the onset of the Depression.

March: President Roosevelt begins his *Fireside Chats* on radio, drawing record audiences.

May: The Century of Progress Exposition opens in Chicago; architecturally, it features a mix of Modernism and traditional revival styles.

Erle Stanley Gardner writes his first Perry Mason mystery, *The Case of the Velvet Claws.*

Bridge becomes the most popular card game; the sales of expert Ely Culbertson's *Contract Bridge Blue Book,* first published in 1931, soar.

"Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Wolf?" a song from Walt Disney's cartoon *The Three Little Pigs,* expresses the hope following Roosevelt's inauguration.

42nd Street and *Gold Diggers of 1933* are the definitive Depression musicals; *King Kong* and *The Invisible Man* demonstrate how movie special effects can create great entertainment.

The first All-Star baseball game is played; the American League wins.

1934

May 28: The Dionne quintuplets are born in Ontario; the event attracts unprecedented press coverage and public interest.

September 18: Bruno Hauptmann is arrested for kidnapping Charles Lindbergh's infant son.

December: Benny Goodman's *Let's Dance* show brings big-band swing to radio nightly.

Unemployment drops slightly to about 22 percent; 11 million are out of work.

The National Recovery Administration's emblem, a blue eagle, and the slogan "We Do Our Part" are seen in factories, stores, and shops everywhere.

John Dillinger, "Baby Face" Nelson, "Pretty Boy" Floyd, and Bonnie and Clyde are shot and killed by law officers, effectively ending the reign of colorful gangsters.

Frank Capra's *It Happened One Night,* one of the Depression era's "screwball comedies," sweeps the Academy Awards.

Hervey Allen's *Anthony Adverse* leads the best-seller lists for fiction.

The Chrysler Airflow, the first mass-produced car to incorporate streamlined design, is introduced.

1935

January 1: The trial of Bruno Hauptmann begins for the kidnapping and murder of the Lindbergh baby. He is convicted of all charges by mid-February.

April: *Your Hit Parade* begins on NBC radio, tracking the most popular records of the week, and a new comedy series, *Fibber McGee and Molly,* also debuts on the network.

May 24: the first major league baseball game played under lights occurs in Cincinnati.

Unemployment dips to about 21 percent; 10 million are out of work. One out of four households receives some kind of relief.

George Gershwin's folk opera *Porgy and Bess* opens on Broadway in October.

Bingo is allowed in movie theaters and becomes a craze, as do chain letters.

The board game Monopoly becomes an overnight sensation.

The Marx Brothers challenge high culture in *A Night at the Opera.*

Cole Porter's "Begin the Beguine," as recorded by Artie Shaw, is a big hit.

1936

April 3: Bruno Hauptmann is executed for kidnapping and killing the infant son of Charles Lindbergh, ending one of the most sensational investigations and trials in U.S. history.

August: The Summer Olympics are held in Berlin; Jesse Owens humiliates Hitler and the Nazis, along with their racist theories, by winning four gold medals in track events.

December 11: The abdication of King Edward VIII of England for "the woman I love," Wallis Warfield Simpson, becomes the biggest news story.

Girl Scouts inaugurate annual cookie sales.

Unemployment drops to 17 percent—about 8 million workers. In November, President Roosevelt defeats challenger Alf Landon, 523 electoral votes to 8, losing only Vermont and Maine.

The Douglas DC-3 begins production in June. The airplane quickly sets the standards for luxury and safety in air travel.

Famed director Cecil B. DeMille begins hosting *Lux Radio Theater* in June; it becomes a major dramatic show, with scripts based on popular movies of the time.

Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind* sells over a million copies by December and eclipses all competition.

Dancer Fred Astaire finds himself a major singing star with four hits: "Let's Face the Music and Dance," "Let Yourself Go," "The Way You Look Tonight," and "Pick Yourself Up." The songs all come from his movies with Ginger Rogers.

Over 5,000 artists paint thousands of murals in post offices, train stations, courthouses, and other buildings across the country as part of the Federal Arts Program.

1937

March: Teenagers jitterbug in the aisles of New York's Paramount Theater to the swing of Benny Goodman.

May 9: *The Chase and Sanborn Hour* introduces ventriloquist Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy on NBC radio.

July 2: Aviatrix Amelia Earhart disappears over the Pacific Ocean.

Unemployment drops to 14 percent; 7 million workers are without jobs. Toward the end of the year, the stock market again declines, and the nation moves toward a recession.

The German dirigible *Hindenburg* crashes at Lakehurst, New Jersey, on May 6; the disaster is reported live on radio.

Beginning in December, Arturo Toscanini and the NBC Symphony Orchestra bring classical music to a large radio audience.

Howard Johnson begins franchising restaurants, opening the market to chain eateries and fast food.

Gone with the Wind continues to outsell all other books.

Walt Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs,* all-color and all-animated, opens.

1938

January 16: The growing popularity of jazz and swing gives rise to a concert by Benny Goodman's band in New York's Carnegie Hall.

June: An issue of *Action Comics* features the adventures of a brand-new character, Superman.

June 22: Joe Louis knocks out Max Schmeling to retain his heavyweight crown and avenge an earlier loss to the German boxer.

With a recession, unemployment jumps to 19 percent, or 9 million jobless. Defense spending increases, however, and the country begins to pull out of its decline.

The Fair Labor Standards Act is passed, outlawing most labor for children aged 15 and under.

Howard Hughes flies around the world in 3 days, 19 hours, and 14 minutes in July. "Wrong Way" Corrigan flies to Dublin instead of California (as he planned) that same month.

Orson Welles, as a Halloween prank, frightens many Americans with his radio adaptation of H. G. Wells's *War of the Worlds.*

Dale Carnegie's *How to Win Friends and Influence People* enters its second year as a leader among nonfiction books.

The Andy Hardy films begin, with Mickey Rooney in the title role.

Singer Frank Sinatra makes his radio debut on small stations in the New York area.

1939

March: Swallowing goldfish becomes a campus fad.

April 9: Singer Marian Anderson draws 75,000 to an open-air concert in Washington, D.C., after being barred from Constitution Hall by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

April 30: The New York World's Fair opens, despite depressing international news. Germany is excluded. The extravaganza is billed as "The World of Tomorrow." The opening ceremonies are televised, and TV monitors are a big hit at the fairgrounds.

September 1: Germany invades Poland; World War II begins.

December 15: After a year of promotion, the film version of *Gone with the Wind* opens overshadowing all other movie events.

U.S. population at the end of the decade stands at approximately 130 million; it has grown about 7 percent during the decade, well below past averages. Unemployment dips to 17 percent, or 8 million jobless.

Nylon stockings go on sale in the face of a silk shortage.

The Glenn Miller Orchestra has hits with "Little Brown Jug," "Sunrise Serenade," and "In the Mood."

Reporter Edward R. Murrow broadcasts nightly from London for CBS; more and more airtime is devoted to war news.

Overview of the 1930s

Dust Bowl Era
Great Depression

NICKNAMES OF THE DECADE

The study of the 1930s actually begins on Thursday, October 24, 1929. That autumn day the stock market collapsed and signaled the onset of the Great Depression. The grim years that ensued shaped the 1930s, including its popular culture.

Similarly, the decade symbolically ended on September 1, 1939, when Germany invaded Poland. Hitler's Nazi army smashed through Poland, ending the false peace of the late 1930s and effectively starting World War II.

Prior to the opening of the New York's World Fair in 1939, officials buried a time capsule. The capsule, a tube sponsored by Westinghouse, stood 8 feet long, 8 inches in diameter, and weighed 800 pounds. The capsule was sunk 50 feet into the earth. Detailed instructions on locating it, along with an inventory of its holdings, were left with 3,650 libraries and museums around the world in the hopes that 5,000 years hence (the year 6939), someone would find it.

The time capsule's contents are fascinating: seeds, coins and paper money, a can opener, a safety pin, swatches of cloth and plastics, a cement sample, a microfilm essay about life on earth in the 1930s running some 10 million words long and featuring over 1,000 pictures, a sound newsreel, and other artifacts. Popular culture items also filled the capsule: a Mickey Mouse cup, playing cards and a set of bridge rules, some rhinestone jewelry from Woolworth's, a reproduction of Grant Wood's painting *American Gothic,* the sheet music for "Flat Foot Floogie," a copy of *Gone with the Wind,* and several popular newspapers and magazines. Topping the list is the 1938–1939 Sears, Roebuck catalog, a hefty opus that will fill any gaps about American consumer culture for future civilizations that might unearth the capsule.[1]

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882–1945) overshadowed the decade. He swept into national prominence in 1932, first at the Democratic national convention, promising a New Deal for Americans weary of the Depression, and then soundly defeated Herbert Hoover for the presidency. Roosevelt's unending stream of ideas and suggestions set him in opposition to Hoover, who seemed to lack fresh solutions for the growing economic crisis.

Roosevelt had his Hundred Days (his first 100 days in office, when much significant legislation was passed) and his Brain Trust (the group of prominent leaders who advised Roosevelt on important economic issues, including Columbia University professors Raymond Moley, Adolph Berle, and Rexford Tugwell, among others); he

had Eleanor, one of the best-known First Ladies in history; he had his dapper cigarette holder; and he even had Fala, his Scottish terrier. Roosevelt mastered the news media more than any president before him. Hoover stood stiff and uncomfortable before microphones and cameras; Roosevelt reveled in the attention. His celebrity equaled the era's movie and radio stars. His *Fireside Chats* on national radio drew larger audiences than the top-rated network shows. Roosevelt did not just make news. He *was* news.

On February 15, 1933, a disgruntled anarchist, Giuseppe Zangara attempted to assassinate Roosevelt. Zangara, who said in his defense only that "I hate all presidents" and "too many people are starving to death," fired six shots at Roosevelt in Miami. Although the then-president-elect emerged unhurt, two bullets struck Chicago's mayor, Anton Cermak, who died from his wounds several weeks later.

Just as it had been when Leon Czolgosz assassinated President William McKinley in 1901, public outrage demanded swift justice. Zangara was indicted the day of the attack and pleaded guilty. The state of Florida electrocuted him on March 20, just five weeks after the crime. Americans devoured radio and newspaper accounts throughout February and March. The ensuing media circus enabled people to momentarily forget the Depression.

Buoyed by an outpouring of sympathy along with his electoral mandate, President Roosevelt enjoyed a turbulent first term. He was re-elected in 1936 by an overwhelming majority. Despite his energy, Roosevelt could not seem to cure the nation's economic ills. Severe labor disorder (marked by sit-down strikes) and the growth of unions marked his second term. A 1937 Gallup Poll showed 70 percent of Americans favored the existence of unions, but most opposed the sit-down tactics. FDR's popularity declined as labor disputes grew uglier and especially as the economic challenges went unmet.

Nevertheless, Roosevelt remained a figure of endless media coverage and public interest. Despite his political setbacks in the later 1930s, the threat of war convinced a majority of Americans to return him to office for an unprecedented third term in 1940.

TIME MAN OF THE YEAR

1930 Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (pacifist organizer for democracy, India)

1931 Pierre Laval (premier of France)

1932 Franklin Delano Roosevelt (32nd president of the United States)

1933 Hugh Samuel Johnson (presidential advisor, head of National Recovery Administration)

1934 Franklin Delano Roosevelt

1935 Haile Selassie (king of Ethiopia)

1936 Mrs. Wallis Warfield Simpson (married the former king of England)

1937 Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek (leaders of China)

1938 Adolf Hitler (chancellor of Germany)

1939 Joseph Stalin (leader of the Soviet Union)

THE GREAT DEPRESSION

The Great Depression defined American life for a generation. Perhaps only the Civil War applied greater stress and touched proportionally more people. National income fell by 50 percent. Economic challenges led to rising divorce and separation rates. Couples postponed marriage; 290,000 fewer people got married in 1932 than in 1920. Those who did marry frequently continued living at home or doubled up with friends. Fewer children were being born, and the size of the typical American family shrank to the smallest of any decade. The birthrate fell below the replacement level for the first time ever, and a more liberal attitude toward birth control developed.[2]

By 1932, one out of every five American workers was unemployed. Others were underemployed, having to adjust to reduced hours. The shame of unemployment drove many from their spouses, and child neglect became a problem, leading to a lack of supervision, disease, and malnutrition. For older children, there was a silver lining: they stayed in school longer, continuing their educations instead of hunting for nonexistent jobs. Others opted to hit the road. Thousands of young



A family from the 1930s in their living room. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

people wandered the country hoping for the best in the midst of hard times.

As the Depression worsened in the early 1930s, the volume of manufactured goods dropped sharply, as did national payrolls. Companies responded by laying off workers, slashing dividends, reducing inventories, cutting wages, forgoing improvements, and reducing production. In 1930 2,600 businesses folded, 28,000 in 1931, and almost 32,000 in 1932. Unemployment skyrocketed from 429,000 in 1929 to 15 million in 1933.

Construction of new housing dropped 95 percent between 1928 and 1933. Home repairs dropped by 90 percent and housing prices declined, wiping out holdings and equity. The middle class was hit particularly hard; while those who were poor usually rented their homes, the middle class had its first experience with poverty, struggling to purchase or hold on to their own homes. By 1933, half of all home mortgages stood technically in default.[3]

People borrowed on their tangible and intangible assets, including life insurance, mortgages, and household possessions, but often these were not enough. Without the means to pay rent or maintain mortgages, more and more citizens lost their homes. Evictions grew ominously in the early years of the decade. By 1931, some 15,000 people became homeless in New York City alone. The city lacked resources to house them, so they wandered the streets in search of shelter.[4]

Popular culture, however, offered an escape from unpleasant realities. At the same time, it reinforced family intimacy. Parents and children bonded in the living room listening to the radio. Books, newspapers, and magazines, along with movies, were also enormously popular. Movies grew in importance, perhaps surpassing radio, which had been the primary form of mass media. An average of 60 to 75 million people went to the movies each week, more than 60 percent of the total population.

RURAL HARDSHIPS

Throughout the Depression, American agriculture had the most difficulty among all the industrial sectors. Small, traditional family-owned farms faced the greatest threat. Agricultural income dropped 50 percent, resulting in farms being abandoned or lost to banks. In 1932, over 200,000 farms, homes, and businesses were foreclosed. In order to stave off disaster, people left their own properties and turned to sharecropping and tenant farming. As banks and other lenders attempted to take over farms in default, "penny auctions" erupted. Buyers would get a farm's goods for pennies, return them to the owner, and turn the cash over to the bank as payment for the mortgage. The foreclosures continued almost unabated into the mid-1930s.

To add to farmers' woes, severe droughts led to the Dust Bowl, a time when rural land in the Great Plains dried up and turned into a fine dust. "Black rollers" were moving clouds of precious topsoil, dislodged from the earth, billowing across the countryside like a thunderstorm. Sometimes they were accompanied by a few drops of "black rain," water mixed with the dust that left a smear of mud wherever it landed. Occasionally, the storms lasted several days, the blowing soil piling up in drifts against buildings and along fences. The sandy dust, from

several inches to more than a foot, obliterated highways.

URBAN HARDSHIPS

People in cities faced the crisis in a more visible way. A word from the nineteenth century re-entered the national vocabulary: breadline. Unable to afford food, many city dwellers waited in a breadline. Run primarily by charitable organizations, soup kitchens attracted long lines of hungry people. Although there are virtually no verified cases of starvation during the Depression, many individuals and families went to bed hungry each night.

One famous image of the Depression is a person standing on a street corner selling apples for a nickel apiece. This image evolved through a mixture of good corporate marketing and public desperation. In 1929 and 1930, the Pacific Northwest had an apple surplus. The International Apple Shippers' Association persuaded thousands of individuals to each buy a carton of 72 Northwest apples for $1.75. The association convinced these would-be entrepreneurs that, after expenses, they could make $1.85 a day by hawking apples on a busy corner. The slogan "Buy an apple a day and ease the Depression away!" turned into a scheme that had thousands of takers in most larger American cities.[5]

Despite the elevation of the nickel apple into a symbol for the Depression, most of the jobless found more profitable pursuits. By 1932 thousands of novice bootblacks were trying their hand at the shoe shine business. Others took up door-to-door sales, making the Fuller Brush Company one of the most profitable firms of the decade. Some passed out handbills or placed ads on car windshields. Still others attempted mining—coal, gold, silver—whatever the earth would give up. The goal was self-reliance, to avoid going on the dole. In the 1930s, the thought of accepting public relief still bore a stigma, a carryover from earlier years.

EMPLOYMENT AND THE ECONOMY

By 1932, 40 million Americans, urban and rural, knew poverty to some degree. Necessity required husbands to allow their spouses to work, suppressing old prejudices about working women. As the number of factory and other male-dominated jobs decreased, more men joined the ranks of the unemployed. Often, the only jobs available were clerical and domestic ones, occupations traditionally held by women. A shift in employment patterns occurred, with the percentage of men in the workforce declining as the number of women taking jobs increased. But there was a price to pay: all social ills, from juvenile delinquency to divorce, were laid at the feet of working mothers. Furthermore, 75 percent of women believed that if the husband had a paying position, the wife should not work, thereby freeing up jobs for men.[6]

Race also factored in employment status. The existing inequities between blacks and whites worsened during the Depression. Skilled black workers' wages fell much faster than those of white employees. The National Recovery Administration (NRA) was a government agency established to provide aid to the needy, but its rules contained a grandfather clause that allowed wage discrepancies based on past money earned. For many blacks, NRA meant "Negro Run Around" and "Negroes Rarely Allowed." Black sharecroppers and tenant farmers in the South received some 70 percent less in relief payments than white farmers, a situation that often forced them off the land entirely.[7]

With worsening conditions, the cost of living dropped, but that did not help the millions who had less to spend. The consumer price index, if measured as 100 in 1929, had declined to 80.8 in 1932. The nickel itself took on a certain significance. Five cents in the pocket meant a person was not totally down and out. In 1936, three times more nickels and dimes were minted than in 1934.

Although Americans had long paid cash for virtually everything except housing, the Depression brought about some subtle changes. People did not default on most loans; banks might go under, but individuals were usually reliable about repaying debt. As a result, automobile financing actually grew during the 1930s, and department stores and other retail establishments likewise extended credit throughout this turbulent decade.

Worry and uncertainty marked the closing years of the 1930s. Between 1933 and 1939, at least 10 percent of the workforce remained jobless. For naysayers who opposed government



Black sharecroppers did not receive as much aid as white workers. This family worked on the Pettway Plantation in Gee's Bend, Alabama, 1939. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

involvement in employment because they considered it meddling, the word "boondoggle" entered the language. Originally intended to mean "simple craftwork-like woven belts," it came to signify any silly, useless project, and it usually implied the government had a hand in it. For the unemployed, however, the jobs provided by the NRA and the Works Progress Administration (WPA), along with all their associated agencies, were real lifesavers, not expensive make-work. The NRA Blue Eagle ("We Do Our Part") was an icon of the times, proudly displayed in commercial establishments everywhere. Whether it was pouring concrete in a large city or building a highway through mountainous terrain, 20 percent of the total workforce labored in some capacity in these organizations' programs.[8]

American Heritage Interest

In the 1930s one of the missions of the WPA was to provide jobs related to culture and history. The Library of Congress went in search of the roots of early American music, compiling a series of records that helped preserve a rapidly disappearing art. In addition, the WPA organized and published both *The Index of American Design,* a compendium of national arts and skills, and *The Historical American Buildings Survey,* a vast collection of measured drawings of virtually every important architectural site in the nation. Along with this official search for the American past came a substantial growth of interest in the nation's heritage. For example, square dancing flourished, and traditional country music began to be heard on the radio.



The National Youth Association (NYA) was a New Deal Program, part of the WPA, which trained unemployed, out-of-school youth, and provided work-study training for students from high through graduate school. Here young women are in classes at Camp Roosevelt, in Ocala, Florida, probably 1938. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Toward the end of the 1930s, in a gesture that probably said as much about the ailing economy as did anything else, President Roosevelt moved the commemoration of Thanksgiving from the last Thursday in November to the fourth Thursday in the month. This official shift had nothing to do with patriotism or reverence for the nation's founding. FDR did it to extend the Christmas shopping season.

MAJOR NEWS STORIES

The Lindbergh Kidnapping

Amid the economic woes, the public found escape in the problems of others. A prime example was the March 1, 1932, kidnapping of the infant son of Charles and Anne Lindbergh, considered the "Crime of the Century." Still a hero to Americans because of his solo flight across the Atlantic in 1927, Lindbergh had retreated with his wife to rural New Jersey to escape the endless publicity surrounding the "Lone Eagle." Unfortunately, the kidnapping made the Lindberghs the most visible parents in the nation, and they would remain that way for several years as the press shadowed their every move.

The Lindbergh case had all the makings of a movie or radio drama: handsome, famous parents; a heinous crime; and an equally fascinating cast of secondary players. On May 12, 1932, the infant's body was located, but a suspect was not arrested until 1934. After a series of cruel hoaxes, officials charged Bruno Hauptmann with the kidnapping. In January 1935, almost three years after the crime, a trial commenced in the rural town of Flemington, New Jersey. An army of reporters descended on the village to record the proceedings. The public stayed glued to its radios for the latest reports; newspapers issued extra editions chronicling the courtroom scenes. The Depression, the

THE DIONNE QUINTUPLETS

In 1934, on a tiny farm near Callander, Ontario, Elzipe Dionne gave birth to five girls—Annette, Cécile, Emilie, Marie, and Yvonne—in a span of 30 minutes, a rare medical occurrence. Immediately dubbed "the quints" by both the press and their huge, adoring public, people inundated the family with gifts. Thousands of Americans made the drive to the little Canadian village. Some 3,000 visitors a day descended on the town, where the fortunate got a glimpse of the quints on display in the public nursery. For almost a decade, their every activity was reported, gifts streamed in unabated, and the Dionne family struggled with celebrity. The little girls were made to endorse products of every description, their faces peering out from advertisements and billboards. Despite an almost sideshow-like atmosphere surrounding the humble Dionne home, all five girls survived and grew into normal, healthy children.

New Deal, and even Roosevelt were put aside for six weeks as evidence was presented. In the end, officials convicted and then executed Hauptmann. The nation, temporarily sated, reverted to more mundane interests.



Amelia Earhart at 31, when she first became famous (1928). Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Edward VIII and Mrs. Simpson

The abdication and subsequent marriage of King Edward VIII of England proved to be another popular distraction from the economic problems. When the handsome bachelor king renounced the throne in December 1936, the world gasped. His reason was simple: he wished to marry Wallis Warfield Simpson, an American divorcée, a move that Parliament would not allow. Thus, for "the woman I love," King Edward gave up his crown.

Mrs. Simpson and the king had already been the subject of gossip, but no one suspected he would abdicate. The American press relentlessly covered the couple in its quest for stories about "Wally and the Prince." The whole affair did much to usher in the use of telephoto lenses, as eager photographers tried to get a shot of the two aboard the royal yacht.

To ensure that a maximum number of people heard his proclamation, Edward used a radio hookup in Windsor Castle. He understood the immediacy of radio, and the live broadcast connected him to his subjects, along with millions of fascinated Americans. In many ways, the king's words had an impact similar to the *Fireside Chats* that had been so carefully scripted and delivered by President Roosevelt. The two leaders were discovering the power of electronic media.

From Edward's December abdication until his June 1937 marriage to Mrs. Simpson, the press was persistent and its readers insatiable. Following the marriage, the couple continued to be hounded by reporters and photographers. Although the furor eventually died down, the Duke and Duchess of Windsor, as the couple then became, continued to be forever dogged by the endless publicity generated by their fairy-tale romance.

The Disappearance of Amelia Earhart

Amelia Earhart (1897–1937) was a young woman flyer who, in 1928, had become famous as the first woman to fly the Atlantic, but as a

passenger. In 1932 she made her own solo flight across the Atlantic, flying from Newfoundland to Northern Ireland. She was married to a well-to-do publisher, George Putnam, who helped publicize her flights, and Earhart was active in giving speeches that promoted flying.

In May 1937 she and her navigator, Frederick J. Noonan, began an intended 27,000-mile journey that followed the Equator, but somewhere over the central Pacific Ocean, her plane disappeared. Earhart's lost flight was chronicled in news stories that rivaled the emotion of any event of the decade. Extensive searches were immediately instituted, but no traces of the ill-fated plane could be found. The disappearance of Amelia Earhart has entered American popular folklore; movies have been produced, books have been written, new searches have been attempted, and conspiracy theories advanced, but she remains missing, a tantalizing, unsolved mystery of the 1930s.

Advertising of the 1930s

The 1920s—the Jazz Age, the Roaring Twenties—were years of advertising excess. The decade even adopted a word to describe its approach to selling: "ballyhoo." This nineteenth-century term means to exaggerate blatantly, to win attention in any way possible. By 1929, advertising revenues peaked at $3.4 billion, a new record.

It seemed that the most challenging task facing advertisers was showing the public new and different ways to spend money. Ads showed how goods and services would enhance one's social status, deliver benefits, and bring pleasure. With disposable cash, consumers faced an endless array of choices. For the most part, the public accepted uncritically all the ballyhoo; the economy was strong and the government benign, reluctant to intervene.

With the Great Crash of 1929, everything changed significantly. Should advertisements reflect the realities of the crisis, or should they ignore the economic collapse? Businesses quickly felt the economic pressures and cut ad budgets. After a decade of almost uninterrupted growth, advertising agencies slashed salaries and eliminated jobs. Ads were done as cheaply as possible. The public faced a steadily shrinking number of print ads, although radio promotions increased.

The changes, however, were not seen only in business and advertising. Unemployment soared everywhere. With less money to spend, distrust of advertising grew. People grew suspicious, especially of extravagant claims. Their fears were fueled by books like *100,000,000 Guinea Pigs* (1933), *Skin Deep* (1934), *Eat, Drink and Be Wary* (1935), *The Popular Practice of Fraud* (1935), *Partners in Plunder* (1935), and the magazine *Ballyhoo* (1931–1939). *Ballyhoo* refused all paid ads; instead, it ran trenchant parodies of the real thing.

Organizations like Consumers Union and Consumers Research enjoyed rapid growth and prosperity throughout the 1930s. Their success reflected public discontent with inflated claims and shoddy products. Government, slow to exert any pressures on advertising during the 1920s, responded with the Pure Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938. The Federal Trade Commission and the Securities and Exchange Commission, along with the U.S. Post Office and the Internal Revenue Service, began to increase their supervisory and regulatory controls over advertising.[1]

EFFECTS OF THE DEPRESSION

Advertisers took note and toned down the clamor and hoopla used to hype products in the early part of the decade. Yet, advertising in the Depression seldom reflected the nation's problems. Despair and social upheaval were rarely even

hinted at in print or on the radio. Occasionally, an ad or commercial suggested the need for a good appearance in order to gain or hold a job, or it urged forbearance toward those less successful. More frequently, advertisements showed the consumer in his or her preferred environment—the man in his office, the woman in her home—and in the presence of the product.

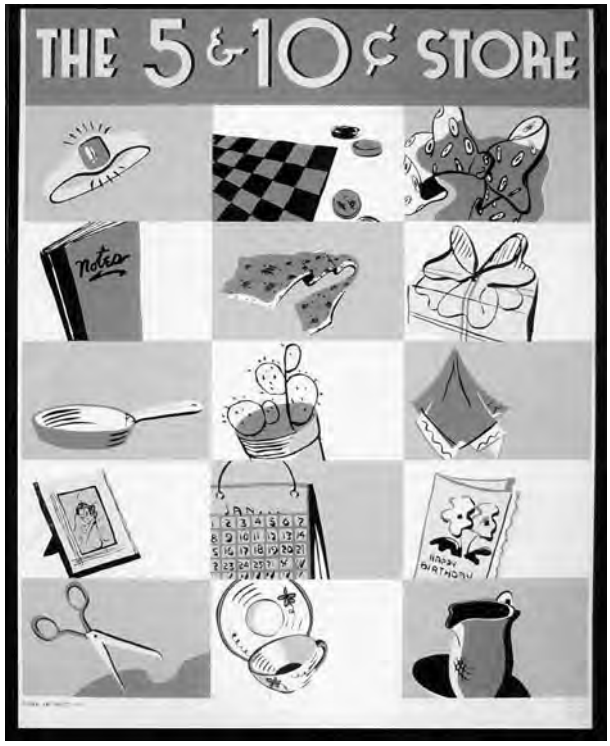
Despite its refusal to acknowledge the crisis directly, advertising did change. More direct ads replaced the hazy view of an optimistic future with a more hard-edged depiction of the present—a present without the Depression, however. Advertisers faced the paradoxical situation of both reassuring the consumer that prosperity was right around the corner while simultaneously urging hard work and sacrifice in order to weather the economic storm of tough times.

Thus, many, if not most, of Depression-era messages remained cheery, with automobiles, soft drinks, cigarettes, and foodstuffs dominating. Advertisers were delighted by a new subculture of teenagers. They targeted school supplies and clothing directly at teens, not their parents. The makers of products once aimed at housewives changed their entire advertising strategies. Fleischmann's Yeast was not just for baking anymore; now, it promised to clear pimply complexions. Planter's Peanuts were no longer a light snack; if a teen offered friends some Planters, that gesture guaranteed popularity. Advertising found a new audience.

The rise of self-service supermarkets and large department stores in which clerks were scarce caused consumers to receive less direct advice about what to buy. Instead, they had to rely increasingly on advertising to make their decisions about quality and value. Advertising therefore became both educator and adviser.

To accommodate this change, ads focused less on the consumer and more on the product. The message meant to bolster confidence about price and value, and to reassure a clientele that felt uncertain about the rapid changes in society and technology.

An unspoken aura of guilt hung over Depression-era ad copy. If consumers did not possess or employ a specific product, it was implied that they would pay a terrible price. Letting insurance policies lapse would force children to drop out of school and go to work; reluctance to buy a new appliance would lead to social ostracism; failure to practice good hygiene would create a bad first impression; sobbing women and stern-faced men provided true confessions of what happened when they neglected to buy certain products or perform particular acts. At the same time, most ads simply promised a better life and better days ahead.



This poster for five and dime stores, where many items were priced at 5 or 10 cents, was created by the Federal Arts Project, which provided work to illustrators in the 1930s. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

In the meantime, ad revenues plunged to a low of $1.3 billion in 1933, about a third of what they had been three years earlier. The nature of the advertisements themselves changed. Some agency art directors felt that too much detail in an ad was distracting; simplicity developed into the key to communicating a message. Wordy parables and long testimonials were eliminated. Lengthy statements about the product or service were couched in terms of how the product or service benefited the consumer. For the duration of the Depression, no matter the product, advertisers stressed

durability and dependability. Automobile manufacturers mentioned price openly, since the economy concerned financially strapped consumers. Jingles disappeared from magazines, although they had a firm hold on radio. As the economy improved after 1933, scattered images of gracious living reappeared, but copy remained appreciably shorter.

ADVERTISING TRENDS

Not everyone subscribed to simplification in advertisements. Many agencies and clients continued to favor loud, cluttered messages. The graceful Art Deco typefaces of the 1920s were replaced by a plain block style that resembled newspaper headlines. Many print ads of the 1930s used bold type, harsh black-and-white photographs, and a terse, direct prose style that dropped subtlety for the hard sell. More and more ads promoted contests and giveaways, further cluttering the ad space. Much of this emphasis on promotions came from the success of radio. In all, it was a nervous, tense display, perhaps echoing the tenor of the times. As the decade progressed, agencies continued to cut costs, with lush illustrations and imaginative graphics usually among the victims.[2]

At the same time, innovative ideas in technology, design, and architecture worked into the world of style. Elements of contemporary art, such as expressionism, cubism, abstraction, and



Despite the Depression and the fact that few could buy a new car, this highly streamlined design is eye-catching both for the advertising and for the car featured in this 1936 V-8 Ford Coupe ad. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

CELEBRITY ENDORSEMENTS IN THE 1930s

Celebrity endorsements are partnerships between companies and corporations, in which celebrities loan their image and/or testimonial to the company's advertisements in return for compensation. Most early celebrity endorsements featured athletes, such as Olympic swimmer Johnny Weissmuller, whose image appeared on the cover of the breakfast cereal Wheaties. This tradition continued into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, with celebrities like Olympic gymnast Mary Lou Retton and basketball star Michael Jordan following Weissmuller's example. Celebrity endorsements proved enormously successful, and companies soon began forming long-term advertising agreements with high profile stars.

Film stars like Charlie Chaplin and Shirley Temple, among the best known personalities of their era, endorsed hundreds of products during their careers. These partnerships eventually led to "celebrity branding," wherein celebrities and manufacturers partnered to create products branded with the celebrity's name. Shirley Temple was one of the first celebrities with a host of products bearing her name, including brand toys and children's clothing. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, celebrity branding became far more common, as entrepreneurial celebrities, like singer and actress Jennifer Lopez, began taking on roles in designing products released under their names.

BURMA-SHAVE

One of the few bright spots in the 1930s was outdoor advertising. The 1920s are often referred to as the Golden Age of Billboards, but the 1930s continued that exuberance. In 1932, about 320 advertising firms used outdoor ads on a nationwide basis; by 1939, over 500 companies used billboards. Outdoor advertising traditionally aimed at a broad middle- and lower-middle-class audience. It was direct and realistic, and it had to convey its entire message quickly. Whereas magazines were turning increasingly to photography to display products, billboards and posters clung to the traditional painted and airbrushed illustration. In addition, the use of gentle, unsatiric humor in outdoor signs expanded throughout the 1930s.

One of the most unusual ad campaigns in the long history of American outdoor advertising was that launched by Burma-Shave in 1925. Burma-Shave (technically the Burma-Vita Company) was a struggling firm attempting to market men's brushless shaving cream. They had tried giving out sample jars, but this approach was unsuccessful. Then, using pieces of scrap wood, the Minnesota-based company erected small roadside signs that gave a serial message. As cars raced by, the drivers could read them in order. Soon the signs were being professionally manufactured; the messages consisted of simple, lighthearted poems, a sign for each line. By the 1930s, little red Burma-Shave signs could be found alongside virtually every highway in the country. The campaign kicked into high gear and a national reach, with yearly contests urging consumers to send in verses they had written. And write them they did. In 1931, motorists would have read, "Half a pound / for half a buck / come on shavers / you're in luck / Burma-Shave." Or, in 1934, they would have read, "He had the ring / he had the flat / but she felt his chin / and that was that / Burma-Shave."

So it went throughout the decade. Some 200 new verses were written and posted by 1940, and the campaign continued unabated until 1963 with hundreds of additional poems. In 1938, over 7,000 sets of verse stood by the highway, which translated into more than 40,000 individual signs. Throughout the decade, and with the emergence of a true national campaign, Burma-Shave saw its fortunes rise sharply. The end of signs by the road in 1963 signified the loss of a part of Americana known to everyone who traveled by car in those days.

Source: For the story of Burma-Shave and many examples of their ads, see Frank Rowsome Jr., *The Verse by the Side of the Road: The Story of Burma-Shave Signs and Jingles* (Lexington, MA: The Stephen Greene Press, 1965).

impressionism, surfaced with some regularity on the ad pages of mass-circulation magazines. These ads kept words to a minimum, thus allowing pictures to carry the message. Ads evoked emotions through color choices and broke down shapes to their basic components. Technology was suggested by a deliberately distorted arrangements of motifs, while delicate illustrations conveyed a sense of the seasons. It was one more way of suggesting the new and the novel in a visual manner. This use of the techniques of modern art was, however, in the minority, and stands as a reaction to the highly realistic illustrations of the 1910s and 1920s. Streamlining—a new style of design most often used for vehicles, including automobiles, trains, and airplanes—gave a new, rounded, flowing look to design and was found in some advertising of the 1930s.

Market researchers like George Gallup and A. C. Nielsen (of the Gallup Poll and Nielsen Ratings, respectively) discovered that the majority of Depression-era audiences wanted clear and simple ads. As a result, the use of comic strip characters and cartoon drawings emerged. Speech balloons, a device taken from comics, were used freely. Ads used photographs, instead of drawings, to add authenticity and impact. Illustrators, working in oil and watercolor, were in less demand as art and design became secondary to the print message.[3]

As photography became more prominent in ads, many looked on it as more real than a painted illustration. The rise of consumerism and the desire for greater truth in advertising also gave photography a strong boost. The fact that photographs could be retouched, manipulated, and distorted seemed not to matter.

Men and Women in Ads of the 1930s

The message given in an overwhelming majority of magazine ads from the decade is that men are producers and women consumers. Naturally, most commercial messages were directed at women, an approach that resulted in rampant stereotyping of both sexes. The consumer, when depicted in ads, was typically a woman—a sophisticated, modern woman who made most of the purchasing choices for her family. A man's home may have been his castle, but a woman managed it. In the world portrayed by advertisers, men held down jobs and women did the shopping.

Print ads almost always depicted an urban or suburban scene. While skyscrapers represented the office environment, large factories represented the manufacturing world, and home was an apartment, a house on a city street, or a cozy dwelling in the suburbs.

RADIO ADVERTISING

People might quote ad copy they saw in a magazine, but it was much more likely they could repeat the jingles and slogans they heard on the radio. People sincerely believed that widely promoted products were somehow superior to less ballyhooed ones. Although radio advertising began in 1922, it did not truly hit its stride until the next decade. With the incredible growth of broadcasting, radio commercials helped bring about greater homogeneity in national patterns of taste and consumption.

One of the most popular formats for a broadcast ad was the singing commercial. The ad would begin with an incidental opening (humorously known as the "cowcatcher"), move to the actual commercial message, and close with a final plug (called the "hitchhiker"). As stations played these ditties throughout the day, listeners, like it or not, soon knew them by heart.[4]

By advertising nationwide on network radio, manufacturers were able to establish unparalleled brand loyalty. For example, by sponsoring *The Chase and Sanborn Hour* (1929–1948), a little-known coffee rose to become a national leader in sales. Miracle Whip salad dressing was introduced in 1933; its manufacturer, Kraft Foods, promoted it in both major magazine campaigns and on the radio. *The Kraft Music Hall* (1934–1949) was hosted by the popular Bing Crosby for most of its years on the air. Within a decade, Kraft's Miracle Whip attained half the market for sandwich spreads.

In the late afternoons, children everywhere stopped what they were doing to listen to *Jack Armstrong, the All-American Boy.* From 1933 until 1951, Jack and his pals urged kids to "Just buy Wheaties / The best breakfast food in the land!" As a result, General Mills rose to become a leading cereal manufacturer. Pepsodent toothpaste likewise found a vast audience with its sponsorship of the enormously popular *Amos 'n Andy* from 1929 until 1939. Just before dropping *Amos 'n Andy,* the company started to underwrite *The Pepsodent Show Starring Bob Hope,* a relationship that lasted until the dawn of television. With two of the biggest programs on radio, Pepsodent stood as a major force in the competitive dental hygiene industry. Similar stories could be told about Jell-O, Lucky Strike cigarettes, Ovaltine, Pepsi-Cola, and a host of other products that came to be identified—and purchased—as a result of their association with network broadcasting.

As the 1930s progressed, radio commercials grew more blatant. The entire emphasis was on encouraging the listener to buy. Repetition,

ADVERTISING SLOGANS OF THE 1930s

"Drink a bite to eat at 10, 2 and 4 o'clock," Dr Pepper, 1926

"M'm! M'm! Good!" Campbell's Soup, 1931*

"The breakfast of champions," Wheaties, 1933*

"When you care enough to send the very best," Hallmark Cards, 1934*

"Snap! Crackle! Pop!" Kellogg's Rice Krispies, 1930s*

*Among Advertising Age's "The Advertising Century: Top 100 Advertising Campaigns," http://adage.com/century/campaigns.html.

BETTY CROCKER

Betty Crocker was invented in 1921 by the Washburn-Crosby Company (which later became General Mills) as the company symbol. She appeared as a nutrition expert in various kinds of print media. Her name was derived from the last name of a former company director, William G. Crocker, and "Betty," a popular first name of the time. Though she emerged in the 1920s, it was in the 1930s that she became most influential. General Mills found Betty Crocker did best on radio, so she soon had a regular radio show that, not incidentally, touted company products. The producers aimed the show at housewives, with Crocker paying a friendly visit to each listener's home and proffering advice on better homemaking. Listeners wrote letters to Crocker that "she" (an anonymous woman reading from a script in the studio) responded to on air. Other sponsors followed suit, and radio advisers became all the rage. These imaginary personalities were the symbolic representatives of large corporations.

Betty Crocker was finally given a face in 1936. Motherly, her hair streaked with a touch of gray, she was emblematic of good American cooking. Her countenance has continued to look out at consumers ever since; some eight makeovers later—sometimes younger, sometimes just a bit older—Betty Crocker still epitomizes motherhood and apple pie, especially if that pie is baked with Gold Medal Flour, a longtime staple in the General Mills pantry.

In the end, the popular Betty Crocker radio show addressed aspects of the Depression. It played on the air five times a week, and the sponsor, General Mills, saw to it that two of each week's broadcasts included menus and recipes oriented toward families on relief. It was a small gesture of recognition, but it nonetheless acknowledged that not everyone was participating in the American Dream of work and prosperity.

For more information see Charles Goodrum and Helen Dalrymple, *Advertising in America: The First 200 Years* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1990), 38–40.

music, and sound effects left little doubt about any brand name. Those attempting to assess the decade through commercial radio broadcasting would not realize that there was a major economic Depression affecting the country. But radio, after all, provided escapism, and that is the way the growing audience wanted it. What helped was that the announcer spoke directly to the listener, which fostered the illusion of intimacy. The listener got to know the announcer, a fact that broadcasters used to their advantage. Don Wilson (*The Jack Benny Program* and Lucky Strike cigarettes), Harlow Wilcox (*Fibber McGee and Molly* and Johnson's Wax), Harry Von Zell (*Eddie Cantor* and Pabst Blue Ribbon Beer), Ed Herlihy (*Kraft Music Hall* and Kraft foods), Westbrook Van Voorhis (*The March of Time* and *Time* magazine), and dozens of others emerged as celebrities, often becoming significant parts of shows, as well as spokesmen for the sponsors' products.

A sure way to enhance sales of new products was to have a memorable label or trademark. For instance, in 1921 the giant food processor General Mills created a corporate symbol and spokesperson in Betty Crocker. In 1936, the Minnesota Valley Canning Company went to a large New York advertising firm for advice on lagging sales. Out of that meeting came the Jolly Green Giant, another enduring icon in the annals of American marketing. Consumers liked the smiling giant (the fact that he was green never seemed to bother anyone) holding up equally huge corn and peas, and sales surged. Perhaps his sheer size suggested health and vitality—and he possessed echoes of the beloved Paul Bunyan, another wholly invented figure.

RACIST ADVERTISING

A number of American products, especially foods, have long used African Americans as part

of their labeling: Cream of Wheat (hot cereal), Aunt Jemima (instant pancake mix), and Uncle Ben (rice products) are probably the best known. The racial stereotyping is obvious, right down to the demeaning use of "uncle" and "aunt." This carries over directly from the days of slavery and "Uncle Tom" and "Uncle Remus," drawing uncomfortable connections between race and servitude. For example, Rastus, the beaming chef on the Cream of Wheat label, creates an image of master and servant. Throughout the 1930s, print ads showed him serving white children steaming bowls of their favorite hot cereal. To be sure, images like these supported much of the racial stereotyping so rampant in the United States during the first half of the twentieth century.

Worse than the silent countenance of Rastus, however, was the written speech attributed to Aunt Jemima. In the November 1939 issue of *Good Housekeeping,* she said, "Don't you fret, Honey! Jus' feastify dem wif my pancakes!" And that same month, in the *Saturday Evening Post* she implored the reader to "Thrill yo' appetite wif' my down South treat!" The ads' hackneyed dialect thereby perpetuated the destructive image of the African American who spoke a minstrel-show form of English. Such egregious stereotyping was common in large-circulation, middle-class magazines during the 1930s, sometimes lasting until the 1950s.

Even products like chewing gum were sometimes advertised in demeaning ways. In a 1933 cartoon ad, Beech-Nut gum showed white adventurers (adult male, adolescent boy, and girl) getting captured by buffoonish black cannibals in what was supposed to be Africa. Only by dint of Beech-Nut gum and some silly magic tricks—the latter available for free, for only five outside wrappers—did they gain their freedom. The trio became honored tribal magicians in the process. This image of white superiority over bloodthirsty but ultimately childlike tribesmen is a sad commentary on the state of racial awareness and sensitivity in 1930s advertising.[5]

From these degrading advertisements it was a small step to the stereotyped antics of Eddie Anderson as "Rochester" on Jack Benny's radio show and the steady stream of dialect jokes on the tremendously popular *Amos 'n Andy.* This media cross-reinforcement of deeply ingrained cultural racism continued well beyond the thirties.

ADVERTISING AND SMOKING

Smoking was heavily advertised during the Depression years. Ads for Camel cigarettes touted the pleasures of smoking for women. As a rule, the person pictured with a cigarette was an attractive socialite; if upper-class women could openly smoke, then why not all women? For men and women alike, cigarettes signified urbanity and sophistication. They required little time and they were convenient. In fact, cigarettes were *streamlined*—they fit the imagery of the time. Other ads continued with a more traditional approach: men enjoying a male prerogative, often by themselves or in the company of other men.

In 1937, a national survey found that 95 percent of men smoked openly on the street, but only 28 percent thought women should have the same privilege. Those interviewed could find some support for their attitudes. Throughout the 1930s, most religious magazines continued to rail against women smoking at all. Tobacco use nevertheless continued its climb among both men and women throughout the decade. One example of the power of advertising, 66 percent of all men under 40 smoked during the 1930s, and 26 percent of women under 40 enjoyed cigarettes. More revealing, however, is another set of figures: 40 percent of men *over* 40 smoked, but only 9 percent of women *over* 40 smoked. Obviously, smoking was a generational custom, one that was promoted to the fashionable young and was fueled by the ceaseless ad campaigns that urged increased tobacco consumption.[6]

As the propriety of women's smoking grew, cigarette manufacturers faced the challenge of appealing to everyone. Should ads target both men and women, or should they create separate campaigns for each sex? For instance, the Marlboro brand was advertised from 1924 to 1954 as a sophisticated woman's cigarette. During the 1930s, Marlboros had an "ivory tip" and a red "beauty tip"; the latter was pushed because it showed no lipstick smears. In addition, Marlboros were touted as being "mild as May," hardly a slogan to appeal to a male audience. This approach had little effect on sales, and

Marlboros languished in the lower ranks of popularity until they became a "man's cigarette" in 1954. Conversely, Lucky Strikes claimed that they could help one avoid overeating: "When tempted, reach for a Lucky instead!" Even more feminized was the slogan "Reach for a Lucky instead of a sweet!" This ploy apparently worked; Lucky Strike was one of the leading brands of the decade. Another successful campaign was that mounted by Chesterfields. The company ran illustrations of women happily staring at men smoking and saying, "Blow Some My Way." This imaginative piece of prose first appeared in 1926 and was revived in 1931. With the growing proportion of younger women taking up smoking in the 1930s, these advertisements had obviously struck a chord.

Architecture

of the 1930s

The architectural and design word of the 1930s was Modernism, expressed as either Art Deco or Streamline Moderne. The style included items as diverse as buildings, automobiles, radio cabinets, fabric patterns, and kitchen china. In the turmoil of the 1930s, people viewed conventional art as stagnant. They embraced Modernism as the new symbol of the age.

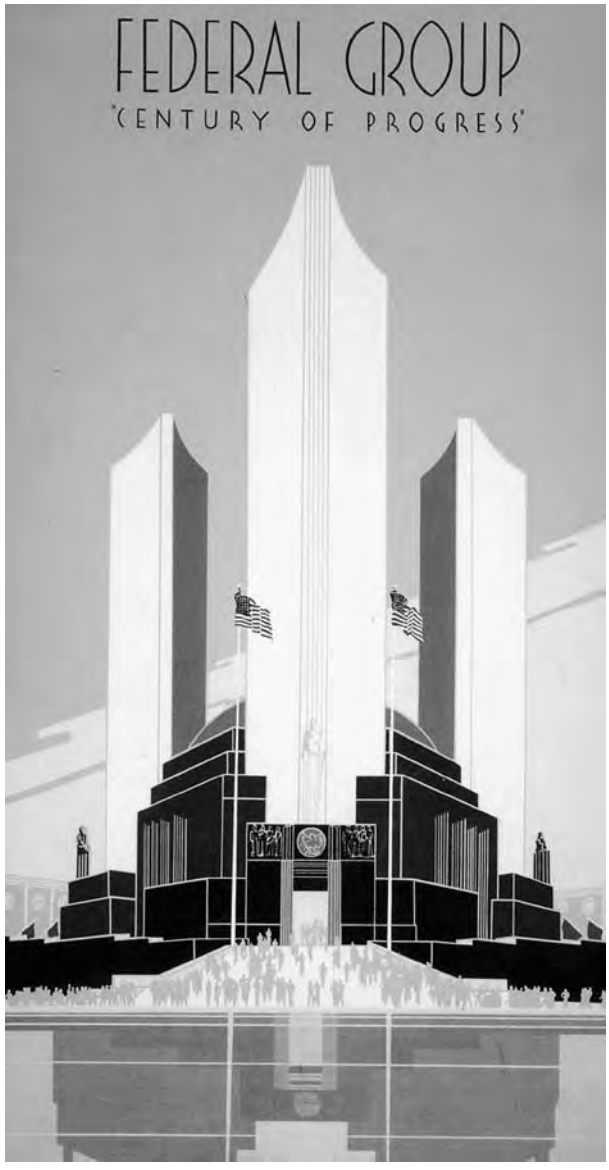
ART DECO, STREAMLINING, AND MODERNITY

The chief characteristic of most modern design during the 1930s is the lack of ornament. Lines—both straight and curving, but always uncluttered—dominate. In many ways, the architects and designers of the period rebelled against the ornamentation of the Victorian and Edwardian eras, when applied decoration went to excess. This rebellion included many of the characteristic motifs of Art Deco, a modern style that had grown out of *L'Exposition Internationale des Arts Decoratifs et Industriels Modernes,* a lavish 1925 exhibition held in Paris. American architects and designers embraced much of Art Deco—the chevrons and jagged lightning bolts, the setback skyscrapers with their fantastical upper stories, and the extensive use of glass, mirrors, and plastics. But as the 1930s progressed, "Streamline Moderne" emerged and these flourishes were dismissed as mere indulgences. The streamline aesthetic was just that: smooth surfaces devoid of any adornments. The ovoid, or teardrop, shape was the essence of streamlining. It signified the age of the smooth-running, efficient machine.

Art Deco and the Streamline movements shared an affinity for geometric form, but generally the geometry in Streamline Moderne stood more abstract and less representational than Art Deco. Art Deco was essentially a substitution of machinelike decoration for more traditional motifs, evoking the spirit of mass production (stamping it out) and repetition (the assembly line).

Both Art Deco and Streamline Moderne style moved from high art into the everyday world of commercialism. With sales dwindling because of the depressed economy, manufacturers turned to industrial designers to sell more products. They fashioned "objects of desire," not necessarily essential things.

For instance, mass-produced streamlined salt and pepper shakers, finished in shiny chrome or stainless steel, paid homage to the silversmith. At the same time, they acknowledged the popularization of that tradition by their numbers and resultant low price. Architects and designers frequently rejected one-of-a-kind crafts and specialized works of art, and aimed at larger markets. The thirties



Art Deco at Chicago's Century of Progress. The 1933 exposition featured many buildings executed in the still-popular Art Deco tradition, as shown in this poster. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

therefore witnessed the acceptance of the machine itself as art. The use of such mass-produced items in a traditional, or non-modern, house (Queen Anne, Colonial, Georgian, etc.) cut across all lines of tradition and class.

THE SKYSCRAPER

During the period 1929–1931, New Yorkers gawked while several Modernistic skyscrapers raced to completion, often at the rate of more than a story a day. Collectively, they would epitomize the last of the Roaring Twenties and, at the same time, the onset of a new decade.

Leading the contest was the Chrysler Building (1930; William Van Alen), a magnificent Art Deco tower clad in stainless steel and decorated with details symbolizing the giant automotive manufacturer. A few blocks away stood the emerging skeleton of the Empire State Building (1931; Shreve, Lamb & Harmon) with its sleek, vertical Art Deco styling. The two battled over the claim of being the "world's tallest building." The stately Woolworth Building, farther downtown, had held that distinction since 1913.

The Chrysler Building opened its doors first, but its 77 stories and 1,046-foot height were temporary titleholders. In 1931, the Empire State Building, at 102 stories and 1,250 feet, took the skyscraper honors that it would retain for the next 42 years. To accomplish this feat, it boasted a mooring mast for dirigibles. No lighter-than-air craft ever docked there, but the towering mast was altered and became the city's primary television antenna in 1951.[1]

Ironically, the completion of these two towers coincided with the onset of the Great Depression. They both opened to empty offices and "space available" signs, and wags pronounced the Empire State Building the "Empty State Building." Iconic as they are today, both buildings are relics, Art Deco masterpieces erected in a period that was in the process of rejecting that very style. The Crash hit the architectural and building professions hard: between 1929 and 1933, employment in the building trades fell 63 percent. In New York City alone, 85 percent of all architects were unemployed. Major construction initiatives like these two structures virtually disappeared in the economic woes of the Depression.[2]

THE INTERNATIONAL STYLE

For larger commercial and public buildings, it had only been a few years since the Neoclassical Revival was the rage in the United States. Architect John Russell Pope was commissioned to design the Jefferson Memorial in 1934 and the National Gallery of Art in 1937 in Washington, D.C., and



Empire State Building, 1931. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

most people found his traditional, classical designs appropriate. At the same time, the effects of both industrialization and politics challenged the insularity of architecture across the country.

The steady emigration of architects from troubled Europe helped introduce fresh, modern tenets, and their American counterparts realized they would have to adapt to a new, more austere, linear approach to design. The Modernism of the 1930s was a marriage of art and industrial design. In 1932, historian Henry-Russell Hitchcock and architect Philip Johnson mounted an important show at New York's Museum of Modern Art called Modern Architecture. The exhibition displayed the work of several contemporary architects, most of them European, and identified their work as the International Style. The exhibit later traveled for almost two years and visited many American cities. Hitchcock and Johnson also wrote *The International Style: Architecture Since 1922* (1932), a seminal book that introduced many to these new design trends.

For the general public, the International Style could be summarized as austere, rectilinear buildings with wide expanses of plain walls, usually finished in white. The structures themselves were often done in concrete, with the upper stories sometimes cantilevered out over the basic foundations. Doors and windows lacked trim, and the effect was one of smoothness, a rejection of the traditional textures of stone, brick, and wood. Hitchcock and Johnson, in both their exhibition and book, argued that a building should be "honest"; it should be a reflection of itself and its underlying construction. It should not be disguised to fit an arbitrary style. By repudiating most decorative elements, the International Style opened the way for the unadorned glass-and-steel skyscrapers that would characterize much of American commercial architecture for the remainder of the twentieth century. The hubcaps and hood ornaments of the Art Deco Chrysler Building, beloved by generations of onlookers, were declared passé even as the building opened its doors.

One of the first major structures to reflect the new style was the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society (PSFS) building, erected in 1932 in the heart of downtown Philadelphia. Its lower portion, with stainless steel cladding and rounded corners, is clearly inspired by European Modernism. Jointly designed by the American George Howe and the Swiss émigré William Lescaze, the PSFS building shed existing traditions and boldly proclaimed

itself in the International Style. Not everyone embraced the International Style. Art Deco still had some important adherents who particularly admired its use of freely applied ornamentation. In addition, the world of industrial design was opening up new vistas with flowing, streamlined shapes that were being called "Moderne." Thus the stark austerity of the International Style had limited appeal.

The Depression and World War II slowed the skyscraper revolution, but the daring buildings erected during the 1930s probably had more impact on how Americans perceived Modernism than any paintings or sculptures created at the same time.[3]

FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT

During all this tumult, Frank Lloyd Wright (1867–1959), who continued as the dean of American architects, was uncharacteristically quiet. In the public's eye, his career had floundered somewhat during the later 1920s, and he had been relegated to "grand old man" status. He was 65 when the PSFS building went up in 1932, and no one expected any new statements to be coming from him. True to form, he surprised everyone.

Between 1935 and 1937, Wright designed one of the finest, most distinctive homes ever built in the United States. In a daring series of cantilevered reinforced concrete slabs projecting through and over a mountain creek in the forested mountains east of Pittsburgh, Wright took the "less is more" credo of the Internationalists and erected the Kaufmann House at Bear Run, Pennsylvania, more popularly known as "Fallingwater." Although Wright was unusually outspoken in his criticism of the European Modernists and their effects on design during the twenties and thirties, Fallingwater is in many respects a tip of the hat to their influence. He had the gray concrete painted white, the favorite hue of the day for modern houses. Further, he employed contemporary technology as easily as any Modernist architect, and he eschewed applied decoration. But Wright married Fallingwater to its precipitous terrain; in much architecture of the 1930s, the natural environment was ignored, even leveled. For too many, the machine—technology—overcame nature; for Wright, ever the iconoclast and lover of the natural world, the site was one with the house. He neither altered nor ignored anything.



Fallingwater, 1939. This photo was taken as part of the Library of Congress's Historic American Building Survey (HABS) documentation project, which began in 1933 as a cooperative venture among the National Parks Service, Library of Congress, and private sector to document significant American buildings. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Fallingwater, a building that demonstrates the potential of modern architecture, has become one of Wright's best-known and best-loved works. It is not cold and academic, as are too many modern efforts. Although it can be seen as a linked series of abstract forms, the effect it has on viewers is one of warmth and human scale.

Back in the limelight with Fallingwater, Wright moved on to other achievements during the period. In the Johnson Wax offices (1936–1939) in Racine, Wisconsin, he based his design on the latest trends in streamlining and made them the focus of his plan. Borrowing from the popular

industrial designers of the day, Wright created tubular metal furniture on the main floor that echoed the circles of light and concrete directly above the heads of the workers. Instead of being threatening, the design was bright and airy, creating a most pleasant working environment. For the modern world, Wright attempted to equate the workplace with a spiritual experience, just as the cathedral did in the past.

Responding to a 1938 challenge from *Life* magazine to design a small, inexpensive residence, Wright closed out the decade working on his concept of the Usonian house. The word "Usonian" was his creation, taking the abbreviation of "*U*nited *S*tates" and indicating a kind of broad agrarianism for urban people. Like his earlier Prairie Houses, these buildings were rectilinear in design. All unnecessary elements were eliminated through technological innovation and standardized materials. Although only a few were built, the Usonian homes presaged the enormously popular ranch houses of the 1950s. (See Architecture of the 1950s.) It could fairly be said that one of Wright's major accomplishments was not imitating the Modernists, but taking their concepts and motifs and making them uniquely his own.

MASS HOUSING

The need for shelter among average people may have been low on the professional agenda, but housing was an important component of New Deal policies. As a result, the Roosevelt administration focused on planning the financial aspects of housing rather than the architectural ones.

New Deal planners envisioned a series of subsistence homesteads and greenbelt towns in an effort to provide better housing for people of moderate means. They also worked to create, through the Public Works Administration (PWA), over 40 housing projects for low income families. Idealistic in intent, but flawed in execution, this last effort unfortunately made the term "projects" a charged one, usually negative. Architecturally, none of these worthy attempts displayed much distinction, and the profession itself tended to ignore them.

Little truly Modernist housing was erected during the Depression years, and most of that went unseen by the general public. The 1933 Chicago World's Fair, or "Century of Progress," did display two futuristic homes designed by George Fred Keck. His House of Tomorrow and Crystal House elicited some public enthusiasm, but it was mainly limited to the exposition. His designs demonstrated the potential of mass-producing homes just like any other machine-made product, but neither consumers nor the housing industry seemed particularly interested in exploring the subject. Where their residences were concerned, Americans continued to prefer traditional design and construction.

The lack of innovation was only part of a larger problem. In the early 1930s, housing starts declined by 90 percent, which translates nationally to 937,000 new units in 1925 and only 84,000 in 1933. The residential landscape therefore consisted of older homes, not new ones. In addition, in 1933 over 1.5 million homes were in default or in the process of foreclosure.[4]

Most middle-class Americans continued living in traditional houses throughout the decade. The money they invested in their dwellings was at some risk, but the Federal Home Loan Bank Act of 1932 stabilized many of the tottering savings and loan associations that held mortgages. Two years later, the Federal Housing Act gave active support to the housing industry. It issued 20-year mortgages with low down payments. Chronic unemployment and decreased wages, however, made it impossible for many to build or buy. A housing shortage grew throughout the depression. By the end of the decade, only 41 percent of Americans owned their homes.[5]

Some good things did emerge from the depressed building market. In an attempt to keep construction prices low, manufacturers came up with products like prefabricated door and window units, exterior-grade (i.e., weather-resistant) plywood, improved drywall, and better glues and caulking. Wall paneling was also introduced, and Knotty Pine became a best seller for those who could afford it and wanted a Colonial look in their decor.

PERIOD REVIVALS

In 1931, the American Institute of Interior Decorators (now the American Society of Interior

Decorators) was formed, reflecting the growing interest in applied design. But this group, and others like it, was also concerned with historical accuracy in the many revival movements gaining interest in the country. Colonial Williamsburg opened to the public in 1932, providing added impetus for the group's aim of accurate preservation. Specialty magazines with titles like *The Decorator's Digest* (1932) and *The Interior Decorator* (1934) found a ready audience. A small fad for the authentic "early American" look ensued; an open fireplace, a replica spinning wheel, and the cobbler's bench as coffee table became the style.

The number of professional interior decorators swelled in the United States during the 1920s and 1930s. Many were women, often from upper-class backgrounds. Mainstream women's magazines, such as *House & Garden* and *Better Homes and Gardens,* featured their work and ideas. Large, influential department stores like Wanamaker's, Marshall Field, Macy's, Lord & Taylor, and B. Altman included the latest in interior decorating trends in their furniture and accessory displays.

The movement toward a simpler, more secure, past remained in vogue throughout the thirties. It dominated American domestic architecture, and the resultant styles were called "period revivals." By and large, the favorites were Colonial, Tudor, and Spanish Revival. Quaintness and eclecticism were important, regardless of the actual style.

Antiquing became a major pursuit, and Sunday drives were often dedicated to finding bits of Americana in out-of-the-way places. Factory reproductions of old things—spinning wheels, deacon's benches, high-boys, wagon wheels, and such—sold well, particularly if they were done in Colonial Maple, genuine or not.

GAS STATIONS

The period revival trend even influenced common businesses such as gas stations. The favorite design for a new station during much of the 1920s and 1930s was a modification of a standard house or cottage plan, with a canopy extending out over the pump(s). Two oil companies, Pure and Phillips, introduced imitations of traditional, steeply pitched English cottages for their stations during the 1920s. By the early 1930s, almost 7,000 of these period structures were sprinkled throughout the mainland, largely in the Midwest. Their success led to Colonial, Georgian, Mission, and even Asian-style stations. The thirties also witnessed a proliferation of vernacular structures—lighthouses, giant oilcans, ice-bergs, tepees, coffeepots, windmills—that competed for highway attention.

Texaco hired Walter Dorwin Teague, a respected modern designer, to create a generic station in 1937. The result was the classic International version, complete with white-porcelained enamel steel tiles. In a similar vein, several other designers worked with the lowly gas station during the Depression. Raymond Loewy produced plans for both Shell and Union Oil prototypes, as did Norman Bel Geddes for Mobilgas. Although all the designs were quite modern, none of them survived beyond the drawing board.[6]

FAIRS AND EXPOSITIONS

The changes in architecture in the 1930s were displayed at the two World's Fairs during the decade: the Chicago World's Fair (1933–1934) and the New York World's Fair (1939–1940). These expositions presented markedly different architectural forms.

Although mired in the depression, Chicago responded to hosting the fair. The Windy City was the "City of the Big Shoulders . . . Building, breaking, rebuilding," so said poet Carl Sandburg, and thus the city fathers planned for the "Century of Progress." Across 400 acres of marshes along Lake Michigan arose a fantasy metropolis not unlike Hollywood's Emerald City in the *Wizard of Oz* (1939). The exposition served as a testament to Art Deco in American architectural design. Its theme was "Advancement through Technology," personifying optimism in the face of economic challenges.

Chicago's exposition opened in May 1933. Originally planned for only one year, officials held the fair over for a second record-breaking season, finally closing in late summer 1934. Unlike most ventures of this kind, it made a profit. It was the largest show of its kind up until then, and it served as the perfect antidote to the dreariness of the Depression. More than 20 million people flocked to the fair.



Poster for the 1933–1934 Chicago World's Fair, showing the fairgrounds with the Chicago skyline. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.



The Trylon and Perisphere, the official symbols of the 1939 New York World's Fair, in an exciting poster depicting the sleek, streamlined celebration of modernity. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

The towering Hall of Science reinforced the idea that here, truly, was the future. Its working models of new technological devices were fascinating, and an aerial tour via the Sky Ride, a 1930s version of the monorail, took the daring above the fairgrounds.

Special trains were run to Chicago from across the continent. Eventually, the sleek cars and engines of the Union Pacific's City of Salina and the Burlington Line's Pioneer Zephyr became parts of the displays. The Pioneer Zephyr established a speed record, reaching Chicago from Denver—a distance of just over 1,000 miles—in 13 hours, traveling at 77.6 mph.[7]

The New York World's Fair was the spectacle of the decade from its Spring 1939 opening until its Autumn 1940 closing. Not even the German invasion of Poland in September 1939 forced it closed. Located on over 1,200 reclaimed acres, the entire extravaganza was laid out in "zones," an idea much in vogue at the time. The Long Island Rail Road delivered fairgoers to an ultramodern terminal where Greyhound buses, designed by the renowned Raymond Loewy, ferried around the fair's over 65 miles of paved streets and footpaths. Cool, white fluorescent tubes bathed the event in light, the first large-scale public demonstration of that form of lighting.

The most distinguished designers and architects of the era worked at the fair, underwritten by the nation's corporate might. In many ways, the New York World's Fair symbolized the marriage between industry and the arts. An official stated goal of the extravaganza sought to bring together architecture and commerce, to show that modernity, industrial design, and popular

culture could coexist. As a result, virtually nothing escaped commercialization. Over 25,000 different items bore the official imprint of the fair, ranging from Heinz pickles to a pin proclaiming "Time for Saraka," a popular laxative. There was even an official song of the fair, "Dawn of a New Day," penned by George and Ira Gershwin and recorded by several leading bands.

In many ways the fair celebrated the American automobile. General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler had enormous exhibits. "Futurama," General Motors' vast network of miniature buildings, highways, and motor vehicles, enthralled over 10 million visitors, and proved to be the most popular attraction. Created by architect Albert Kahn and designer Norman Bel Geddes, Futurama displayed a technological landscape circa 1960, including 500,000 model buildings and 50,000 cars, some 10,000 of which actually moved. The automobile dominated GM's utopia, a rather accurate prognostication.

Automotive culture served as the fair's major element, with streamlining as its primary motif. It represented leaving the roughhewn past behind for a sleek, smooth future. Streamlining thus became an economic metaphor. A sticky economy gave way to a frictionless one; urbanity replaced rusticity. With the aid of consumer engineering,



The Golden Gate Bridge under construction. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

GOLDEN GATE BRIDGE

The Golden Gate Bridge spans 1.2 miles over the San Francisco Bay, stretching from San Francisco to Marin County, California. At the time of its construction, the Golden Gate was the longest suspension bridge in existence and one of the largest engineering feats in history. The idea to span the bay was first suggested in the nineteenth century, when the only method of crossing was by ferry. It wasn't until the 1920s, however, that San Francisco City Engineer Michael M. O'Shaughnessy launched the idea in motion, inviting some of the era's leading engineers to submit proposals for a bridge. The contract was won by engineer Joseph Strauss, who believed that the bridge could be built for an estimated $25 million.

Construction began on January 5, 1933, and consisted of a long-term project to excavate more than 3.25 million cubic feet of dirt to make space for anchorages. Construction on the central portions of the bridge was dangerous and difficult, and 11 workers were killed in construction accidents. In June 1936, the engineering team decided to add the most extensive safety feature in the history of bridge building—a giant net slung under the construction site at a cost of over $130,000. Nineteen workers fell from the bridge scaffolding and were saved by the net, becoming members of the informal group known as the Halfway to Hell Club. The bridge was completed in 1937, at more than $1 million under the original budget. The city opened the bridge to the public on May 27, 1937, and more than 18,000 people gathered to be the first to cross the bridge in their own unique ways, including roller skates, backwards, and on stilts. After a week of celebration called the "Golden Gate Bridge Fiesta," the bridge was opened to automobile traffic. In 1994, the American Society of Civil Engineers named the Golden Gate Bridge one of the Seven Wonders of the Modern World.

people flocked to carefully designed products that symbolized the end of drudgery. Citizens faced a materialistic future filled with new appliances and the blessings of industry.

Overlooking the fair were the Trylon and Perisphere, the official symbols of the event. The name Trylon, a 728-foot needle-like pyramid, was derived from a *tr*iangle and a p*ylon.* The Perisphere beside the Trylon was a 180-foot-diameter hollow sphere. Inside was "Democracity," a vast model of the utopian city of tomorrow. Conceived and designed by Henry Dreyfuss, "Democracity" gave visitors a glimpse of an ordered, prosperous future with its workers marching with automaton-like precision.

DESIGN

The 1920s and the 1930s presented a problem for American design, both interior and architectural. The bold ideas of Art Deco were fresh and new in the 1920s, but in the 1930s they were beginning to seem passé. How an item looked was as important as how well it functioned: enter industrial design. The smooth, machine-like Streamline Moderne was supplanting Art Deco, and the flood of European designers and architects to the United States in the years preceding World War II meant the International Style was also gaining new adherents. In this way the Depression decade proved itself a time of change in the decorative arts, a period when a number of products were destined to become icons in American consumer culture.

Norman Bel Geddes

Norman Bel Geddes (1893–1958) first made a name for himself in stage design, and although he would design television studios in the 1950s, in the thirties he moved from the theater to commercial and industrial art. In 1932, Bel Geddes published *Horizons,* a visionary book in which he applied streamlining to transportation, housing, and everyday products and prophesied that streamlined shapes would eventually be applied to radios, furniture, cars, and other everyday objects, thereby changing the way the average person viewed the material world. Bel Geddes's drawings revealed ships with torpedo shapes and airplanes that resembled flying wings with teardrop pontoons. These ideas were echoed in Chrysler's 1934 Airflow, an automobile ahead of its time. Taken together, *Horizons,* the Airflow, and Bel Geddes's designs with Albert Kahn at the Futurama exhibits at the New York World's Fair in 1939 made Bel Geddes the popular spokesman for the future.

The Chrysler Airflow

Thanks to an almost unlimited advertising budget, wide brand recognition, a far-flung chain of dealerships, and—most importantly—a relatively low sticker price, the Chrysler Airflow line generated a lot of interest. The Airflow's headlights appeared to blend in smoothly with the flow of the chassis. A roundly sloping hood and a swept-back windshield, along with some chrome detailing, completed the emphasis on streamlined design. Beneath the sheet metal, however, was merely a 1934 Chrysler, a rather staid automobile that had undergone few real changes. By no stretch of the imagination, then, could the Airflows be considered great commercial successes. After an initial flurry of interest and sales, the public looked elsewhere. Chrysler was nonetheless preparing consumers for the direction automotive design would take for the remainder of the decade.

Indeed, the Airflow brought about a new approach to automotive marketing. Instead of being perceived as utilitarian vehicles, American cars increasingly became design statements, rather than being perceived as strictly utilitarian. This change in conceptual thinking was not limited to expensive brands, or to small manufacturers offering only two or three custom models; it permeated the industry, and Detroit was frequently the leader, not the follower.

Since streamlining was the vogue in design during the 1930s, it was only natural that the automobile industry would become part of this movement. Art Deco, so important in the twenties and early thirties, was not well suited to industrial design, especially transportation. Its emphasis on angularity and verticality was ideal for architecture but worked poorly when translated to airplanes, trains, ocean liners, and cars. Thus the

gradual shift to Streamline Moderne and its stress on the imagery of speed played well with automobile manufacturers. A sleek, forward-looking car suggested much more to a receptive public than a traditional boxy auto ever could.

Unfortunately, the recession that struck the country in 1937 doomed the pioneering Airflow. With sales lagging, Chrysler faced financial difficulties and withdrew its precedent-setting cars in 1937, to focus on more traditional models. Ironically, the last years of the decade saw many other auto manufacturers incorporate streamline qualities into their products, so the demise of the Airflows did not belittle their ultimate impact. New design treatments became the rule throughout the industry. Streamlined buses, trucks, and automobiles were becoming commonplace by the late 1930s, and they underwent subtle changes with each model year.

The innovative designers behind the Airflow brought acceptance of the concept of "planned obsolescence." In each successive model of a product, improvements were loudly proclaimed. Although such changes usually signified little more than cosmetic additions, the growing consumer market responded by eagerly buying the newest models, convinced that this year's model was somehow better than last year's. More often than not, the changes consisted of altering the exterior housing of the interior workings, a strategy that continues to the present day.

Henry Dreyfuss

One of Norman Bel Geddes's students in stage design was Henry Dreyfuss (1904–1972). Like his mentor, Dreyfuss worked with a number of theatrical productions until 1935, when he went to work for AT&T and created the cradle telephone of 1937. It stands as one of his most memorable and widely used creations. The basic black dial model remained the standard until 1950, when it was replaced by yet another Dreyfuss design.

His crowning achievement, however, was the 20th Century Limited, the great streamlined train of 1938. So thorough was Dreyfuss, he even designed the tableware and matchbook covers used in the passenger cars. The train's

CEDRIC GIBBONS

In Hollywood, Cedric Gibbons (1893–1960) of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer was one of the great proponents of Modernist design. He created luxurious sets that incorporated all the motifs of both Art Deco and the Moderne movement: shiny floors, tubular chrome furniture, mirrors, and polished black surfaces. He was certainly one of the most visible designers, since millions saw his sets on the screen in movie after movie. Gibbons was also responsible for one of the most enduring icons of Hollywood: the famous Academy Award statuette, the Oscar.

RUSSEL WRIGHT

Ohio-born Russel Wright (1904–1976) was more an artist-craftsman than a designer. With no relation to architect Frank Lloyd Wright both genetically and aesthetically, he gravitated toward the commonplace, particularly household objects. Although he was less interested in industrial design than some of his contemporaries, he was a pioneer in bringing stylish plastic and aluminum serving accessories into the American kitchen, recognizing as he did an evolving servantless society and designing objects to accompany such informality. His creations were meant to go directly from the stove to the table.

A versatile man, Wright was happy creating anything from flatware to furniture. In the latter area, he is also credited with inventing the sectional sofa. His 1935 Modern Living line became quite popular, especially in blonde woods. The manufacturer linked Wright's name to the furniture in advertisements, making him well known to the public during the 1930s. He followed the Modern Living pieces with his American Modern Dinnerware, a line of ceramics that came in a variety of stylish colors, such as Seafoam Blue, Granite Grey, Chartreuse Curry, and Bean Brown, and that could be mixed or matched, another first. American Modern was introduced at the New York World's Fair.

For more information see C. Ray Smith, *Interior Design in 20th-Century America: A History* (New York: Harper and Row, 1987), 124, 224–227.

sleek, torpedo shape suggested to any and all that here was a *fast* train. Gone were the protruding stack, the ungainly cowcatcher, and all the other accoutrements usually associated with a steam locomotive. Even the coal tender immediately behind the engine was encased in a smooth metal skin.[8]

Not to be outdone, the Pennsylvania Railroad contracted the equally esteemed Raymond Loewy to design an all-new Broadway Limited. He undertook the project with zest, creating a streamlined vision of chrome, plastics, Formica, and coordinated colors. The Pullman Company, famous for generations of railroad cars, built both trains, and mainstream magazines devoted pages and pictures to each. These trains represented an engineered future of speed and luxury, not one of delays and canceled runs.

Books

Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics of the 1930s

Throughout the decade, unemployment would not go away. For many leisure time was a burden because it emphasized their loss of work. For others leisure time meant the freedom to read. Indeed, the print media enjoyed large audiences throughout the 1930s: publishers put out books in great quantities, new magazines appeared, and newspaper readership remained strong.

BOOKS

Best Sellers

In the 1930s, best-seller status meant that a book sold over 1 million copies, usually within a year. Many succeeded, despite the economic downturn. In those days, virtually all books were available only in hardbound editions. Cheaper paperback reprints did not become a major force in American publishing until 1939 with the founding of Pocket Books. (See Books, Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics of the 1940s.)

An overriding theme of escapism ran through many of the popular books of the decade. Almost half the best-selling novels of the period 1930–1939 were detective stories. Works with exotic locales and historical settings were also strong contenders, with about a quarter of the best sellers fitting into that broad category. Erskine Caldwell (1903–1987), a writer of earthy tales about the South, carved out a particular genre for himself with three big sellers (*Tobacco Road,* 1932; *God's Little Acre,* 1933; and *Journeyman,* 1935), but he pales in comparison to a certain pair of detective novelists, Ellery Queen and Erle Stanley Gardner.

Ellery Queen was actually the pen name of two cousins, Frederic Dannay (1905–1982) and Manfred B. Lee (1905–1971). They began their joint career in the 1920s and wrote best sellers in the 1930s and 1940s with titles like *The Dutch Shoe Mystery* (1931), *The Egyptian Cross Mystery* (1932), and *The Chinese Orange Mystery* (1934). Their stories were tales of detection, with little violence beyond the mandatory murder that sets the case in motion.

Even more impressive was the accomplishment of Erle Stanley Gardner (1889–1970). Gardner, who wrote over 80 mysteries, created the character of Perry Mason, a resourceful lawyer/detective who never lost a case, no matter the odds. The first Perry Mason book, *The Case of the Velvet Claws,* appeared in 1933, launching the author's career. In the 1930s alone, he wrote 24 detective novels under his own name, and one under the pseudonym A. A. Fair. In sheer sales, Gardner stood as the best-selling writer of the period. Perry Mason became a character known

to virtually everyone, whether through the novels themselves or through six feature films: *The Case of the Howling Dog* (1934), *The Case of the Curious Bride* (1935), *The Case of the Lucky Legs* (1935), *The Case of the Velvet Claws* (1936), *The Case of the Black Cat* (1936), and *The Case of the Stuttering Bishop* (1937).[1]

Not everything written in the 1930s dealt with detectives. Four of the decade's top-selling novels focused on history and a sense of place and continuity. In each the land provides roots and belonging. *God's Little Acre* (Erskine Caldwell, 1933), *Gone with the Wind* (Margaret Mitchell, 1936), *The Good Earth* (Pearl S. Buck, 1931), and *The Grapes of Wrath* (John Steinbeck, 1939) told huge audiences that it was of utmost importance to establish a connection to the land. Being out of touch with one's heritage caused destruction.

Nobody told that story better than Margaret Mitchell (1900–1949). A reporter for the *Atlanta Journal,* Mitchell began *Gone with the Wind* in 1926, ostensibly for her own amusement. The story of Scarlett O'Hara, Rhett Butler, and Tara (Scarlett's family home) grew to become part of the national memory. A tale of how people beset with calamity overcame disaster, the story fit the Depression era. The closing words of the novel, spoken by the Scarlett, seemed to many a prescription for all the problems of the time: "I'll think of it all tomorrow.... After all, tomorrow is another day."[2]

By the end of the decade, the book had numerous reprintings, was available in a variety of translations, and continued to sell briskly. In 1939, three years after the book's initial publication, the movie version electrified audiences, becoming one of the greatest films Hollywood ever turned out, while remaining a faithful adaptation of the novel.

Other writers also successfully tackled historical events in fiction. Writers like Pearl S. Buck (*The Good Earth,* 1931), Charles Nordhoff and James Norman Hall (*Mutiny on the Bounty,* 1932), and Hervey Allen (*Anthony Adverse,* 1933) achieved success in this area. Walter D. Edmonds (*Drums Along the Mohawk,* 1936) and Kenneth Roberts (*Northwest Passage,* 1937) continued with romantic narratives about the American past, a topic that grew in popularity throughout the troubled decade. Hollywood made big-budget movies of all these novels, capitalizing on their fame at the time.



Margaret Mitchell holding her book *Gone With the Wind*, 1938. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Some writers attempted to speak more directly about the Depression. James T. Farrell (1904–1979) took a decidedly anti-capitalist view in his naturalistic *Studs Lonigan* trilogy (1932–1935). John Dos Passos (1896–1970) wrote from an openly Marxist point of view in his trilogy *USA* (1930–1936). Their work has come down to the present as significant contributions to American literature, but they were hardly best sellers. John Steinbeck (1902–1968) trod proletarian ground in *In Dubious Battle* (1936), and then returned to some of those themes in 1939 with his hugely

NOTABLE BOOKS

The Secret of the Old Clock (the first Nancy Drew book), Carolyn Keene (1930)

The Good Earth, Pearl S. Buck (1931)

Little House in the Big Woods, Laura Ingalls Wilder (1932)

Mutiny on the Bounty, Charles Nordhoff and James Norman Hall (1932)

Tobacco Road, Erskine Caldwell (1932)

The Case of the Velvet Claws, Erle Stanley Gardner (1933)

The Thin Man, Dashiell Hammett (1933)

Goodbye, Mr. Chips, James Hilton (1934)

Murder on the Orient Express, Agatha Christie (1934)

How to Win Friends and Influence People, Dale Carnegie (1936)

Gone with the Wind, Margaret Mitchell (1936)

Of Mice and Men, John Steinbeck (1937)

The Hobbit, J.R.R. Tolkien (1937)

Grapes of Wrath, John Steinbeck (1939)

successful *The Grapes of Wrath.* In fact, *The Grapes of Wrath* is one of the few books critical of the American political and economic system ever to achieve widespread popular success.

Nonfiction

In nonfiction, relatively few books written about the Depression, the New Deal, or the impending war sold well. Self-help, biographies, memoirs, travel books, and cookbooks seemed to rule the day.

In 1936 Dale Carnegie (1888–1955) brought out *How to Win Friends and Influence People,* a book that outlined easy steps for achieving the title's promise. *Reader's Digest* condensed his work that same year. With this tie-in, the book remained in print throughout most of the remainder of the century, achieving sales in excess of 10 million copies.

Book Clubs

For fiction and nonfiction alike, there were book clubs, led by the Book-of-the-Month Club (organized in 1926) and the Literary Guild (founded in 1927), both of which flourished during the 1930s. With large membership lists, these organizations caused many books that otherwise might have languished to achieve best-seller status. Both clubs were attacked by literary snobs for lowering tastes and moving toward homogenization in literature. "Standardization" became a negative rallying cry for those opposed to any broadening of the readership base. Standardization or not, the huge print runs for book-club editions could be more than 75,000 copies for titles by the most popular authors. They may have played to a mass audience, but the clubs were often the difference between success and disappointment for writers.

Federal Writers Project

Many writers found the Depression difficult. Fortunately, the government organized the Federal Writers Project (FWP) in 1935 as a method of providing meaningful work for otherwise unemployed authors. During its peak year, 1936, the FWP employed some 6,500 writers. They ranged from second-string reporters to prominent, published authors down on their luck. In fact, only about 10 percent qualified as working professionals when they were enlisted in the program.

From the beginning, Henry Alsberg, who oversaw the program, decreed that fiction was to be avoided. It was simply too open to criticism and misinterpretation to be underwritten by the government. Taking the safe road, the group began the task of creating a series of guidebooks to the nation, an effort that culminated with the *American Guide* series, a set of 53 volumes that described all the states and regions of the country.

The *American Guides* provided exhaustive coverage. From folklore to ecology, the guides gave polished commentaries on the true state of the union during the late 1930s. Since most of the writers remained anonymous, appropriate credit for well-crafted writing could not be assigned accurately, but the consistent quality of the undertaking demonstrated that professionals were

doing the work. By salvaging crumbling documents and locating long-lost records, the project helped preserve elements of American history that might otherwise have been lost.[3]

MAGAZINES

General Magazines

There were over 3,000 periodicals during the 1930s, but fewer than 100 titles reached a large, diverse audience. Instead, most targeted small, selected audiences. When the decade began, national magazine circulation stood at approximately 80 million; by 1940, it was close to 100 million. People continued to read and subscribe to magazines despite the crisis.

Ironically, although most mass market periodicals survived the economic turmoil, a few have since fallen by the wayside. In general, popular or mass magazines depended on continuing reader loyalty and advertising revenues for survival. During the 1930s, the *Saturday Evening Post* (founded 1821; ceased weekly publication 1969), *Ladies' Home Journal* (1883), *Good Housekeeping* (1885), *Cosmopolitan* (1886), *Collier's* (1888; ceased publication 1957), *Vogue* (1892), *House Beautiful* (1896), *Redbook* (1902), *Better Homes and Gardens* (1922), *Reader's Digest* (1922), and *Time* (1923) were among the survivors, enjoying both numerous readers and substantial advertising volume.

On the other hand, some notable American magazines disappeared. Sentiment could not keep them afloat. Thus *Scribner's* (later called *The Century;* 1870–1930), *The Smart Set* (1900–1930), *Vanity Fair* (1913–1936), *Literary Digest* (1890–1938), and the oldest of them all, *The North American Review* (1815–1939), were among the many journals that saw their last issues during the 1930s.

Many new titles came into being during these turbulent years. Such well-known periodicals as *Advertising Age* (1930), *Fortune* (1930), *Broadcasting* (1931), *Family Circle* (1932), *Esquire* (1933), *Newsweek* (1933), *U.S. News & World Report* (1933), *Bride's Magazine* (free handout prior to becoming a full-fledged periodical in 1934), *Mademoiselle* (1935), *Yankee* (1935), *Consumer Reports* (1936), *Life* (1936; ceased weekly publication 1972), *Look* (1937–1971), *Popular Photography* (1937), *Woman's Day* (1937, which began



Cosmopolitan, promising both glamour and a short story by Ernest Hemingway. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

NEW MAGAZINES

Advertising Age, 1930
Fortune, 1930
Family Circle, 1932
Esquire, 1933
Newsweek, 1933
U.S. News & World Report, 1933
Bride's Magazine, 1934
Mademoiselle, 1935
Consumer Reports, 1936
Life, 1936
Woman's Day, 1937

as *A&P Menu Sheet*), *U.S. Camera* (1938), and *Glamour* (1939) were founded at this time. All survived the decade.

Saturday Evening Post

The giant among popular American magazines of the 1930s was the *Saturday Evening Post.* In each issue, this large-format weekly offered a mix of fact and fiction, lots of photographs and illustrations, many features, often a cover by the renowned artist Norman Rockwell, and pages of advertising (more in good economic times, fewer in bad)—the lifeblood of the magazine. The *Saturday Evening Post* ran over 200 short stories a year; unlike today, many magazines ran stories during the period, and the industry as a whole published some 1,000 fiction pieces annually.

George Horace Lorimer (1867–1937) served as the magazine's editor for many years. He had joined the *Post* in 1898, became acting editor in 1899, and assumed full command shortly thereafter. By the Great Crash of 1929, the *Saturday Evening Post* was the unchallenged carrier of an American vision of opportunity and prosperity. The stock market debacle did little to change that view—at least from the *Post's* perspective. Lorimer and his associates worked hard at presenting an endless, uplifting variety of historical romances, sports yarns, westerns, and urban tales with businessman heroes, along with nonfiction success stories that would have made Horatio Alger proud.

The magazine's huge subscription list suggests that many readers wanted a continuation of that success-oriented vision; in 1929 the *Post* sold nearly 3 million copies a week, a figure that dropped only slightly during the next decade, making it the undisputed leader of American magazines. Lorimer was steadfastly opposed to President Roosevelt and his policies, but that opposition had little impact on subscribers, who voted for Roosevelt and the New Deal.[4]

Advertisers eyed the subscription numbers and saw a true mass audience. Since the magazine had national distribution, it served as a marketplace for products available everywhere. The *Post* pioneered the standardization of consumer wants, and most of its ad copy reflected this unification of the buying public. Even in the depths of the Depression, nationally known products were displayed in the pages of the *Saturday Evening Post.*

Reader's Digest

Reader's Digest also flourished during the 1930s. Founded in 1922 by DeWitt and Lila Wallace (1889–1981 and 1889–1984 respectively), the familiar, purse-sized anthology of condensed articles circulated about 250,000 copies a month in 1930. By the end of the decade, the figure swelled to 4 million. Such extraordinary success grew out of the content of the monthly: like the *Saturday Evening Post,* the *Digest* celebrated the American way of life, a robustly conservative and insular view that argued for hard work, family, and common sense.

People liked the *Digest*'s message; that the magazine boiled books and articles down to their basic content added to its appeal. Plus, the *Digest* titillated its readers with slightly suggestive jokes and articles that included sex. Never off-color, the *Reader's Digest* nonetheless kept the subject of sex before its growing audience, and no one seemed offended.

In order to find articles appropriate to the magazine's ideology, editors at the *Digest* culled a rather narrow range of publications. Not surprisingly, the *Saturday Evening Post* was one of them, as were such lesser-known (but equally conservative) journals as the *North American Review, McClure's,* and *Forum.* Often, the articles excerpted for publication in the *Digest* were "plants": pieces placed by the editors in other publications for later inclusion in the *Digest.* In this way, the *Reader's Digest* fostered the illusion that it was being selective, choosing only the best from a range of magazines.

In 1931, the *Digest* introduced unsigned, original articles in its contents, which became so successful that signed authorship took over by 1933. During the mid-1930s, half the magazine consisted of such materials. Even though these commissioned pieces tended to reinforce the philosophy of the Wallaces, the public received them enthusiastically. The chatty, upbeat writing, along with the jokes, features ("My Most Unforgettable Character," "Life in These United States," and

others), and tidbits of folk wisdom kept attracting more readers. Despite its success, the *Digest* remained a bare-bones magazine. Simple line illustrations did not appear until 1939. The magazine did not introduce advertising until 1955. Prior to that, the *Digest* had relied on subscriptions and newsstand sales alone, believing that advertisements might compromise the content of the magazine and its relationship with both readers and contributors.[5]

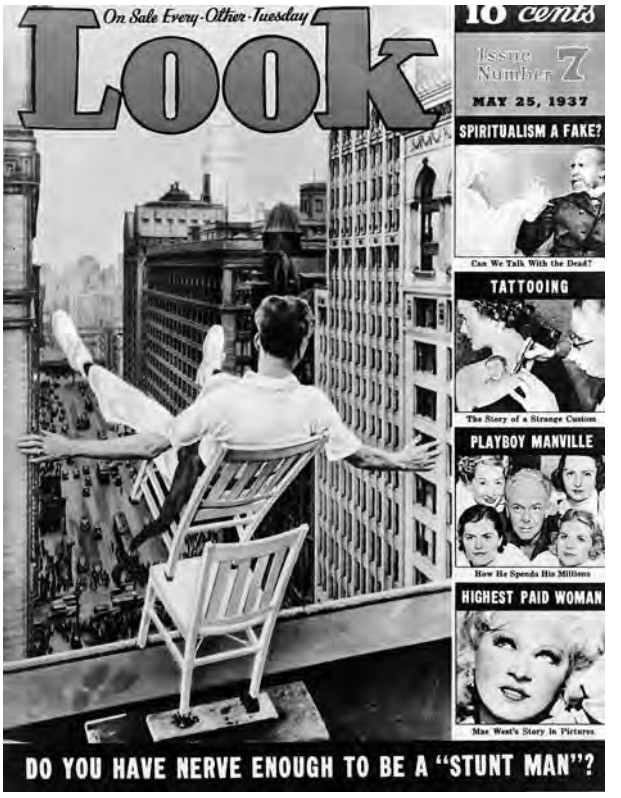
Life and *Look*

A major figure in American journalistic history is Henry R. Luce (1898–1967). In 1923 he created *Time* magazine, the first modern newsweekly. In 1930, he brought forth *Fortune,* a thick, slick periodical devoted to business. It was a spin-off of *Time*'s "Business" section, and despite the gloomy state of the economy, it quickly reached a large, enthusiastic audience.

One of Luce's proudest accomplishments came in 1936 with the beginning of *Life* magazine. The title comes from an older *Life,* a humor magazine founded in 1883. It had fallen on hard times in the 1930s and was put up for sale. Luce happened to be toying with the name *Look,* but a bargain price for the humor magazine changed his mind. He bought the struggling *Life* to acquire the name for his own publication, a journal that would prove to be a bold new venture into photojournalism.

On November 23, 1936, the slim first issue of *Life* magazine appeared on newsstands. It cost a dime and offered more photographs than text. The premier issue was an instant hit, selling out wherever it was available. Within four months, it was selling over a million copies a week on newsstands, making it one of the most successful magazine start-ups ever. In fact, the immediate success of *Life* almost did it in. Luce actually lost $6 million with those first issues. He had estimated the new magazine would sell 250,000 copies per week in its first months; since ad rates were based on the lower circulation, Luce had to make up the per-copy costs out of his own corporate pockets.

The success of *Life* did not go unnoticed. In 1933 Gardner Cowles Jr., a friend of Luce's, began syndicating the popular picture section of his family's newspaper, the *Des Moines Register and Tribune,* to 26 different papers. That move did not satisfy demand, so he decided to launch his own photojournalism magazine in 1937. He borrowed some start-up money from Luce, and the title he chose was *Look,* the same one his friend had toyed with earlier.



Look magazine cover illustration showing daredevil balanced on chairs on the edge of a building, plus plenty of entertaining extra features, 1937. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Until its demise in 1971 (it was briefly resurrected in the mid-1970s, but was finally laid to rest in 1979), *Look* survived in the shadow of *Life. Look* was seen by many as a cheap imitation, a magazine that focused on personalities and glamour. *Life,* on the other hand, was perceived by many as going after the meatier, more important stories. The distinctions between the two publications might be a bit exaggerated, but they nevertheless persisted throughout the life of both magazines.[6]

Life began with an emphasis on celebrity, and the magazine regularly ran glossy photo essays on the doings of the upper classes. In addition,

gore and grisliness got plenty of space, along with humorous pictures of cute animals and children. *Life* might be perceived as serious and thought-provoking, but it was also capable of playing to the lowest common denominator. Neither advertisers nor readers seemed to object to the mix, however; its circulation continued to rise throughout the decade, and when the clouds of World War II began to build in Asia and Europe, it was *Life* staffers, cameras in hand, who recorded the descent into conflict.

Liberty

Bernarr Macfadden (1868–1955) a colorful, self-proclaimed "physical culturist," had burst upon the magazine scene in 1899 with the wildly successful *Physical Culture,* a journal promising long life and good health through diet and exercise. In 1919 Macfadden introduced *True Story,* the first of an extensive line of confessional magazines he would publish. It, too, did extremely well, and in 1931 he purchased a struggling weekly called *Liberty.*

Liberty had first appeared on newsstands in 1924, the shared child of the *Chicago Tribune* and the *New York Daily News.* The magazine featured some of the tabloid sensationalism of the *Daily News,* but it never developed a solid advertising base. It consistently lost money—even as it built circulation—and was finally sold to Macfadden.[7]

Throughout the 1930s, only three weekly general-interest magazines could boast a steady circulation of over 1 million or more: *Saturday Evening Post, Collier's* (a weekly very much in the *Post* mold), and *Liberty.* All three paid little heed to the Depression, filling their pages with fiction, a few facts, and lots of entertainment that provided an uplift in troubled times. Yet, even with that impressive circulation, *Liberty* lacked significant advertising and was in financial difficulty.

Liberty was different from most other general magazines. It featured a "Reading Time" block which guaranteed that a particular piece would take no more than "9 minutes, 40 seconds" (or whatever figures were provided) to read. The articles tended toward the tawdry and sensational, with breathless prose on Al Capone, Huey Long, and other questionable celebrities. Macfadden did, however, use *Liberty* as his personal soapbox to urge the re-election of Roosevelt in 1936, a stand that placed him and his magazine poles apart from the more conservative *Saturday Evening Post* and *Reader's Digest.*

It was not with *Liberty,* however, that Macfadden marked his place in American publishing history. It was with the confessional magazine that he created. The success of his *True Story* helped Macfadden spawn *True Detective Mysteries, True Experiences, True Ghost Stories, True Lovers, True Romances,* and *Master Detective,* along with *Click, Hollywood, Modern Marriage, Modern Screen,*

TARGETED ADVERTISING BEGINS

Under Macfadden's guidance, *Liberty* continued to gain readers, but it suffered from the reputation of being directed at the working class, not the more affluent middle class. Many advertisers spent their ad dollars on other publications. For instance, the new *Esquire* (introduced in 1933) was one of the first American magazines to employ target marketing. It identified its audience, and then sold potential advertisers on readership profiles created for just this purpose. *Fortune* (1930) did likewise, becoming one of the most advertising-heavy monthly magazines in the country. *Time* followed suit, especially in light of the challenges laid down by two 1933 upstarts, *Newsweek* and *U.S. News & World Report.* Finally, *Life*'s immediate acceptance by middle-class readers convinced advertisers that this was the place to be; by 1939 it charged more for ad space than any of its competitors, and would-be advertisers lined up to place their copy.

In reality, advertising expenditures in magazines rose very little in the 1930s—from $150 million in 1931 to $156 million in 1940—but advertisers grew much more selective about where they placed their dollars. It was the beginning of the end for the old-fashioned general magazine. Even with his marketing genius, Macfadden could not attract substantially increased advertising, and so *Liberty* struggled until it died quietly in 1951. With its demise, the nation lost one of the most popular magazines of the 1930s.

Motion Picture, Movie Classic, Photoplay, Screenland, Screen Romances, and *Silver Screen.* In 1933, he even brought out *Babies, Just Babies,* a short-lived journal that boasted Eleanor Roosevelt as one of its editors.

As if the many magazines were not enough, Macfadden also owned ten newspapers. In 1935 the monthly circulation of all Macfadden publications totaled over 7 million copies.

Confessional magazines reached their peak in the 1930s. Their appeal was pure escapism, and a "their problems are worse than mine" attitude struck a resonant chord with Depression-era readers. For instance, a popular 1932 film, *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang,* first appeared as a feature in *True Detective Mysteries* in 1931. The public response to this article was such that Hollywood quickly bought the rights and rushed the movie into production.

PULP MAGAZINES

Close cousins to the confessional journals were the pulp magazines, so called because they were usually printed on thick, cheap pulpwood paper. Pulps were somewhat akin to comic strips in their simplicity. They had been around since the nineteenth century and the heyday of the dime novel. With best sellers drawing large audiences and comic strips a daily reading experience for millions, the pulps occupied a middle ground between the two. In content they stood closer to short stories than they did to the much more visual comic strips of the day. But their content—action, adventure, detectives, cowboys, romance, love, and sex—was more often in the spirit of an adventure comic strip than of the subtleties in a novel. They almost always featured a lurid cover, a tradition that the comic books of the late 1930s enthusiastically adopted.

No matter how the pulps were classified, millions of them sold each month. They were shunned by critics and librarians, but their fans didn't care. Pulps such as *Argosy Weekly, The Bat, Black Mask Magazine, Nick Carter, The Spider,* or *Thrilling Detective* were the perfect distraction for people with time on their hands and a desire to escape from the harsh realities around them.[8]

These magazines also brought about a surge of interest in science fiction and fantasy. Magazines like *Amazing Stories, Astounding Stories,* and *Wonder Stories* collectively sold more than 1.5 million issues a year at the height of their popularity in the mid-1930s. These futuristic compilations effectively recorded the aspirations of the present, both visually and in their texts.

For the writers involved with the pulp industry, it was not an easy way to get rich. Major periodicals like *Redbook* and the *Saturday Evening Post* often paid over $1000 for a piece by a well-known

WORDS AND PHRASES

accessorize
bagel
bazillion
bazooka
blabbermouth
black market
burp
cheesy
cliff-hanger
corny
dognapping
expressway
fave
flopperoo
gotcha
guesstimate
hep-cat
hooha
little league
marvy
mook
moolah
moxie
multicultural
nickel-and-dime
nutburger
okey-dokey
payola
phoney baloney
photojournalist
pizzazz
rat race
re-run
scaredy-cat
schmaltzy
schmooze
slap-happy
snazzy
storm-trooper
stripper
supermarket
switcheroo
toots
video
V.I.P.
wacky
walkathon
widget
zesty

author. Virtually all the major popular writers of the decade eventually wrote for magazine publication. Some, like Rex Beach, Corey Ford, MacKinlay Kantor, Kathleen Norris, Mary Roberts Rinehart, Damon Runyon, Raphael Sabatini, and P. G. Wodehouse, made their real incomes from magazines, not from books. But for the pulps, the going rate was a strict, quantitative one: three or four cents a word. A 3000-word story might fetch $120, and rarely did writers retain rights to their work. But such hard-nosed economics was in keeping with the genre, from the cheap printing and paper to the garish illustrations and melodramatic stories.



In cities, newsboys, often very young, were essential sales representatives for newspapers. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

NEWSPAPERS

Background

The newspaper business changed significantly during the Depression. The flush times of the 1920s had led American newspapers to believe that readership and advertising volume would continue to rise each year. In reality, American newspapers had been in decline throughout the first third of the twentieth century, going from 2,200 separate dailies in 1900 to 1,942 dailies in 1930, and culminating with 1,888 dailies at the end of the decade. Most of this loss took place because of a movement toward consolidation.[9]

During the first third of the twentieth century, papers tended to be more general and less partisan in their content, resulting in larger cities having too many overlapping newspapers. Businesses preferred one or two dominant papers in which to advertise, rather than a cluster of overlapping ones that individually reached fewer people. Newspaper publishers began to combine morning and evening editions into a single issue, a procedure that allowed for changing editions and more efficient use of their facilities. Finally, as manufacturing and delivery costs rose markedly, borderline operations were eliminated or consolidated.

Chain Ownership

Coupled with consolidation was chain ownership of several papers. Chain ownership reduced materials and labor costs, and meant shared staff and facilities. In 1900, eight chains controlled 27 papers; by the mid-1930s, over sixty chains controlled over 328 papers, accounting for 40 percent of total newspaper circulation. Most of these linked papers were larger urban ones, as Scripps-Howard, Gannett, Hearst, and Cox moved into chain ownership. The days of the independent daily, bravely charting its own course, were numbered.

Between 1930 and 1940, almost half of the independent papers in the country either went out of business or became parts of chains. Rural and small-town weeklies stopped trying to compete with their city counterparts and began to focus almost exclusively on local events. In the meantime, competition continued to decline. In 1930, eight major cities of over 100,000 people had only one paper; by 1940, the number had swelled to 25. Even New York City felt the change; early in the century, it had boasted some 20 dailies. It began the 1930s with nine daily papers, but by 1940 the number was reduced to seven.

Newspaper Decline

As the country fell more deeply into the Depression, advertising space plummeted. In 1929, newspapers displayed a record-setting $860 million

in advertising. By 1933, that figure had shrunk to $470 million. A slow comeback began in the mid-1930s, but the recession of 1938 stalled it. By 1939, advertising expenditures of $552 million had risen only to 1920 levels. As is usually the case, smaller papers suffered the most from the decline.

Radio probably did more damage to the newspaper business and readership than did the Depression. Newspapers might be the average American's first choice for news, but radios were becoming omnipresent, a ready source for late-breaking stories. Also, radio took an increasing portion of ad revenue, gave instantaneous news updates, provided live sporting events, consistently entertained—and it came into homes for free. Radio's popularity zoomed upward during the 1930s, going from 14 million home receivers in 1930 to over 44 million by 1940. In fact, one way many newspapers stayed profitable was to acquire radio stations. Publishers saw radio as a surefire moneymaker and invested in stations accordingly. In 1930, newspaper interests owned about 90 stations; by 1940, 250 stations were affiliated with newspaper publishing companies.

Newspapers became more visual in an attempt to attract readers and advertisers. Wirephotos (photographs electronically carried by wire directly to a newspaper office) were introduced in the early 1920s. The photographer's life, as well as that of the subjects, became easier when electric flashbulbs replaced the annoying and dangerous explosive-powder lights in 1931. The Associated Press initiated a wirephoto service in 1935, allowing subscribers fast access to photographs of news events. Competing news syndicates quickly followed suit. By 1938, about a third of a big metropolitan daily's content consisted of pictures. By 1939, color telephotos were a reality, and were almost immediately incorporated into the Sunday magazine sections of many papers.

Syndication

Recognizing the success of *Time, Life,* and other newsmagazines, newspapers increasingly compartmentalized their stories in the 1930s, and, despite drops in their revenue, most big-city papers expanded their operations. With the furor in Washington about Roosevelt and the New Deal, newspaper bureaus in the nation's capital experienced rapid growth. The president inaugurated regular press conferences, as well as his successful *Fireside Chats* on radio. As war in Europe became more and more likely, overseas coverage saw a similar expansion.

Given the excitement in Washington and foreign countries, smaller papers were at a disadvantage. They could ill afford to staff bureaus in cities far from their home base. Thus, news syndicates like the Associated Press (AP) and United Press (UP) experienced tremendous growth. They could provide the reporters and the stories—for a fee, of course—that an individual newspaper could not hope to provide. Although both the AP and the UP go back to the late nineteenth century, it was in the 1930s that they came into their own. As news became less regional and more national and international, only the far-flung syndicates could file regular stories for their growing lists of subscribers.

With widespread syndication came a degree of standardization. The syndicated features found in one paper might just as easily be found in another. This standardization occurred not just with news stories; the comics, the horoscopes, the bridge columns, the latest Hollywood gossip, the box scores, the advice columnists, the financial pages—all graced the paper because they were syndicated. In fact, comics gained the enviable reputation of being the single most popular feature in American dailies throughout the 1930s.

Columnists

The success of syndicated materials led to syndicated columnists, who spurned objectivity in favor of lively, colorful, opinionated styles. Their pieces usually appeared on the editorial page. In the early 1930s, most of them tended to be anti-New Deal, but they had little effect on legislation or voters. As proof of this, in 1932, 60 percent of American daily newspapers opposed Roosevelt, yet he won by a landslide. In 1936, 63 percent opposed his candidacy, but again he won overwhelmingly. By 1940, 75 percent of the dailies voiced opposition, and yet again was the president re-elected.

Not all syndicated columnists wrote political pieces for the editorial page. Many commented on the passing scene. One of the most widely syndicated writers in the 1930s was O. O. McIntyre, whose column was titled "New York Day by Day." His unpretentious columns seemed to appeal most to those outside big cities, although the title might suggest otherwise.

Some columnists relied on gossip and watching celebrities. Chief among them was Walter Winchell (1897–1972), whose "On Broadway" was carried by over 1,000 papers, most of them a considerable distance from New York City. His "Winchellisms" occasionally entered the language briefly, such as "middle-aisle," a verb form that meant to wed. "Renovate," on the other hand, signified a divorce (from Reno, Nevada, where divorce was easily accomplished). Winchell also had a long-running radio news show that began with a staccato telegraph sound, and then "Good evening, Mr. and Mrs. North America and all the ships at sea . . . let's go to press! FLASH!" The 15-minute show ran from 1930 until 1949 as *The Jergens Journal.* It was consistently one of the nation's top-rated radio programs. Capitalizing on Winchell's fame, the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer film studio released *Broadway Melody of 1936.* In this movie, radio star Jack Benny plays a Winchell-like columnist hungry for a story.

Close on Winchell's heels, at least in 1930s popularity, were Hedda Hopper (1890–1966) and Louella Parsons (1881–1972). Both women wrote widely syndicated newspaper columns that focused almost exclusively on Hollywood and the stars. Their success helped spawn a number of movie magazines, ranging from the purely gossipy *Screen Romances* to the slightly serious *Silver Screen.* Parsons parlayed her fame and influence into a popular radio show, *Hollywood Hotel* (1934–1938), which she hosted. Hopper followed with *The Hedda Hopper Show* (1939–1951), a 15-minute mix of chatter and celebrities.

Other columnists mixed gossip and political rumors, such as Drew Pearson (1897–1969) and Robert S. Allen with their "Washington Merry-Go-Round." This widely circulated column grew out of a book by the same name that they anonymously published in 1932. The success of the book, a collection of articles rejected by their respective newspapers, led to their syndication by United Features, and even some radio time. From 1935 to 1940 they were on the Mutual Network with their investigative reports.[10]

Warm, humorous writers also enjoyed wide syndication. For example, Eleanor Roosevelt, the First Lady, had a long-running column entitled "My Day." It began in 1935 and chronicled her thoughts and activities for many readers. The folksy Will Rogers (1879–1935), the "Cowboy Philosopher," wrote a daily paragraph on some current topic. Similarly, poet Edgar Guest (1881–1959) began contributing verse to his syndicate at the turn of the century. Over the next sixty years, he composed over 11,000 poems. By the 1930s, he was appearing in hundreds of papers. The poetry, usually lightly humorous and sentimental ("It takes a heap o'livin' in a house t'make it home") became beloved by several generations of newspaper readers.

Finally, among all the syndicated writers were those who monitored the nation's manners and mores. Emily Post (1872–1960) provided the last word on etiquette; her 1930s column was syndicated in over 200 papers and she even had a radio show that premiered in 1931. Dorothy Dix (Elizabeth M. Gilmer [1870–1951]) and Beatrice Fairfax (Marie Manning [1873–1945]) wrote advice-to-the-lovelorn columns. Dix was the highest-paid woman columnist of the 1930s, and Fairfax was memorialized in song. In 1930, George and Ira Gershwin penned "But Not for Me." In this number, lyricist Ira Gershwin has the words, "Beatrice Fairfax, don't you dare," probably the only mention of a columnist in the annals of American popular music. All three women became unofficial arbiters of taste and behavior, their words anxiously read by millions who wanted to know about proper dining and dating.

Reporting

The surprising success of so many columnists led to a rise in interpretive stories by regular (i.e., non-syndicated) reporters in the 1930s. In traditional newsgathering, the four *w*'s were predominant: Who? What? When? Where? The 1930s, however, found a fifth *w,* often a significant part

of the story: Why? Certainly the era was one of confusion, and it reassured people to have events explained in easily understood terms. As a result, reporters delved more and more into the details behind a story, interpreting the facts as they were presented. It may have challenged traditional tenets about objectivity, but it became part of American journalism.[11]

For the average reader, however, the popular image of the newspaper reporter was not molded by adherence to journalistic standards or by writing ability. Throughout the decade, Hollywood released a string of movies about newspapers and reporters. These films created the stereotype of the fast-talking, wisecracking reporter who always gets the story. Starting in 1931 with *The Front Page,* a film version of the Ben Hecht-Charles MacArthur play of the same name, the image of the busy newsroom, the harried editor, the race to make a deadline, and the constant chatter of all involved became the standard. *Platinum Blonde* (1931) featured Jean Harlow in a comedic romance with an ambitious reporter.

COMICS AND CARTOONS

In the 1930s, rare was the American newspaper that did not have at least a full page of comics: *Blondie, Dick Tracy, Flash Gordon, The Gumps, Krazy Kat, Mary Worth,* and others. Today, the 1930s are seen as a high point for cartoon art, and many of the artists of the period have enjoyed museum retrospectives of their work. During the 1930s, however, the comics were usually viewed as little more than daily doses of humor and adventure, a mindless respite from the grim realities of the time.

Little Orphan Annie

Little Orphan Annie enjoyed widespread popularity almost from its debut in 1924. Harold Gray lacked any outstanding artistic skills, but he excelled at spinning a good yarn. Annie was an orphan inexplicably adopted by Daddy Warbucks, although the plucky redhead spent little time with her guardian. As a rule, she was on the road with her faithful dog, Sandy, getting involved with some of the most complex plotting ever to appear in comics. The speech balloons above each character were filled to capacity.

During the 1930s, *Annie's* mix of ultraconservative capitalism and strong nationalism appealed to many. Gray had little patience with things like child labor laws, poverty, or welfare, so Annie always picked up odd jobs, no matter how menial. A strong person (i.e., a good person) found work; those who did not were bums. Those who lived "on the dole" were beneath contempt. With high unemployment and a worsening depression, such messages might have seemed out of step with the times, but they didn't seem to bother faithful readers. As the threat of war grew in the latter part of the decade, Gray went after foreigners with an enthusiastic nativism.

Annie was a rarity: she was a female with no particular super powers, but she was tough and her adventures charmed children and adolescents. Her popularity resulted in two feature movies, *Little Orphan Annie* in 1932, and a follow-up in 1939. The National Broadcasting Company introduced a long-running radio serial in 1931. Sponsored by Ovaltine, a popular chocolate powder that was mixed with milk, the serial soon offered premiums to listeners. Toys and novelties featuring both Annie and Sandy, alongside wristwatches, pop-up books, and cheap jewelry, were popular throughout the 1930s available from catalogs and dime stores.

Dick Tracy

In a somewhat similar manner, Chester Gould was responding to the headlines and sensationalism that accompanied crime and lawlessness during the period. Because of Prohibition, bootlegging was rampant, and various gangs and factions were at war with each other over the lucrative trade. In the early 1930s, the law seemed powerless against figures like Al Capone and John Dillinger, and Hollywood responded with a deluge of gangster films. The comic pages, however, had seen little of criminals. Thus, *Dick* (from American slang, meaning a detective) *Tracy* (a pun on "trace," to locate or apprehend) broke new ground and quickly won a sizable audience.

The world of *Dick Tracy* was both visually and morally a world of black and white. Gould was



"Little Orphan Annie" was popular from the time it debuted in 1925. In this 13-frame comic strip, Little Orphan Annie falls asleep while reading an adventure book about prehistoric times; it shows her adventures when transported through a dream to the era of cave dwellers and dinosaurs, 1925. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

a mediocre artist, but he made the most of his limited talents. Stark silhouettes, speeding cars, the precise rendering of guns and other mechanical objects, along with some of the most bizarre villains ever drawn, were his trademarks. The law was always right, and if Tracy had to shoot a bad guy, that was the price for a life of crime. If he accomplished this task with a machine gun and mowed down a whole group of thugs in one bullet-filled pass, so much the better. Death was a regular feature of the strip, but it was so staged and apparently painless that few complained.

Tracy's popularity soon carried over into all kinds of Dick Tracy toy guns, games, badges, and the like. The detective appeared in four movie serials between 1937 and 1941. There was also a radio serial in the late afternoon (1935–1948).

Blondie

Not all strips espoused a right-wing point of view. To be sure, most were apolitical. A case in point was *Blondie,* a family strip that premiered in 1930. The creation of Murat "Chic" Young, the strip began with the whimsical adventures of a flapper named Blondie, who wowed the boys and had not a care in the world. Her primary beau was Dagwood Bumstead, an earnest college student and heir to millions, who won her hand in marriage. But then the Depression worsened.

The story of a "dumb blonde" about to become very rich probably had limited appeal to an audience facing economic crisis, so Young changed the strip: Dagwood was disinherited, Blondie went from flapper to middle-class housewife, the couple lived in a typical small house, and the focus shifted subtly from Blondie to Dagwood.

Dagwood emerged as a well-meaning bumbler who needed the common sense of Blondie to muddle through, although he occasionally enjoyed small victories. His inimitable Dagwood Sandwich, a tasty concoction made from everything in the refrigerator and pantry has become a classic bit of Americana.

A portrait of normalcy in chaotic times, the strip quickly became a favorite. Movie rights were assigned, and Penny Singleton and Arthur Lake achieved minor stardom as the leads in 28 *Blondie* features that ran from 1938 to 1950. Toys, games, and novelties appeared, and by the end of the decade a radio comedy had been produced, starring Penny Singleton.

Science Fiction

Science fiction came to the comics in 1929 with *Buck Rogers* (Phil Nowlan [1888–1940] and Dick Calkins [1895–1962]). Because it was new and different, the series enjoyed a certain following, but the images of scientific invention came across as crude and dated even by the standards of the early 1930s. In 1934, however, Alex Raymond's (1909–1956) stylish *Flash Gordon* made its newspaper debut. Here was Streamline Moderne in all its glory. Sleek rocket ships cruised to gleaming, Modernist cities. No doubt the way generations of Americans would imagine the future was influenced by this beautifully crafted strip.

Hillbilly Funnies

Hillbilly funnies also prospered during the decade. Al Capp created *Li'l Abner* in 1934. In the strip, he has Sadie Hawkins Day, a day when girls can ask boys to dances and other social affairs. This invention was soon celebrated by high schools and colleges around the country, and it served as an acknowledgment of the growing importance of teenage culture. At about the same time, Billy DeBeck (1890–1942) introduced a character named Snuffy Smith in his popular *Barney Google* strip. Although the humor in both strips could be biting, it was seldom cruel. The two series about Appalachia, rustic mountain culture, and abject poverty found audiences during the Great Depression, and each contributed to the folklore surrounding the region.

Animal Strips

During the 1930s, a favorite in the anthropomorphic animal genre was *Felix the Cat* (1923–1967). Created by Pat Sullivan in 1917 as an animated cartoon, and debuting as a comic strip in 1923, the feisty Felix was a perfect character for the Depression. He was a survivor; nothing could overcome his spirit, and he battled poverty, hunger, loneliness, and technology with equal

aplomb. His ingenuity and endless good spirits made for great daily reading. The strip was taken over by Otto Messmer in the early thirties, but if anything, the series became even more lyrical and aesthetically satisfying with the change of stewardship. *Felix the Cat* continued as one of the leading newspaper comics of the decade, one of those strips that reacted to the uncertainties of the Depression with humorous scorn.

Big Little Books

A form of comic art that also appeared in the 1930s was the comic book, which had a popular antecedent in the so-called Pop-Up Books, introduced in 1932 by Blue Ribbon Books. This form consisted of small booklets that featured characters that popped up from the pages when the book was laid flat. The publishers used the heroes of the daily strips to capitalize on the popularity of newspaper comics.

The interest shown in these early Pop-Up Books immediately led to other innovations, particularly the Big Little Books. The first offering was issued in 1932 and involved the adventures of Dick Tracy. The product of the Whitman Publishing Company, the book measured 3⅝ inches wide, 4½ inches tall, and 1½ inches thick, and had cardboard covers and contained 350 pages. The left-hand page contained text, and the right-hand page featured a single frame from the comic strip. With the exception of the garishly colored



"Felix the Cat." In this episode, Felix deals with a music problem in his customary no-nonsense, cheerful, although somewhat violent, manner. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

covers, all was in black and white. The book cost a dime and set the standards that most succeeding volumes followed.

The Big Little Books were an immediate hit. Eventually, Whitman Company issued over 400 separate titles, and other publishers quickly followed suit. Dell Publishing (Fast Action Books), Fawcett Publications (Dime Action Books), and Saalfield Publishing Company (Little Big Books) were among the industry leaders. So fierce was the competition that Whitman changed the line's name to Better Little Books and Big Big Books in 1938, an attempt to differentiate themselves from the competition. Print runs for most titles averaged 250,000 to 350,000 copies.

Initially, the majority of the Big Little Books were reprints of leading newspaper strips like *Dick Tracy, Flash Gordon, Buck Rogers, Little Orphan Annie, Tarzan,* or various Disney characters. Soon, however, they came to include illustrated novels, such as *Moby Dick, Treasure Island, A Midsummer Night's Dream,* and many others, including radio favorites such as *The Lone Ranger, The Green Hornet,* and *Jack Armstrong.* Even movie stars like Shirley Temple, Jackie Cooper, Jane Withers, Will Rogers, and Tom Mix had their own Big Little Books stories. Children and adolescents soon were building libraries of these popular, inexpensive volumes.

Comic Books

The success of newspaper comic strips and the Big Little Books hastened the birth of the modern comic book. Unsuccessful attempts had been made in the 1920s to reprint newspaper comics in some sort of booklet form. Finally, with *Funnies on Parade,* a 1933 giveaway that featured several popular cartoon characters, the concept started to catch on. This one-shot publication led to other collections of reprints, but they now cost 10 cents, the amount that all comics eventually charged throughout the 1930s. The following year saw the publication of *Famous Funnies,* the periodical generally accepted as the first modern comic book.

After the success of *Famous Funnies,* competing publishers began to enter the new comic book market. In 1935, Dell issued *Popular Comics,* another reprint series. At this time, the standard format of 64 pages per issue was established. By 1938, titles like *The Funnies, The Comics, Super Comics, King Comics,* and *Tip Top Comics* had joined the fray, and they increasingly featured all-new material. Reprints became a thing of the past.

Superman made his debut in 1938, the creation of writer Jerry Siegel (1914–1996) and artist Joe Shuster (1914–1992), in *Action Comics.* Although the industry had been turning more and more toward original (instead of reprint) action adventures, no one was prepared for the success of Superman.

In 1939, a new *Superman* comic was launched and was soon selling over one million copies per issue. In a clever reversal, a newspaper strip based on the comic book came out later that same year, and a radio show arrived close behind. Almost immediately, other publishers readied their own superheroes. Batman was introduced in 1939, and in no time at all one superhero after another graced the brightly colored covers of comic books at newsstands across the land.

Entertainment of the 1930s

In the 1930s movie attendance and radio listen ership were calculated in the tens of millions, whereas the figures for other performing arts were, at best, in the thousands. Television came about so late in the decade that people had little time to experience it.

MOVIES

Despite the economic depression and widespread unemployment, Americans still flocked to the movies. The addition of sound improved the experience, and by the early 1930s, virtually all theaters were wired for this latest technological innovation. Movies seemed a good antidote to the woes outside the theater's doors, and the few films that acknowledged the depression seldom fared well at the box office.

At the beginning of the decade, admission prices tended to range from about 25 cents to 50 cents—more for newer, highly publicized films with big-name stars at the grand movie palaces. As economic conditions worsened, attendance dropped. Initially, theater owners cut prices—by 1933 neighborhood theaters often charged only a dime and the bigger palaces maybe a quarter.

Eventually, most theaters switched to a new format: the double feature—two complete movies. One was usually a "quality picture" with recognizable stars and more costly production values, such as special effects, location shooting, top screenwriters, a lush musical score, and heavier advertising. The second feature, however, was a "B" movie. It was short, maybe just over an hour, and inexpensively produced—a canned score, repetitive plots, crude effects, and few, if any, big stars. (This double-feature format lasted into the 1960s for movie theaters, although drive-in movies often continued showing two movies long after that.)

Patrons also got a cartoon, a newsreel, maybe a short humorous piece or a documentary, and, occasionally, an episode of a weekly serial. Many theaters added a "dish night," when cheap crockery was given away to lucky ticketholders. Other popular gimmicks included "bank night" and Bingo, both of which allowed a fortunate few in the audience to leave with some extra cash. Two-for-one passes were offered on certain days or at designated hours. Many theaters also added so-called iced air, touting the fact that it was "70 degrees cool inside."

Despite these efforts, by 1933 one-third of all American movie theaters had been forced to close. And yet, in 1934 the film business, alongside the economy, began to show signs of revival. Some of the changes remained in place; the double feature became a part of the American audience's

TOP ACTORS

Fred Astaire, 1899–1987
Gene Autry, 1907–1998
James Cagney, 1899–1986
Claudette Colbert, 1903–1996
Gary Cooper, 1901–1961
Joan Crawford, 1908–1977
Bette Davis, 1908–1989
W. C. Fields, 1880–1946
Errol Flynn, 1909–1959
Henry Fonda, 1905–1982
Clark Gable, 1901–1960
Greta Garbo, 1905–1990
Cary Grant, 1904–1986
Jean Harlow, 1911–1937
Katharine Hepburn, 1907–2003
Myrna Loy, 1905–1993
The Marx Brothers (Chico Marx, 1887–1961; Harpo Marx, 1888–1964; Groucho Marx, 1890–1977)
Ginger Rogers, 1911–1995
Will Rogers, 1879–1935
James Stewart, 1908–1997
Shirley Temple, 1928–
Spencer Tracy, 1900–1967
John Wayne, 1907–1979
Mae West, 1893–1980

NOTABLE MOVIES

Excluding Best Picture winners.

City Lights (1931)
Dracula (1931)
Frankenstein (1931)
42nd Street (1933)
King Kong (1933)
Little Women (1933)
The Thin Man (1934)
The Gold Diggers of 1935 (1935)
A Night at the Opera (1935)
Mr. Deeds Goes to Town (1936)
My Man Godfrey (1936)
Modern Times (1936)
Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs (1937)
Boys Town (1938)
The Wizard of Oz (1939)
Stagecoach (1939)
Mr. Smith Goes to Washington (1939)

expectations, and the iced air stayed on. In addition, although many theaters were shuttered in 1933, over 75 million people continued to go to the movies every week. By the end of the decade, movie attendance had climbed back up to around 100 million a week.

The studio system, well established by the 1920s, became more and more a partnership between business and craft. The business sector provided cash, especially in the difficult early years of the Depression, and those already in motion pictures supplied the expertise. This partnership kept Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Universal, Warner Brothers, Columbia Pictures, Paramount, United Artists, and all the other studios solvent and functioning, although it resulted in more attention being paid to making profits than to creating art.

Technical Changes

Sound pictures had become commonplace by the late 1920s. The approximately 19,000 movie houses around the country quickly accommodated this momentous event. The studios also complied: "100 percent talking" had become the norm for Hollywood productions by 1930.

The industry also experimented with color during the 1930s. For instance, *Paramount on Parade* (1930) featured several dance numbers in an early two-color Technicolor process, but the resultant hues were far from true. Not until 1935 and *Becky Sharp* was a satisfactory three-color process made available for feature films.

ACADEMY AWARD WINNERS

Year of release, not year of award.

1930 Movie: *All Quiet on the Western Front*
Director: Lewis Milestone, *All Quiet on the Western Front*
Actor: George Arliss, *Disraeli*
Actress: Norma Shearer, *The Divorcee*

1931 Movie: *Cimarron*
Director: Norman Taurog, *Skippy*
Actor: Lionel Barrymore, *A Free Soul*
Actress: Marie Dressler, *Min and Bill*

1932 Movie: *Grand Hotel*
Director: Frank Borzage, *Bad Girl*
Actor: Wallace Beery, *The Champ;* Fredric March, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*
Actress: Helen Hayes, *The Sin of Madelon Claudet*

1933 Movie: *Cavalcade*
Director: Frank Lloyd, *Cavalcade*
Actor: Charles Laughton, *The Private Life of Henry VIII*
Actress: Katharine Hepburn, *Morning Glory*

1934 Movie: *It Happened One Night*
Director: Frank Capra, *It Happened One Night*
Actor: Clark Gable, *It Happened One Night*
Actress: Claudette Colbert, *It Happened One Night*

1935 Movie: *Mutiny on the Bounty*
Director: John Ford, *The Informer*
Actor: Victor McLaglen, *The Informer*
Actress: Bette Davis, *Dangerous*

1936 Movie: *The Great Ziegfeld*
Director: Frank Capra, *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town*
Actor: Paul Muni, *The Story of Louis Pasteur*
Actress: Luise Rainer, *The Great Ziegfeld*

1937 Movie: *The Life of Emile Zola*
Director: Leo McCarey, *The Awful Truth*
Actor: Spencer Tracy, *Captains Courageous*
Actress: Luise Rainer, *The Good Earth*

1938 Movie: *You Can't Take It with You*
Director: Frank Capra, *You Can't Take It with You*
Actor: Spencer Tracy, *Boys Town*
Actress: Bette Davis, *Jezebel*

1939 Movie: *Gone with the Wind*
Director: Victor Fleming, *Gone with the Wind*
Actor: Robert Donat, *Goodbye, Mr. Chips*
Actress: Vivien Leigh, *Gone with the Wind*

Technicolor was expensive, so the majority of movies continued to be shot in dependable, economical black and white. Over the decade, inferior imitations of Technicolor abounded; some used sepia tones; others employed processes that washed out any vibrant hues and resulted in a diluted image. It took a long time for color of any kind to establish dominance; not until the late 1960s did the balance shift to color films.

Gangster Films

One of the first movie crazes of the 1930s was gangster films. Most followed a predictable pattern: a small-time mobster (juvenile delinquent, sociopath, thief, etc.) rises in his "profession." He enjoys wealth and power, often for much of the movie, but then he must pay. Usually his downfall is abrupt, whereas his success has been lengthy and celebrated. In the eyes of many, the gangster remained a glamorous figure. During a time of economic and social disorder, life on the wrong side of the law had its appeal. Films like *Little Caesar* (1930), *Public Enemy* (1931) with James Cagney, and *Scarface* (1932) gave the public a distorted view of the American myth of success. In these films, education is a waste of time for the man of action. Those with formal learning are portrayed as weak and powerless.

I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang (1932) was not a typical gangster movie. Directed by Mervyn LeRoy, it portrays the true story of a man caught in an unjust prison system. The main character

is a victim of the cruelties of the Southern chain gangs. He escapes and moves back into legitimate society, where he achieves success. He is found out and returned to prison. *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang* provides no easy solutions in its dark closing frames. Many in the audience could see certain parallels in their lives: as individuals up against seemingly uncaring, insurmountable forces.

Criminals, with such romanticized names as "Legs" Diamond, "Baby Face" Nelson, "Machine Gun" Kelly, "Pretty Boy" Floyd, "Ma" Barker, and Bonnie and Clyde, captured the nation's imagination. With law enforcement often seen as inept and corrupt, the success of these real and on-screen outlaws fed into a national resentment toward authority and its failures. Small wonder, then, that crime films found a receptive audience.

MOVIE CENSORSHIP IN THE 1930s

Much was made of gangster films, so much so that the movie industry considered self-censorship—or face the probability that outsiders would take on the job. In 1933, a group of Catholic bishops established the Legion of Decency to cleanse films of elements they thought harmful to the public, especially youth. They threatened boycotts of both studios and individual movies if they did not meet and maintain certain standards. In response, in 1934 Hollywood created the Production Code Administration, colloquially known as "The Breen Office" for its leader, Joseph I. Breen. It was designed to supplant the industry association that attempted to monitor content, the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, or "Hays Office," led by Will Hays. The Breen Office was responsible for enforcing "The Code," a lengthy, detailed listing of what should be avoided in American movies: no swearing, no sex, no drugs, no explicit violence, no nudity, and so forth. The code had evolved since its initial appearance in 1922, but it had not been strictly enforced. Breen, caving in to a lot of outside pressure, particularly from the Legion of Decency, began to apply the code restrictions without appeal. Producers and directors had to cease making their gangster sagas, at least in the manner of the early thirties.

The Police and G-Men

Although gangster and crime films were popular, a renewed respect for law and order began to manifest itself in films of the mid-1930s, perhaps reflecting a public desire for authority figures. The new heroes were the once-maligned federal law enforcement officers, or G-men, as they were popularly called (for "government men"). Villains remained plentiful in these movies, but they were hissed at, not admired. Oily lawyers, crooked politicians, dealers, and manipulators were convenient targets, and federal agents, along with honest public servants and brash reporters, rooted them out and exposed their malfeasance. *G-Men* (1935) features former bad guy Jimmy Cagney in the FBI, and *Bullets or Ballots* (1936) has Edward G. Robinson as a lawman who goes undercover, thus allowing him to be both hero and gangster in the same film.

On a different note, Warner Oland began a popular series of films as Charlie Chan, the fictional Chinese detective of many Earl Derr Biggers potboilers. Between 1931 and his death in 1938, Oland made sixteen Charlie Chan films; Sidney Toler took over the role in 1938 and churned out twenty-two more before his demise in 1947. These cheaply made whodunits delighted audiences throughout the thirties, and fans apparently did not care that the Swedish-born Oland portrayed an Asian character. These movies helped reinforce the Code edicts against crime and corruption. Not only that, they supplied a healthy dose of thrills, and the box office receipts were substantial. (Widely considered racist in later years because they reinforced stereotypes about Chinese Americans being odd, exotic, and speaking poor English, and because both actors who portrayed Chan were not Chinese, the movies nonetheless enjoyed an afterlife even beyond the 1940s as the movies were re-run on television.)

Westerns

No genre of film better exemplifies good triumphing over evil than the western. To be sure, there was no shortage of cowboy movies during the 1930s.

Most westerns from the era are extremely low-budget productions, shot on the back lots of small Hollywood studios. Formula writers like Zane Grey provided endless plots for these quintessential "B" pictures. Grey alone contributed *The Border Legion* (1930), *Fighting Caravans* (1931, with a young Gary Cooper), *Riders of the Purple Sage* (1931), and *Robber's Roost* (1932). Actors including Hoot Gibson, Buck Jones, Tim McCoy, Tex Ritter, Bob Steele, Ken Maynard, and William Boyd (better known as Hopalong Cassidy) dutifully mounted their steeds and rode into the sunset in one picture or serial after another.

The mythic qualities of the western—wide-open spaces, rugged independence, clear-cut moral decisions—have appealed to audiences since the beginnings of the film industry. John Ford's epic *Stagecoach* (1939) is considered a model for bringing most of the symbolic connotations together. *Stagecoach,* however, was not a shot-on-the-cheap production; it starred John Wayne, Claire Trevor, and Thomas Mitchell, and was photographed in Monument Valley, Arizona. It was a breakthrough film for Wayne, putting him in the select company of actors like Gary Cooper (*The Plainsman,* 1936), Henry Fonda (*The Trail of the Lonesome Pine,* 1936), Tyrone Power (*Jesse James,* 1939), and Errol Flynn (*Dodge City,* 1939).

Most of the 1930s "B" westerns have been forgotten, but the values they represented live on in the American psyche. A few performers—Tom Mix (with over 400 low-budget westerns in a career that spanned almost 30 years), Gene Autry, and Roy Rogers—rose to a kind of quasi-star status in the industry. Mix was the real thing, a former marshal and a marvelous rider, thanks in part to his wonder horse Tony, whereas Autry and Rogers were the Singing Cowboys, vocalizing and strumming their guitars, often while astride their own prize horses, Champion and Trigger. The violence was low and the humor was corny, but for several generations of moviegoers, Mix, Autry, and Rogers epitomized the straight-talkin', sharp-shootin' cowboy.

Musicals

Musicals were not much in favor at the box office until 1933 when an almost bankrupt Warner Brothers released *42nd Street.*[1] Labeled a "backstage musical" because it supposedly gave the audience an insider's view of the doings of the cast, it helped create the myth of the gutsy chorus girl. In the plot, Ruby Keeler takes over at the last minute for the ailing star. Featuring a memorable score by Harry Warren and Al Dubin, *42nd Street* signaled the rebirth of the musical, and it allowed for social commentary not often found in popular films. Some 25 percent of the labor force was unemployed in 1933, probably the bleakest year of the Depression. The worsening crisis had shaken the country's faith in hard work and deferred gratification. *42nd Street* affirmed the mythology of labor and its resultant rewards: dancing your heart out brought about good things.

Flush with success, Warner Brothers released *Gold Diggers of 1933,* reinforcing this very point. Ginger Rogers sings "We're in the Money," but ends on a somewhat somber note. Joan Blondell, usually a wisecracking comedian, sings "Remember My Forgotten Man," a haunting number which features images of hollow-faced men, mostly forgotten veterans, marching in hopeless circles.

The studio completed its 1933 trilogy of musicals with *Footlight Parade.* Jimmy Cagney starred as a hardworking producer who was broke, but not down and out.

Numerous other singers and dancers rose to brief or continuing movie fame during the Depression years. Bing Crosby, a star of radio and recordings, churned out numerous mediocre films that capitalized on his easygoing crooning style. The pictures did reasonably well, and demonstrated how radio, recording, and film can interconnect.

Busby Berkeley

The movies *42nd Street, Gold Diggers of 1933,* and *Footlight Parade* boasted remarkable choreography by Busby Berkeley, who created a bold and imaginative visual style. Berkeley had come to Hollywood from Broadway, and he created amazing film sequences using masses of dancers. With military precision, the performers blossomed into lush flowers, became complex geometric forms, shrank and expanded—all in

time to a jazzy musical score. The "Berkeley top shot," an overhead camera that looked directly down on the dancers, allowed all the surreal shapes and patterns to evolve. Berkeley's dancers were clearly members of the chorus, sweating and straining for minimal pay, not elitist members of a ballet troupe. The working-class plots addressed the very real issues of unemployment and getting by as best as one could.

Berkeley's sets were also significant. The Depression musicals allowed Art Deco or, as it later came to be known in the 1930s, Streamline Moderne, to dominate the background throughout both the dance numbers and the narrative. (See Architecture of the 1930s.) These were hard, shiny, glossy sets, stripped down to basic black and white with chromium accents.

Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers

As the Depression wore down, the slick imagery of Fred Astaire (1899–1987) and Ginger Rogers (1911–1995) began to replace the earnestness and the sense of responsibility in the movie musicals of the early 1930s. Fred and Ginger's dancing was carefree and fun, not regimented and geometric. The grace, flawless timing, and pure sense of style of Fred and Ginger made them stars overnight, beginning with *Flying Down to Rio* (1933). Astaire did his own choreography, and he brought a level of sophistication to the movies never before seen. The duo starred in eight more films during the thirties, including *The Gay Divorcee* (1934), *Top Hat* (1935), *Swing Time* (1936), *Shall We Dance?* (1937), and *The Story of Vernon and Irene Castle* (1939).



Motion picture poster for *Swing Time* shows Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers dancing; in background, a nightclub scene, 1936. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

The two danced in Hollywood's interpretation of the big-city nightclub, their stark modernity and polished surfaces effectively displaying Astaire's tuxedos and Rogers's gowns. These sequences satisfied an audience hungry for images of good fortune, and not necessarily the plucky chorus-girl-makes-good films shown earlier. Because of the popular success of the Astaire-Rogers films, screen musicals achieved a remarkable urbanity in the later years of the decade.[2]

W. C. Fields and Mae West

Comedians W. C. Fields (1880–1946) and Mae West (1893–1980) brought both physical humor and a way with words to the movies of the 1930s. Both had come from theatrical backgrounds, and Fields had enjoyed some success in silent films. Fields appeared in a number of classic short features, among them *The Dentist* (1932) and *Tillie and Gus* (1933). In *The Old-Fashioned Way* (1934), Fields hit his stride as a movie comedian. He played a cheat, a fraud, and various other irreverent roles. With his film persona well established, Fields followed with a succession of popular comedies such as *It's a Gift* (1934) and *You Can't Cheat an Honest Man* (1939).

Mae West, on the other hand, had made her reputation on stage as the queen of suggestiveness. With looks, double entendres, and a sinuous walk, she was considered "too hot" for movies in the 1920s. As receipts dropped during the Depression, the studios welcomed West to the film capital. In her debut picture, *Night After Night* (1932), she infatuates the usually unflappable George Raft with her sex appeal. The new Hollywood Code had not yet come into effect, and West took advantage of the fact. Innuendos fly and her notoriety became immediate. Quickly following up on her fame, West wrote and starred in *She Done Him Wrong* (1933), a re-creation of her stage role as Diamond Lil. This risqué comedy, which also featured Cary Grant, helped push him to the public's attention while further burnishing Mae West's colorful image. Several more adult comedies followed, although nervous censors at the new Breen Office tried—not always successfully—to make her tone down some of the more outrageous dialogue and situations. Her success was such that in 1936 she reported an income of $480,833, making her one of the highest-paid individuals in the nation, regardless of profession.



Mae West. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

The Marx Brothers

Throughout the 1930s a madcap trio of brothers undermined just about every convention they encountered. They were the Marx Brothers—Groucho, the brains and wiseacre of the trio; Chico, the piano-playing caricature of an Italian immigrant; and Harpo, the lecherous yet harmless mime. In reality, there were five Marx brothers. Gummo, the middle son, left the group early, preferring the private sector to the uncertainties

of vaudeville. Zeppo, the youngest, was considered the unfunny Marx brother. He played a hapless straight man, and he left after appearing in their first five movies.

The Marx Brothers quickly achieved popularity. Their movies also introduced Margaret Dumont, a veteran stage actress who appeared in many of their best pictures. Her role was always the same: the target of Groucho's endless insults and a victim of his schemes. Rich, haughty, and always befuddled as to what was actually happening, she emerged as a major player in her own right.

In six 1930s films—*Animal Crackers* (1930), *Monkey Business* (1931), *Horse Feathers* (1932), *Duck Soup* (1933), *A Night at the Opera* (1935), and *A Day at the Races* (1937)—the brothers created a skewed universe of their own. They mocked the government, politics, education, industry, wealth, society, family. Groucho grinned and leered, joking constantly; Chico did a takeoff on Italian stereotypes; and Harpo silently reduced all that he encountered to shambles. For the troubled 1930s, the Marx Brothers' brand of anarchistic comedy played surprisingly well. After the mid-thirties and stricter code enforcement, their movies lost a good bit of irreverent swagger and became more tame. Groucho's double entendres were less wicked, Chico's hustling for quick dollars lacked its previous zest, and Harpo was less of a lecher.



The hilarious Marx Brothers, top to bottom, Chico, Harpo, Groucho, and Zeppo, 1931. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

The Marx Brothers' most successful venture was *A Night at the Opera,* released in 1935. It was the old story of low culture taking on high art, with buffoonery winning out over elitism. In a series of skits in settings that range from the elegant staterooms of an ocean liner to a grand opera hall, the Marxes demolish anything that hints at being "cultural." And, of course, Margaret Dumont, this time a grande dame in opera circles, is there to bear the brunt of their actions. For a nation still in the throes of a seemingly endless depression, *A Night at the Opera* provided just the kind of comeuppance that Americans so enjoyed. For once the have-nots were victorious over the haves.[3]

The Screwball Comedy

A new type of comedy referred to as "screwball" appeared in the 1930s, replacing the grim, negative films of earlier in the decade. These popular pictures set up ridiculous plot situations that were resolved in equally ridiculous ways. One of the first in the genre was *It Happened One Night* (1934), a laugh-filled story that defied reason. Directed by Frank Capra, the film starred Clark Gable and Claudette Colbert. Both were already established stars: Gable was typecast as a ladies' man with muscles and Colbert was perceived as a feminine romantic lead. Neither actor was considered a comedian.

In the movie, the two trade wisecracks, revealing themselves to be skillful comic artists. The movie revolves around a simple question: when will the two antagonists realize they are in love? The two work their way up the East Coast by bus, by car, and, in a classic bit of visual comedy, by hitchhiking. Of course, love wins out in the hilarious closing frames, but not before lots of misunderstanding, bad timing, and turmoil. In an unheard-of sweep, *It Happened One Night* took

Best Picture, Best Actor, Best Actress, Best Director, and Best Screenplay at the 1934 Academy Awards, a feat not equaled until 1975.

Although screwball comedies relied on stereotypes to a degree, they did so by turning them around. For example, *It Happened One Night* did not concern itself with sophisticated lovers living in a luxurious Art Deco world; its milieu was very much 1930s Depression America. Crowded buses full of working-class passengers, decrepit autocamps run by suspicious proprietors, and the grim reality of being broke formed the background for this picture. The theme of the picture, however, was a traditional one of reconciliation, of letting love conquer all.

In a similar vein, *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936, directed by Frank Capra), *My Man Godfrey* (1936), *Bringing Up Baby* and *Holiday* (both 1938, and both starring Cary Grant and Katharine Hepburn), *You Can't Take It with You* (1938; directed by Capra and winner of Best Picture and Best Director Academy Awards), and *Mr. Smith Goes*



Frank Capra's comedy *It Happened One Night* (1934) offers endless examples of the typical trials and tribulations of road travel in 1930s America. The movie won Best Picture, Best Actor, Best Actress, Best Director, and Best Screenplay. Clark Gable and Claudette Colbert, shown here hitchiking, were the stars. Courtesy of Photofest.

to Washington (1939; Capra) demonstrated how American beliefs could be sustained. The themes of these warm, optimistic films range from a once-wealthy man reduced to being a butler, and teaching his rich employers that money cannot buy happiness (*My Man Godfrey*), to that of a multimillionaire who wants to give his fortune away to needy people (*Mr. Deeds Goes to Town*).

Fantasy and Horror

Fantasy and horror presented another cinematic way of escaping the harsh realities of the Depression. In 1931, Universal Studios released director Tod Browning's *Dracula.* Dark and shadowy, it introduced American moviegoers to a new type of picture. Bela Lugosi, an unknown Hungarian actor with a bizarre accent, played the evil Count, a role that catapulted him to instant fame. A colorful advertising campaign—"This ruthless, strange, exciting drama of the 'undead'," cried the theater placards—simply furthered public curiosity.

Universal had an even bigger hit later that year with *Frankenstein.* This venerable Mary Shelley tale of science run amok had been brought to the movies several times before. Director James Whale cast Boris Karloff, a veteran English actor, as the vilified monster. It was a brilliant move; overnight Karloff became the definitive Frankenstein—or, more properly—Frankensteinian monster. (The doctor's name has become, incorrectly, the name of the monster; Karloff's character lacks a name.)

Setting the film in a bleak, fantastic land not unlike the Transylvania of *Dracula,* Whale builds suspense, refusing to let the audience see what Dr. Frankenstein has wrought, until suddenly he reveals the creature. And what the audience sees is the lumbering gait, the wires and pins, the deep-set eyes, and the strained, pathetic attempt to speak—coupled with the realization that "It's alive!"—to quote a famous line from one of the movie's many sequels.

Soon Dracula and Frankenstein were joined by *The Mummy* (1932, Boris Karloff); *The White Zombie* (1932, Bela Lugosi); *The Ghoul* (1934, Boris Karloff); *The Black Cat* (1934, Bela Lugosi and Boris Karloff together); *The Bride of Frankenstein* (1935, James Whale once more directing, and Karloff reprising his character); *Dracula's Daughter* (1936, Lugosi doing likewise); and countless other monsters and mutants.

Special effects contributed to the success of these movies, but characterization and the establishment of mood and setting were also important. The makeup for the creature in *Frankenstein* was important, but the plot focused on Dr. Frankenstein and his creation.

In the fantasy films released during the early 1930s, the grotesqueries were often more important than the stories unfolding on screen. For example, *King Kong's* (1933) story of a mythic "king of the apes" has remained a popular favorite. The scene atop the Empire State Building in which Kong, larger than life, grasps a tiny Fay Wray with his furry paw is memorable because of the technical wizardry of the sequence. Acting and character are virtually absent; any emotions stirred by the episode are due to editing, miniatures, and other devices. Audiences at the time did not know that Kong was a composite of models, both full-scale (the massive head, in particular) and miniature (most of the action scenes).

The overwhelming success of the film led RKO to rush out *Son of Kong* later that same year. The mystery and grandeur were gone, however, and the movie languished at the box office.

Teen Films

In the 1930s Hollywood discovered that teenagers could be a marketable commodity. In 1937, MGM began to release the Andy Hardy movies. *A Family Affair* (1937) was a lighthearted look at small-town America. Mickey Rooney stars as Andy, a typical American teen, and Lionel Barrymore as Judge Hardy, his father, a fountain of sage advice. The studio quickly followed with *You're Only Young Once, Judge Hardy's Children, Love Finds Andy Hardy,* and *Out West with the Hardys,* all released in 1938. In *You're Only Young Once,* veteran actor Lewis Stone replaces Barrymore, a role he repeated for the next 14 Andy Hardy stories. The series relentlessly reinforced a mythic American way of life, and ignored any unsettling contemporary events. Audiences flocked to these simplistic movies that sugarcoated both past and present.

Mickey Rooney, by virtue of his role as Andy Hardy, came to symbolize the American male teenager, or at least the way millions of anxious parents and politicians wanted to perceive him. Judy Garland, another stock player from the MGM studios, emerged as the model teenage girl. The two were teamed up numerous times in subsequent years. Garland went on to portray Dorothy in the *Wizard of Oz* (1939).

Child Actors

Not all of Hollywood's focus was on teenagers, however. Child actors, or those under ten years of age, have always been a part of movies, but they inevitably grew up. Despite the Depression, dancing schools flourished as kids tried to master tap and ballroom dancing. By the mid-1930s, the studios faced a glut of unemployed child actors, a situation that mirrored the real world.

A truly precocious little girl named Shirley Temple (1928–) was the most popular movie star of the era. Between 1934 and 1939, she took top billing in thirteen films. After a few unremarkable one- and two-reelers made at age five, she stole the show in *Stand Up and Cheer* (1934). In quick succession, she was cast in *Little Miss Marker* (1934) and *Now and Forever* (1934). Her career took off. Within two years, her fan mail topped 60,000 letters a month.[4]

While the child actress was busily churning out films, a huge Shirley Temple industry kicked into high gear, mass-producing records, books, playthings, and clothes popularized in her movies. In 1933 alone, merchandisers sold 1.5 million Shirley dolls. Just like Barbie dolls today, the Shirley dolls could be had in many varieties and prices. Even the boxes they came in were considered valuable.

Soon Temple's income from endorsing these items exceeded anything the studio paid her. It was said she was photographed more than President Roosevelt; she appeared on the cover of *Time* magazine (the youngest subject ever); and she was the top Hollywood box-office attraction from 1935 to 1938.

The persona Shirley Temple created in her films was perfect for the Depression years. A combination of self-reliance and innocence, she guided adults through a threatening world while simultaneously needing their love and wisdom. Her character worked hard, was honest and fair in all her dealings, radiated wholesomeness,

HOW OTHERS SEE US

Shirley Temple (1928–)

Shirley Temple skyrocketed to fame in 1934, when the six-year-old starred in four blockbuster films and established herself as the best-known and most popular child star in Hollywood history. Within months, movies featuring her blond ringlets and dimpled smile were being exported to foreign markets.

In Britain, the press gushed, and a mute 12-year-old gained the power to speak, such was her excitement on seeing the Temple film *Bright Eyes* (1934). In Paraguay, a government official bemoaned his daughters' insistence on acquiring all the Shirley Temple dolls, dresses, and paraphernalia they could find.

Nowhere was Temple more popular than in Germany. Despite being banned in Berlin for its supposedly excessive gangsterism and gunplay, her film *Baby Take a Bow* (1934) packed moviegoers into theaters in both its English- and German-language versions.

Temple's popularity in this part of the world had a dark underside. It was widely understood at the time that her appeal to German audiences stemmed from those trademark reddish-blond ringlets and that rosy pink skin. She was the very model of Aryan perfection then being promoted by Germany's Nazi government. Press accounts noted that the success of *Bright Eyes* in German cinemas in the spring of 1935 helped in her "conquest" of the Fatherland.

If Temple was aware of this use of her image, she kept it to herself. Much later, when she was appointed U.S. ambassador to Czechoslovakia in 1989, a Czech official approached her at an event and pulled a card from his wallet. "I thought it would be his Communist Party card, but it was the Shirley Temple Fan Club," Ambassador Shirley Temple Black told a reporter. Many Czechs "seemed to feel I was a returning relative."



Shirley Temple in *Poor Little Rich Girl* (1936). Courtesy of Photofest.

and—most important—was capable of righting a world gone askew.

Newsreels and World Events

At the end of the decade, the nation went from the economic woes of the Depression to the realization that the United States would soon be involved in a conflict. Hollywood was of two minds about the impending crisis. The majority of commercial films portrayed an innocent world where no mention was made of current events, while a tiny minority did just that.

The March of Time, a monthly newsreel series, premiered in 1934. Underwritten by the publishing house of *Time, Life,* and *Fortune* magazines, these fifteen-minute documentaries discussed contemporary issues in frank, unequivocal language and images. Almost from its inception, *The March of Time* dealt with fascism, neutrality, isolationism, and especially Nazism and the rise of Adolf Hitler. But these quarter-hour newsreels were just a small part of the larger theatrical bill.

United Artists released *Blockade* in 1938. Marketed as a drama about espionage, it is set in the Spanish Civil War. Starring Henry Fonda and Madeleine Carroll, *Blockade* quietly sided with the Spanish government through the respected presence of Fonda and took a small stand against the rising forces of fascism. Warner Brothers brought out *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* early in 1939. This film, through its title, reflected the popular consensus of whom everyone knew the enemy would be, prompting a protest from the German government. Warner Brothers cast their veteran star Edward G. Robinson as a G-man ferreting out a vast Nazi conspiracy within America's borders.[5]

The German invasion of Poland in September 1939 shook Americans and the film industry out of their complacency, yet both patrons and studios continued to prefer that their entertainment be nontopical. Not until Pearl Harbor in December 1941 did Hollywood awaken to events of the time. Then war movies started to pour out.

The Wizard of Oz and *Gone with the Wind*

In 1939 Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer released two of the greatest pictures of the 1930s: *The Wizard of Oz* and *Gone with the Wind.*

The Wizard of Oz has enchanted generations of children and adults with its combination of the real and the fantastic. It made a star of Judy Garland, and the memorable Harold Arlen-E. Y. Harburg score won two Academy Awards. The ingenious mix of Technicolor and sepia—particularly at the opening of the story—illustrated new uses for color processing, but the success of *The Wizard of Oz* depended on the perfect meshing of story, stars, music, and technology. Director Victor Fleming would never again achieve the sustained level of imagination he briefly enjoyed on that film, although he would share in the overall direction of *Gone with the Wind.*

Loosely based on the book by L. Frank Baum, *The Wizard of Oz* contained some elements of the prairie populism that often cropped up in the



book, and aside from a few glimpses of honorable poverty (Uncle Henry and Auntie Em's farm, for instance), it avoided anything topical. True, the "real" world of Kansas was presented in sepia, whereas the "dream" world of Oz was presented in Technicolor. It is doubtful, however, that the producers were attempting to make subtle references to the 1930s or agrarianism. The one exception might have been the wondrous Edwin B. Willis sets. They were pure Streamline Moderne, with the towers of the Emerald City evoking an optimistic view of the future. In fact, the New York World's Fair (1939–1940) was running at the same time as the movie, and the resemblances between "The World of Tomorrow" and the Emerald City were probably not entirely coincidental. The escapism of *The Wizard of Oz* likely stemmed both from events of the 1930s and the growing threat of world war, but Dorothy was levelheaded, and she finally returned to Kansas and good Midwestern sensibility.

In a similar vein, *Gone with the Wind* cloaked itself in a romantic story while resisting any contemporary references. Based on Margaret Mitchell's blockbuster 1936 best seller of the same name, *Gone with the Wind* enjoyed some of the best pre-release press of any movie before or since. A nationwide, two-and-a-half-year contest was conducted to select who would play Scarlett; Clark Gable had the role of Rhett secured. The part of Scarlett O'Hara finally went to a talented 25-year-old English actress, Vivien Leigh. Fan magazines reported on anything even remotely associated with the project, and MGM replicated the portico of Tara, Scarlett's family home, for a gala opening night at Loew's Grand Theater in Atlanta. All the hoopla paid off: *Gone with the Wind* was an immediate, enduring hit.

The movie did not come about easily. Although very much the project of producer David O. Selznick, it required a director. George Cukor started as director, but after nine weeks of shooting he was replaced by Victor Fleming. Not even Fleming, fresh from his success with *The Wizard of Oz,* could handle such a mammoth production;

Clark Gable as Rhett Butler in *Gone with the Wind*. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

he collapsed on the set, and Sam Wood finally finished it. A number of screenwriters wrote and rewrote the script, cameramen came and went. No one seemed absolutely sure who should get credit for what, although the Academy nonetheless awarded the Best Director prize to Fleming, along with seven additional Oscars to others connected with the production.

Gone with the Wind wrapped up the 1930s in grand style. An expensive exercise in historical escapism, it tapped into the country's continuing fascination with its own past. Perhaps the story's recurring theme of overcoming adversity, of moving from victim to survivor, was about as timely as *Gone with the Wind* ever got. But for sheer entertainment—the real reason people attend the movies—it stood as the champion of the decade.

RADIO

Radio prospered in the 1930s. At the beginning of the 1930s, slightly over 600 AM (amplitude modulation) stations were on the air, broadcasting to some 12 million receiving sets. By 1940, the figures had grown to over 800 stations and 51 million sets.

Many of the larger, floor-model receivers could serve as fine pieces of furniture with exotic veneers; a top-of-the-line radio could cost hundreds of dollars. Since American family life in the evenings revolved around the radio, this investment was seldom begrudged. Manufacturers pitched their products as much for their elegance as for their electronic excellence.

As it insinuated itself into Americans' everyday lives, radio assumed a unique importance: it provided up-to-the-minute news, weather, and sports; it entertained with music, drama and comedy; and it educated with self-help and instructional shows. Radio leveled regional and social differences by its very ubiquity.

For most Americans, radio was considered a necessity. Even in the worst of the Depression, very few people defaulted on their radio payments. Advertisers quickly grasped the importance of radio and put their dollars into commercials: ad spending went from slightly over $3 million in 1932 to well over $100 million by 1940.

RADIO DEBUTS OF THE 1930s

The George Burns and Gracie Allen Show (1931): comedy sketches and musical numbers starring the married comic duo.

The Breakfast Club (1933): morning variety show featuring talk, music, and topical comedy—the first successful morning program in this now-ubiquitous format.

Lux Radio Theater (1934): dramatic anthology series that adapted Broadway plays and Hollywood films into one-hour broadcasts, often voiced by the original stars.

Fibber McGee and Molly (1935): situation comedy about the foibles and schemes of a small-town man and his patient wife (played by Jim and Marian Jordan), along with their friends, neighbors, and visitors.

Your Hit Parade (1935): weekly presentation of the nation's most popular songs, based on sales, airplay, and jukebox selections.

The Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy Show (1937): comedy-variety show featuring ventriloquist Edgar Bergen and his dummies, including Charlie McCarthy and Mortimer Snerd.

The Guiding Light (1937): dramatic serial that would become American television's longest-running daytime soap opera.

The Shadow (1937): mystery series famous for its sinister opening line: "Who knows what evil lurks in the hearts of men? The Shadow knows."

Network broadcasting, began in the 1920s, saw rapid growth in the 1930s: the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), with two networks, the Blue and the Red; the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS); and the Mutual Broadcasting System (MBS), founded in 1934. This growth meant the demise of much local, or independent, programming. As the networks grew, costs rose and famous entertainers were signed to binding contracts. Small stations quickly affiliated with the networks, which had greater resources for developing new shows. In the meantime, countless orchestras, combos, comedians, and other local

talent lost jobs as their stations affiliated with the networks.

By 1931, most radio stations were essentially carriers of network programming. In turn, advertising agencies began to develop their own ideas and formats. The agency-run radio department emerged as one of the most important divisions at broadcast studios. Although the networks were still given the right to approve programming, the big sponsors had grown so powerful that such approval was more a formality than a privilege. In addition, syndicates began to prepackage all manner of shows for both networks and independent stations. These productions were particularly attractive to smaller stations that could not afford to put together anything on their own that approached the syndicates' caliber of work.

Comedy and Variety Shows on the Radio

American radio introduced hundreds of personalities who became household names. Some of these entertainers moved directly to radio from vaudeville, while others mixed film and radio careers.

One example is Rudy Vallee (1901–1986), a modestly talented crooner who achieved great fame and popularity during the 1930s. Vallee left Yale University in 1928 to form a band, The Connecticut Yankees, with himself as vocalist. Several of his club appearances were carried live on radio, introducing listeners to his signature singing style—a weak voice projected by a megaphone. By staying very close to the sensitive radio microphone, he could achieve the same amplification effect.

Vallee made his series radio debut in *The Fleischmann Hour* at the end of the 1920s, opening each segment with his familiar "Heigh-ho, everybody!" This NBC show quickly became a network hit and set a standard for much subsequent musical variety programming. In 1936, the show became *The Royal Gelatin Hour,* and continued into 1939. The series came about because of Vallee's popularity, but it was underwritten by corporate interests, in this case yeast and gelatin manufacturers. Vallee was nominally in charge, but his sponsors, along with their advertising agencies, had control of all content.

Vallee's guests were usually fellow performers, although the show broke new ground showcasing dramatic readings by stage and film actors. These passages were written for radio and not the theater, suggesting the growing importance of the medium.

Amos 'n Andy

Freeman Gosden (1899–1982) and Charles Correll (1890–1972), better known as *Amos 'n Andy,* starred in what was probably the most popular radio show of all time.

Amos 'n Andy started out as *Sam 'n' Henry* in 1926 in Chicago. The station unwisely gave up the show, and Gosden and Correll changed the name to *Amos 'n Andy* to avoid any copyright battles. In 1929, NBC picked up their contract, giving the show national exposure. It was an immediate hit, and its popularity continued throughout the 1930s. *Amos 'n Andy* was so popular that theaters would stop their movies and pipe in the nightly broadcasts, rather than lose potential audiences to home radios.

During its thirty-odd years on the air, *Amos 'n Andy* attracted some of the largest repeat audiences in the history of radio. The show ran fifteen minutes a day, five days a week, and was usually broadcast in the early evening. Gosden (Amos) and Correll (Andy) were two white male performers of many voices; their characters were blacks, and included both men and women. The series was, in some ways, a radio version of the old-time minstrel show: white performers in blackface doing caricatures of African Americans. In fact, the two actors frequently posed in full makeup for publicity shots, and no attempt was made to hide their identities. Their scripts were written in a stereotypical Negro dialect—and delivered exactly as written. Phrases like "Hello dere, Sapphire," and "Holy mackerel, Andy!" became part of national speech, and listeners exchanged summaries of the previous night's episode, usually delivering them in some approximation of the characters' patois.

What should have been an issue of racial stereotyping seldom entered discussions of *Amos 'n Andy.* One reason was that racial insensitivity was much more overt. Movies caricatured African

Americans; recordings featuring black artists were sold as "race records"; and other radio shows had characters just as stereotypical. The NAACP voiced criticisms of the series, but to little avail. In the meantime, the show continued to attract a true mass audience that cut across the lines of race, age, and gender.

A better explanation would be that the shows were genuinely funny. Characters were likable, the plots told tight stories, and there was no meanness or violence. In 1930, at the height of their popularity, Gosden and Correll made a movie that did not do well; perhaps hearing the show—as opposed to seeing it—tempered the obvious stereotyping.

Other Radio Comedians

The networks, along with larger independent stations, searched for other comedians. In 1932 CBS gave George Burns and Gracie Allen, a real-life married couple, shared billing with the Guy Lombardo orchestra on *The Robert Burns Panatela Show* (named for a brand of cigars). A mix of music and comedy, the show attracted a strong following, and it was soon renamed *The Burns and Allen Show.*

Shows like *Amos 'n Andy* and *Burns and Allen* demonstrated a new approach to comedy. The routines were clever and quick, relying on verbal humor instead of visual antics. Familiar, evolving characters were created. Audiences had expectations about how Amos, Andy, George, and Gracie would act in given situations. Instead of isolated skits or one-liners with no reference to the deliverer, radio comedy moved more and more in the direction of humor that relied on audience identification of the comedian.

When they were in vaudeville, George Burns was the funny man, and Gracie Allen fed him lines. But the couple discovered that when the roles were reversed, the laughs increased. Thus Burns became the bemused husband of the implacably daffy Gracie. He may have seemed the straight man, but he frequently got to deliver the rejoinders, not just the setups. A brilliant comedian in her own right, Gracie had to remain in character throughout the show. Listeners looked forward to her non sequiturs and her scatterbrained ideas. Week after week, this domestic narrative played out and the team proved ideal for the natural intimacy that defines radio.

Similarly, former vaudevillian Jack Benny developed his own memorable character. *The Jack Benny Show* (NBC, 1932–1955) quickly became a listener favorite. Jack Benny himself, miser, would-be violinist, and a perpetually youthful thirty-nine, was the main character, but he had an outstanding cast of regulars—announcer Don Wilson, bandleader Phil Harris, impressionist Mel Blanc, and Eddie Anderson as the put-upon Rochester, Benny's faithful servant. Each of them had an identity that was sustained in every broadcast, creating familiarity and continuity.

Soap Operas

Soap operas—so called because most of them were sponsored by soap companies and dealt with emotional stories and characters—became an important part of the typical radio day on 1930s radio. The first soap operas began in the late 1920s, and they were usually broadcast daily on weekday mornings and early afternoons, the

"WHO WAS THAT MASKED MAN? IT'S THE LONE RANGER!"

An exciting afternoon of radio was capped by the half-hour *The Lone Ranger,* a show that usually came on just before Mom summoned everyone to dinner. Adapted from a series of books by Fran Striker, *Lone Ranger* was not just a radio program; the masked hero also appeared in a movie serial, Big Little Books, comic books, and a newspaper comic strip during the 1930s. Kids everywhere knew about the Lone Ranger, his wonder horse Silver, and his faithful Indian sidekick Tonto, who in each episode uttered his mysterious "kemo sabe" (no exact translation exists, because it was made up). The show's stirring theme music was lifted from the overture to Rossini's opera *William Tell,* making it possibly the best-known classical composition of the day. *The Lone Ranger* later became an equally popular early television show for children, airing from 1949 through 1957.

assumption being that housewives would tune in for their favorite fifteen-minute dramas. It was further assumed that men would not listen, so the soaps became a small but significant area of network radio created by and for women, an unusual situation in what was essentially a male-dominated medium.

Some of the more popular 1930s soap operas, some of which endured through to the 1950s, included:

- *Backstage Wife* (1935–1959, NBC)
- *Just Plain Bill* (1932–1955, CBS)
- *Lorenzo Jones* (1937–1955, NBC)
- *Ma Perkins* (1933–1960, NBC and CBS—this show was on both networks simultaneously for a while)
- *One Man's Family* (1932–1959, NBC—an evening show)
- *Our Gal Sunday* (1937–1959, CBS)
- *Pepper Young's Family* (1936–1959, NBC)
- *The Romance of Helen Trent* (1933–1960, CBS)
- *Stella Dallas* (1937–1955, NBC)
- *When a Girl Marries* (1939–1957, CBS)

A few radio soap operas even made the transition to television. Seldom were big-name actors involved; the soap opera world was a tight one, and players would rush from stage to stage, studio to studio, in order to perform their roles in multiple dramas.

For listeners, the daily serials dished up a bit of escapism. They featured molasses-like pacing and their simple plotting and black-and-white characters required minimal attentiveness. Often set in rural locales, the stories took simple folk and cast them in dramatic situations. Moralistic and conservative, the soap operas served as a kind of guidepost in the 1930s.

Radio Drama

Many serious dramatic series were created during the decade, among them *Lux Radio Theatre* (Lux was a popular beauty soap). Hosted from 1936 until 1945 by celebrated Hollywood director Cecil B. DeMille, *Lux Radio Theatre* presented one-hour adaptations of leading motion pictures, often using the same stars who had appeared in the movie. The series illustrated the close connections between film and radio, and publicized motion pictures on a top-ranked radio show.

Another acclaimed dramatic series in the 1930s was *First Nighter* (1929–1953). Supposedly broadcast from "The Little Theater Off Times Square," this show actually originated in Chicago and, later, Hollywood. Each episode had Mr. First Nighter being shown to his seat by an usher. Over the years, various actors took a seat on the aisle; it was their job to introduce an hour-long radio version of a stage production or—more likely—an original radio drama. The shows were of uneven quality, but captured a good audience share. *First Nighter* introduced more Americans to the stage, or at least the radio version of a play, than had ever actually attended a theatrical production.

News and Information

Although entertainment shows occupied much of the broadcast day, radio was becoming the primary carrier of news and information. As the Great Depression deepened in the early thirties, President-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt began using radio as a weapon against discontent. In March 1933, just days after taking office, Roosevelt initiated a remarkable series of broadcasts to the American people called *Fireside Chats.*

Originating directly from the White House, these informal conversations were aimed at putting the public more at ease about the ongoing crisis. During the next several years, the president would conduct over forty such chats, beginning each with a reassuring, "My dear friends." He chose his words carefully, using a simple vocabulary without condescending to his audience. As a result, he built a sense of intimacy between his listeners and himself. Critics charged him with unfairly utilizing the airwaves for political purposes, but the president remained undeterred. It is estimated that upwards of a quarter of the nation tuned into the *Fireside Chats,* or some 30 million listeners. Never before had such a vast audience simultaneously shared in a public speech, making Franklin D. Roosevelt the nation's first media-savvy president.[6]

At the same time, a number of radio news reporters rose to prominence. Newscasters (the relatively new designation that replaced "reporters")

like Elmer Davis, Gabriel Heatter, H. V. Kaltenborn, Raymond Gram Swing, Lowell Thomas, and Walter Winchell were on the air, redefining the traditional image of a reporter. Instead of a straight, objective reading of events, they brought a personal style to their scripts, often adding interpretive commentary to ongoing stories.

With war imminent, people relied on their radios for late-breaking bulletins about the deteriorating international situation. In any discussion of that period, the name of Edward R. Murrow emerges ahead of those of his contemporaries. A member of the CBS news team, Murrow brought an unequalled sincerity and gravity to his reports; he was a calming voice in the face of disaster. (See Entertainment of the 1940s.)

Father Coughlin

Father Charles E. Coughlin (1891–1979), a priest at the Shrine of the Little Flower in Royal Oak, Michigan, illustrates how radio can be abused while staying within the narrow confines of the law. Beginning in 1930, Father Coughlin initiated a series of political radio sermons. His message was simple: a cabal of international bankers, consisting of Jewish financiers, Wall Street brokers, and Communist sympathizers (and later sympathizers of the New Deal), threatened the very foundations of democracy, and only a turn to Italian-style fascism would save the Republic. He mixed invective with a mellow delivery that often lulled listeners to accept his true message. In the depths of the Depression, Father Coughlin held sway over an audience estimated at upwards of 40 million listeners, more than Roosevelt usually got for his *Fireside Chats*. They inundated his church with at least 80,000 letters a week, most containing a contribution. In no time, the Shrine of the Little Flower was taking in $5 million a year.[7]

The Columbia Broadcasting System, his parent network, became troubled when Coughlin refused them access to his scripts prior to delivery; they canceled his contract in 1933. Undeterred, Coughlin organized an independent network financed by listener contributions. He, and several other disaffected politicians, created the Union Party in 1936. His new party did poorly, and stations began to leave the organization. The Catholic Church took a stand against his extreme political positions, and by the end of the decade he was unable to afford either a network or radio time.

The War of the Worlds

On Halloween 1938, another radio innovator demonstrated ways that the strengths of radio might be misused, albeit innocently. That evening, Orson Welles broadcast a dramatization of H. G. Wells's novel *The War of the Worlds* as part of his series *Mercury Theatre on the Air.*

Despite repeated statements throughout the broadcast that the show was a dramatization, many in the audience became convinced it was real. Welles had cleverly camouflaged his warnings so that many missed them. For much of the hour, the inattentive worried that Martian invaders were roaming the swamps of New Jersey. It was a perfect demonstration of the imaginative power of radio, along with the potential for mass hysteria brought about by slick production methods.

Since the government controlled the airways, *The War of the Worlds* raised the issue of responsibility. If a gullible public was fooled by a radio show, whose responsibility was it to ensure that the public was not fooled again? Because of the furor the broadcast evoked, the Federal Communications Commission came down heavily against productions that might frighten or dupe the public. It was an acknowledgment that radio was a medium of unquestioned power, one that needed rules so that power could not be abused.[8]

TELEVISION

Throughout the 1930s, engineers labored to make television a reality for Americans. Everyone knew that the technical problems associated with the medium would be ironed out; it was just a question of when. Leading the attack was David Sarnoff and his team at the labs of the Radio Corporation of America. As a vice president of the RCA colossus in the 1920s, Sarnoff had established the first radio network, the National Broadcasting Company. He popularized the word "television," seeing in it the potential to meld sound and image, and to transmit the result over great distances.

The 1929 stock market crash and the continuing popularity of radio—along with the huge profits radio generated—dissuaded most sustained efforts at any commercial exploitation of television. Nonetheless, the experiments continued: in 1930, NBC was granted permission to operate W2XBS (the predecessor of today's WNBC) in New York City; the following year found CBS operating W2XAB (today's WCBS), also out of New York. The rivals used movie theaters and popular radio and vaudeville personalities as hosts to promote their new technologies. Only a few thousand receivers existed, however, and most of them were in metropolitan New York.

In the summer of 1936, NBC television went on the air. It was a limited affair—space atop the Empire State Building, a handful of bulky receiving sets, and an invitation-only group of about 200 people. David Sarnoff appeared on screen, as did some radio personalities, a few models and other entertainers. Despite the limited facilities, the people present sensed the importance of this event.

Expanding the boundaries of television, NBC telecast a variety show from the stage of the newly built Radio City Music Hall, and its mobile units covered several baseball games and other sporting events in the New York area. RCA continued its experimental broadcasts, and crews televised the annual Macy's Thanksgiving Parade for the first time in 1939.

Prior to the Macy's parade, RCA went public at the New York World's Fair in June 1939, introducing television to a mass audience. Throughout each day, RCA featured continuous telecasting by its affiliate, NBC, using banks of receivers where people could watch the proceedings. RCA even had sets for sale, at prices ranging from $199.50 (roughly $2,500 in today's dollars) to $600 ($7,500).

President Roosevelt attended the dedication of the RCA Pavilion, and he appeared on television, the first head of state ever seen on the new medium. A short time later, the king and queen of England also appeared. Exhibits sponsored by Ford, Westinghouse, and General Electric also featured TV. By the end of 1939, it became clear that television would be the next major entertainment medium. Only the onset of World War II prevented its immediate, widespread adoption.[9]

THEATER

In the 1930s, few people attended theatrical productions. Theater was primarily an urban entertainment, and tickets were expensive—several dollars—versus a dime or quarter for a movie ticket.

The advent of sound in the movies further reduced theater attendance. In addition, since a successful play was usually adapted to film, moviegoers might get to see some of the original cast in the motion-picture version. Thus, one very popular art form brought a less popular one to a mass audience through a media crossover. The film version could differ markedly from the stage original, but millions of people could see the movie of the play.

Musicals

Many plays did experience commercial success in the 1930s. Certainly, almost anything that Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart, Cole Porter, or George and Ira Gershwin penned stood a good chance of being big box office. These men were composers and lyricists, and their forte was the Broadway musical. Usually musicals were bright and breezy, with a fair number of hummable tunes. Anything that took minds off unemployment and discouraging economic news was favored over something that reinforced glum feelings.

Rodgers and Hart were among the most prolific composers in the 1930s. Songs like "Ten Cents a Dance" (*Simple Simon,* 1930), "Little Girl Blue" (*Jumbo,* 1935), and "My Funny Valentine" (*Babes in Arms,* 1937) set a new standard for the musical theater. Thanks to recordings, radio, and the movies, their music achieved two distinctions: much of it became popular in its own time, and—more importantly—many of their songs have become known to generations of music lovers.

Cole Porter contributed some of the more adult and sophisticated lyrics of the period, such as "Love for Sale" (1930). Like Rodgers and Hart, Porter's view of the world had little to do with the economic crisis or the New Deal, although they did not escape passing mention in his remarkable catalog of songs. Thanks again to movies, radio, and recordings, he became widely known, and his

music has survived to the present as some of the best of the era.

George and Ira Gershwin's musicals usually did well in the 1930s, and George enjoyed the added reputation of being a serious musician. In 1924, he premiered *Rhapsody in Blue,* a concert piece that received (and still enjoys) considerable acclaim. *Girl Crazy,* a Gershwin musical penned in 1930, featured Ethel Merman's rendition of "I Got Rhythm." The song, along with her performance, made her one of the all-time stars of the Broadway stage. In 1932, just two years after being on stage, the play came out as a Paramount movie comedy. A number of other Gershwin musicals followed—*Strike Up the Band* (1930), *Of Thee I Sing* (1931), and *Let 'Em Eat Cake* (1933). The last two contain numerous Depression-era references in their lyrics. Finally, the Gershwins surprised the theater world with *Porgy and Bess* (1935), one of the few successful American attempts at opera.

Critics have never been able to decide if *Porgy and Bess* is musical theater posing as opera, or opera that contains elements of popular musical theater. The play's memorable score has made it a favorite of both concertgoers and theatergoers.

NOTABLE THEATER

Tobacco Road, 1933 (3,182 perfs.)
Anything Goes, 1934 (420 perfs.)
The Children's Hour, 1934 (691 perfs.)
Porgy and Bess, 1936 (124 perfs.)
Pins and Needles, 1937 (1,108 perfs.)
Hellzapoppin', 1938 (1,404 perfs.)
Our Town, 1938 (336 perfs.)
Life with Father, 1937 (1,108 perfs.)
The Little Foxes, 1939 (410 perfs.)

Drama

Three playwrights from the 1930s who stand out are Maxwell Anderson, Robert E. Sherwood, and Clifford Odets. Each in his own way responded to the times, couching in dramatic terms many of the anxieties that Americans faced on a daily basis.[10]

Winterset, a 1935 work by Anderson, was the playwright's rumination on the infamous Sacco-Venzetti case of the 1920s. He dramatized the background of the event, and employed blank verse for his dialogue. Plays in verse generally did not do well on the American stage, but the gamble paid off; in only a year, RKO had produced a faithful film adaptation of the drama. The movie introduced audiences to Burgess Meredith, recreating his stage role.

In Robert E. Sherwood's 1936 production of *Idiot's Delight,* he voiced a strong message of pacifism, that war truly was an "idiot's delight." In the play he places a group of people in a small hotel in the Italian Alps, where they talk and rediscover old associations. The play ends with the bombs of a new war bursting in the distance. Despite public opposition to American involvement in the war, the play drew critical acclaim and won a Pulitzer Prize for Best Play. In 1939 with World War II a certainty, Clark Gable and Norma Shearer starred in a strong film adaptation.

In 1935, Clifford Odets had four plays running on Broadway: *Awake and Sing!, Waiting for Lefty, Till the Day I Die,* and *Paradise Lost. Golden Boy* opened in 1937. The next year, *Rocket to the Moon* was on the boards. In 1939, *Golden Boy* made it to the screen, with William Holden making his film debut.

Golden Boy was less propagandistic than much of Odets's work; it focused more on the human condition than it did on politics: a young man trying to choose between prizefighting and music lives a bleak working-class life and yearns to break free. The violin is one route, but it is slow and uncertain. Boxing, his other skill, looks faster and more direct. But he breaks his hand in the ring; now he can have neither. Although the movie version was somewhat watered-down from the stage version, neither was a cheerful story of youthful dreams.

The Federal Theater Project

In 1935, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) authorized funding for the Federal Theater Project (FTP), a program to support theater projects across the nation.

Hallie Flanagan, an academic dynamo from Vassar College, was appointed head of the new agency. She plunged into hiring and production. It was decided that a variety of plays would be presented across the country, thus extending employment far beyond the boundaries of New York City. In 1936, the FTP presented a dramatic version of Sinclair Lewis's *It Can't Happen Here* simultaneously in 21 cities. The play, which tells of fascism coming to America, was very much an ideological one, and set the tone for the group and its subsequent history.

Under the leadership of playwright Elmer Rice, *The Living Newspaper* was developed. A mix of news and drama, fact and fiction, editorial and satire, *The Living Newspaper* was one of the FTP's more controversial endeavors. Using contemporary headlines as their starting points, writers and actors commented on such topics as government bureaucracy (*Triple-A Plowed Under,* 1936), monopolies (*Power,* 1937), and the Depression (*One-Third of a Nation,* 1938). *One-Third of a Nation* incorporated a cast of 67 actors who portrayed 195 characters—providing employment to many. It is estimated that 12 million people in New York City alone attended one or more of *Living Newspaper* productions.

In 1938, the FTP crossed racial barriers by introducing *The Swing Mikado* in Chicago. A jazzy interpretation of Gilbert and Sullivan featuring an all-black cast, it did well and went to New York in 1939. Broadway professionals were so taken by the FTP production that they mounted *The Hot Mikado,* also with all-black cast, several weeks later. Eventually *The Hot Mikado* ended up at the New York World's Fair, where tickets cost less than a dollar.[11]

The FTP looked to expand its offerings, but the House Un-American Activities Committee, an investigative arm of Congress, began to look into the project, attempting to find Communist influences within the group. In 1939, under pressure from several sides, federal funding was withdrawn from the FTP, and it had to cease operation. At its peak, the FTP had provided employment for about 10,000 persons in 40 states and reached



Poster for Federal Theatre Project presentation of "Swing Parade" at the Alcazar theater, showing a man and woman dancing, 1937. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

out to people who normally were not involved in theatrical activities.

DANCE

In the 1930s, few Americans were even aware of the movements in modern dance. With the Depression and declining audiences, dance companies found themselves facing dire times. A few pioneers—Martha Graham, Hanya Holm, Doris Humphrey, Charles Weidman, Ruth Page—worked tirelessly in the 1930s, but with little or no acclaim.

The popular art of dancing still managed to flourish, however. Broadway musicals, in particular, redefined stage choreography, and Hollywood's "All Talking! All Singing! All Dancing!" extravaganzas presented dancers as they had never been seen before. The movie camera discovered new angles, new shots, and new methods of presenting action. Ruby Keeler did not just tap dance; now she had dozens—or hundreds—of others exactly synchronized with her, thanks to choreographer Busby Berkeley's gift for positioning and moving dancers in front of the all-seeing camera. Performers like Ann Miller (*New Faces of 1937,* her debut; many others), Buddy Ebsen (*Broadway Melody of 1936;* many others) and Ray Bolger (*The Great Ziegfeld,* 1936; many others) rose from obscurity to major dancing roles in dozens of Hollywood musicals.

For millions of moviegoers, this *was* dancing. Nothing esoteric here. Fifty chorus girls, for instance, pranced on the wings of an airplane in *Flying Down to Rio* (1933), epitomizing film musicals. Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers brought debonair ballroom dancing to new heights, and choreographers presented their numbers in new and offbeat ways. As far as the musicals of stage and screen were concerned, dancing was in fine health.

Meanwhile, the American people were dancing as never before. The jitterbug, the Lindy, the Camel Walk, the Shorty George, the Suzie-Q, the Sabu, the Toddle, even the old Lambeth Walk—along with waltzes, fox-trots, congas, sambas, and rumbas—brought millions onto the floor. In the 1930s, swing was king. The big bands played everywhere, and what they played was dance music. Halls, open-air pavilions, and clubs open to dancing flourished.

The 1920s had loosened the strictures against public dancing, especially popular dances like the Charleston. By the 1930s, only a few religious groups and some straitlaced communities still had rules regarding dancing. It was cheap entertainment, and at just the right time. Radio had come into its own, including more music shows on its schedules. The sales of recordings—dance recordings—skyrocketed, and radio and the movies mirrored this interest.[12]

Fashion

of the 1930s

In order to talk about the fashions of the 1930s, it is necessary to know what came before. The stylish woman of 1900–1920 wore clothes draped over her body in a voluminous manner suggestive of Art Nouveau design. At the same time, she remained very much a part of the Victorian era, with layers and layers of material.

With the onset of the Roaring Twenties, radical changes occurred for those at the forefront of style. The Art Deco woman's clothes made her appear boyish; instead of the flowing lines of a few years earlier, the look became angular and sinewy. Revolutionary changes occurred during the 1920s: skirts went up—often to the knee—and multiple layers of clothing were shed for what seemed to many to be a shocking brevity of attire.

WOMEN'S FASHIONS

The stock market crash of 1929 destroyed much of the youthful exuberance of the decade, signaling a time to grow up and act like an adult. The most noticeable change in dress emerged with the rediscovery of curves. The waist and bust, both seemingly lost in the 1920s became objects of attention. The improvements in undergarments emphasized the feminine bosom. Waists were cinched by belts. In addition, the back—once hidden, now often revealed—became a focal point. The knees, however, disappeared as skirts got progressively longer, before creeping back up near the end of the decade.

Youthful slimness remained the ideal—to be both curvaceous and slender simultaneously. In addition, the clingy clothes of the fashionable demanded that no unwanted lumps or bulges disturb the smooth lines of fabric. The popularity of various diets during the decade testifies to the need to be slender. The hunger women faced during the depression seldom entered the picture.

Women in the 1930s, especially younger women, looked to the movies, the big department stores, mail-order catalogs, and magazines to learn current styles. The important thing was that Sears & Roebuck (or Ward's, or Macy's, or the local department store) had items in stock that resembled what Joan Crawford wore on film or what *Vogue* insisted represented the season. Paris continued as the fashion capital of the world until after World War II, but what Paris designers dictated and what the women of America wore did not necessarily match, especially during the Depression. (See Fashion of the 1940s.)

For most American women, ready-to-wear ruled the day. Mass production and availability in stores nationwide only increased popularity. The idea of custom-tailored, one-of-a-kind outfits was foreign to the vast majority of shoppers.

The development of assembly-line technology for the clothing industry allowed the greatest range of styles and prices ever seen. If a dress was on sale, so much the better. American fashion, by and large, was very democratic in its appeal.

In order to hold down costs, some manufacturers offered garments that could be finished at home. A woman would pick out a dress by traditional size, knowing that all the difficult sewing had been completed. Collars, cuffs, and other finish work on shoulders and sleeves were done by professional tailors; the buyer simply stitched up the seams and hem.[1]

Creating or updating one's own wardrobe became popular. McCall's and Butterick published numerous clothes patterns, while piece-goods shops offered a wide variety of fabrics and materials. Big merchandisers like Sears, Roebuck encouraged the trend by featuring sewing, knitting, and crocheting supplies in their stores and catalogs.

As the decade progressed, the popularity of printed fabrics grew significantly. These quickly replaced the costly embroidery of the past, and they had another practical side: spots or stains were less likely to show up on prints than on solids, keeping cleaning costs to a minimum. The simple print dress, manufactured from synthetic materials like rayon and cut to fit average figures, came to be an overwhelming favorite of women during the 1930s. Sears, Roebuck probably carried the use of prints to its extreme in the early 1930s with its "Hooverettes," simple wraparound dresses that tied at the side and could fit anyone. They were reversible, so when one side got soiled, the whole dress could be turned inside out to expose clean material. First called "Sears-ettes," they came to be humorously associated with President Hoover and the nation's economic woes. They sold at an attractive Depression price: two for 98 cents.[2]

Motion pictures and fan magazines set fashion trends. The images projected on the silver screen were reinforced by photo spreads in the hugely popular movie magazines available. Audiences could copy Hollywood fashions and hairstyles. Newsstand fan magazines like *Hollywood, Modern Screen, Movie Mirror, Photoplay, Screenland,* and *Silver Screen* included extensive layouts on what stars wore at any given time or in a particular film. In earlier times, actors were responsible for their own clothes, but by the 1930s the leading performers were outfitted by the studios both on and off the screen. The major studios also staffed their own fashion designers, who prepared the costumes for upcoming features. Retailers studied what the designers created. Soon after a film's release, copies of the fashions appeared on retail racks. As a result, women were no longer imitating high society styles; they were mimicking what they saw in the movies.[3]

Often the stars—Loretta Young, Fay Wray, Claudette Colbert, and little Shirley Temple—modeled fashions in the larger catalogs, making the Hollywood–consumer connection even stronger. The star's signature might even be stitched into the label. The studios also featured their own stars whenever they could, whether it was Jean Harlow on a Columbia Pictures set in a clinging gown that left little to the imagination, or Katharine Hepburn in slacks and a shirt, riding a bicycle at Warner Brothers. Blue jeans began to appear in westerns, and actresses like Barbara Stanwyck were photographed wearing denim. Never before had popular media so influenced the fashion choices of a generation of consumers.[4]

The rebellion against the insouciant twenties began at the feet and worked its way upward. By the depths of the Depression, the hemline descended to midcalf or lower. At the same time, more and more material was being cut on the bias, which meant the fabric hugged the figure, displaying the natural lines of the wearer, and giving a fluid drape to the article of clothing. In response to hard economic times, manufacturers used cheaper materials. For example, cotton replaced silk and rayon replaced linen. An inexpensive way to dress up a dated outfit was to add bold, unusual buttons.

Belts, along with fitted skirts, brought back feminine waists and hips. The brassiere became an important part of a woman's overall wardrobe. Led by companies like Maidenform and Warners, the constricting bandeaux of the 1920s gave way in the 1930s to bras that actually came in sizes. This innovation greatly improved both the fit and the comfort of the wearer, as well as enhanced her figure. Another improvement came with the



The very well-dressed U.S. Olympics Women's Swimming Team as they sailed July 15, 1936, on the *Manhattan* for Berlin and the Olympic Games. Their outfits show the trends of the decade: smaller hats and more defined and belted waistlines. AP Photo.

development of Lastex by the United States Rubber Company in 1931. This fiber could be woven with just about any fabric, providing both strength and stretch. Thus were the heavy girdles of the past replaced by lighter, better-fitting models.

In another concession to the Depression, women could buy cheap undergarments devoid of lace or trim. Needlework magazines provided handy transfers and instructions so the consumer could embroider her undergarments. Silk lingerie became available only to the well-off; Dupont's rayon emerged as the fabric of choice for everyone else. Nylon stockings, long promised and thought to be indestructible, finally made their appearance in 1939 and were a huge success. Until then, women wore silk or rayon hose and cotton weaves.

Women's shoulders were enhanced as the padded look grew in popularity. At the same time, sleeves became puffier, creating a new silhouette

FASHION TRENDS OF THE 1930s

The 1930s were a time of conservative fashion as many turned to practical and affordable clothing. Sportswear became briefer and less constricting.

Women: Trousers rise in popularity; smaller hats are in style, but all adorned with feathers in the early years of the decade; pillbox hats and snoods (1935) for long hair; natural waistlines are belted and more defined; hemlines drop; tanned skin becomes stylish; makeup is more natural looking, but eyebrows are plucked into thin high curves (1932–1936); bias cut dresses are popular; shorts for sportswear make an entrance; puffy sleeves are in vogue; skirts become shorter at end of decade; patterned housedresses are worn for everyday wear.

Men: Suits are less formal, less baggy; the one-piece swimsuit is prevalent by end of the decade.

Young girls: Simple dresses and playsuits are most popular; by adolescence, teenagers are wearing adult clothing.

Young boys: Scaled down men's suits with shorts and sailor suits are worn for dress-up occasions; older boys wear knickers; by teen years, they trade knickers for long pants.

for the upper body that diminished the waist. The total look emphasized slender yet natural lines, rising to an obvious bust and squared-off shoulders. Topping it all off was a hat, an essential item for the well-dressed woman.

Smaller hats replaced the helmet-like cloche of the 1920s, frequently perched at a jaunty angle. These smaller hats came in many styles. The so-called Empress Eugenie, a soft felt hat often with a feather for decoration, gained distinction when Greta Garbo wore one in the movie *Romance* (1930). Another favorite was the pillbox, flat-topped and round of design, which also gained impetus from Garbo in *As You Desire Me* (1932). Variants on Tyrolean models that resembled men's fedoras, tams, turbans, babushkas, berets, and sailor hats were also popular, since fashion demanded that women cover their heads.

In 1933, the composer Irving Berlin wrote the music and lyrics for a song titled "Easter Parade," which appeared in his topical Broadway musical *As Thousands Cheer.* It begins with a reference to an Easter bonnet, a clear reference to the importance hats continued to play in a woman's wardrobe. The hats might not have been bonnets anymore, but they were still worn.

SPORTSWEAR

At the same time that suits and dresses became more formal, sports attire did the opposite. Many women, for example, no longer wore heavy stockings while playing tennis. They played bare-legged in skirts and wore socks, thereby shedding corsets, garters, hose, and other unneeded garments. By 1933, conservative shorts or culottes might occasionally be seen on the courts. Women began wearing slacks for golf, bicycling, and other sports. Sometimes these slack outfits were called "pajamas" because of their loose fit, but they were definitely sportswear, not pajamas. By the middle of the decade, many younger women were being seen in public clad in shorts instead of slacks.[5]

In a similar way, the bathing suit became much more form-fitting and streamlined. Prior to the 1930s, most women's bathing costumes were made of dark, heavy wool, hardly conducive to sunning or swimming. In the early 1930s, designers used new, lighter materials. Two-piece suits became popular by mid-decade as a result. Lastex, with its ability to stretch, became not just the miracle fabric of girdles and other undergarments, but of the swimsuit industry. Women who took swimming seriously wore rubber bathing caps that covered most or all of their hair. These came in a variety of colors and could be coordinated with bathing suits.

One of the side effects of the enthusiasm for outdoor activities was that women acquired suntans. Prior to the mid-1920s, a proper woman avoided the sun. A tan was a cultural taboo; only the poorest working farmer's wife had a sunburned neck and arms, whereas a society lady carried a parasol, wore a wide-brimmed hat or bonnet, and kept her pale skin unblemished. All that changed in the 1930s. Women and men from high society reveled in deep tans acquired on



In this unusual group, we see half a century of women's bathing suits, shown at the Quota Club convention, 1931. The women second from the left and second from the right are wearing the most modern suits for the early 1930s. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

luxury vacations, and the working class soaked up the sun's rays to replicate the look. The stigma disappeared.

COSMETICS AND ACCESSORIES

Following the lead of numerous stars, powder, rouge, and mascara received widespread use and acceptance. Women started putting on dark nail polish, matching it to a lipstick. Names like Max Factor, Elizabeth Arden, Revlon, and Maybelline could be found in even the most humble medicine chest. Women plucked out natural eyebrows and then penciled in sharply arched ones. Fan magazines frequently published features showing a popular actress in the process of applying her makeup and giving advice about techniques.

Not many women could afford expensive jewelry, so costume jewelry became fashionable. Hatpins and clips were an essential part of a basic wardrobe, along with a variety of earrings. Bangle bracelets were also in vogue. Much of the period's costume jewelry featured Art Deco motifs. The zigzags, chevrons, and other geometric shapes that characterize Art Deco architecture were reproduced in enameled pieces, as well as in stamped metal and molded plastic. The closing years of the decade, however, witnessed a return to traditional jewelry, especially Victorian designs.

One breed of dog was immortalized in innumerable pieces of costume adornment: the terrier. President Roosevelt had Fala, his adored Scottish terrier, while William Powell and Myrna Loy had Asta, a wirehaired fox terrier and irrepressible

pooch. It stole many a scene in the *Thin Man* movies of the time. (See Entertainment of the 1930s.) The public loved both pets. Pins, brooches, and other baubles poured into department and jewelry stores and made terriers the dog of choice for millions.

HAIR FASHIONS

The short hair and casual bobs of the 1920s were followed by longer tresses. Marcelled waves and permanents grew in popularity with improved electric curling irons and permanent-wave machines that allowed curls to stay in place for extended periods of time. The sculpted look firmly took hold and, despite the Depression, beauty shops prospered with the new hairstyles.

In the early 1930s, Jean Harlow, "the Blonde Bombshell," introduced platinum blonde hair. The color promptly caught the public fancy, in large part because of the success of Harlow's movies and the enthusiasm of her fans. Not everyone could be a platinum bombshell, but dyes, henna rinses, and bleaches were in vogue as women tried to improve on nature.

John Breck, a New England manufacturer of shampoos, had a stroke of marketing genius in the early thirties. Until then, all commercial shampoos came in only one variety, which washed most normal hair. In 1933, Breck began to package his product in three types: dry, normal, and oily. Soon, Breck's Shampoo was available nationally, and for decades his three varieties dominated the market.[6]

Although the electric hair dryer had been around since the 1920s, during the 1930s refinements such as variable temperature settings and multiple speeds made them a quantum leap ahead of towels and the primitive electric models of a few years earlier.



Jean Harlow in the 1930s, "the Blonde Bombshell," introduced platinum blonde hair. The color promptly caught the public fancy, in large part because of the success of Harlow's movies and the enthusiasm of her fans. AP Photo.

MEN'S FASHIONS

As always, any fashion shifts for men were more evolutionary than revolutionary. The lounge suit, less formal than the traditional business suit, made its appearance. Single-breasted jackets became just as acceptable as the more traditional double-breasted models. The seersucker suit allowed men something lighter than wool and gabardines, and the so-called Palm Beach cotton and mohair suits were big sellers.

Padded shoulders signaled perhaps the biggest style change in men's clothing. Much like women's fashions, the waist was taken in, and the shoulders became broader as the decade passed. The wide trouser from the 1920s remained, although at first somewhat slimmed down from its earlier widths. By the mid-thirties, however, young men's styles displayed high, exaggerated waistbands and a return to extremely wide cuffed bottoms (twenty-two inches was thought stylish). After about 1935, pants were slimmer and straighter again. Older and more conservative males tended to avoid these trends. The zipper fly, a standard on most men's pants by mid-decade, replaced old-fashioned buttons. With that exception, for the average man a suit purchased in 1939 closely resembled one bought in 1930.

Men's bathing apparel was as conservative as their business suits. In the early 1930s, dark, heavy, knit wool trunks and matching sleeveless knit shirts were pretty much the rule at public beaches. Then, a few daring men at New York beaches started going topless. This controversial new custom immediately caught on with young men around the nation. Sears, Roebuck sold topless trunks by 1934. Two-piece male bathing attire fought against this trend for the remainder of the decade, but the one-piece suit and bare chest were the clear victors.[7]

Johnny Weissmuller, the Olympic swimming champion and later the star of a number of *Tarzan* films, modeled swimsuits for BVD. By 1939 he was featured in ads wearing a one-piece topless suit that contained Lastex for a smoother, better fit. His trunks still had the white belt that had been a part of men's bathing attire since the 1920s, but they were essentially an abridged version of the past. Even more daring was the loincloth he sported in *Tarzan, the Ape Man* (1932).



Sports figures Johnny Weissmuller (swimming champion who went on to become Tarzan in films), right, and boxer Jack Dempsey in bathing suits typical of the early 1930s. Dark, heavy, knit wool trunks and similar sleeveless tops were the rule for men, 1930. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Lastex, so important to both women's undergarments and men's swimsuits, also helped modify male fashions in another way. Since the elasticized sock was reinforced with Lastexmen, men no longer needed to use garters to hold up their socks.

Men's underwear also changed. Jockey introduced its now-famous brief in 1934. Until that time, underclothing for men tended to be bulky and generally uncomfortable. Long johns and union suits (i.e., long underwear that covered arms, legs, and torso) were still worn by old-fashioned males, and even scratchy wool undergarments had their adherents. The acceptance of the soft cotton Jockey briefs demonstrated a final rejection of all the clothing restrictions placed on men by the repressive Victorian era.

In the wildly successful movie *It Happened One Night* (1934), Clark Gable removes his outer shirt and reveals he is not wearing an undershirt. Popular mythology has it that the sales of undershirts plummeted after the film's release, although any hard figures to support this are nonexistent. In the same movie, Claudette Colbert dons Gable's pajama top because she has no sleepwear with her. As a result, it is said, millions of women demanded man-styled pajamas of their own. These two stories, embedded as they are in American popular culture, illustrate how people were influenced by what they saw on the screen. (See Entertainment of the 1930s.)

In footwear, the Bass Shoe Company began to produce its famous Bass Weejuns (the odd name comes from the final two syllables of "Norwegian," the shoes' place of ancestry) in 1936. Comfortable, slip-on moccasins, Weejuns became an instant hit among men, particularly college students. They epitomized a more casual mode of dress and helped popularize the term "loafer" for footwear. A custom among many men who wore loafers was to insert a shiny penny in the piece of leather that went across the instep, giving birth to the "penny loafer."[8]

PERSONAL GROOMING

Although their clothing styles may not have changed radically during the decade, some men's personal grooming habits underwent a shift. Most important was the introduction of dry shaving, which replaced the use of a razor and soap. The Schick Corporation introduced the first electric razor in 1931, after much experimentation in its development of a small electric motor. It was an instant success. By the end of the decade, the numerous companies in the electric shaver business were selling 1.5 million models a year. The shavers were not cheap—anywhere from $15 to $25 each—but the high cost did not adversely affect sales.

ANTIPERSPIRANT

Antiperspirants are drugs that reduce moisture produced by glands under the skin's surface. Most modern antiperspirants are combined with deodorants, which use perfumes and bactericidal agents to reduce the odor of bodily secretions. While deodorants are classified as cosmetics, antiperspirants are classified as drugs by the Food and Drug Administration because they alter the physiology of the body. Though the exact mechanism underlying the function of antiperspirants is poorly understood, it is believed that chemicals in the substances temporarily seal pores in the skin, thereby preventing the secretion of moisture. The first deodorant on record, known as "Mum," was introduced in the late nineteenth century, but it wasn't until 1935 that the first antiperspirant, known as "Arrid," sold in the United States. Within the next decade, companies like Arrid began blending antiperspirant and deodorants to create all-purpose grooming aids to prevent both odor and moisture. Over time, competition within the industry increased and led to the invention of new antiperspirant and deodorant products, including the "roll-on" deodorant of the late 1940s and the aerosol sprays of the 1950s. The invention of the antiperspirant was an important step in the history of cosmetics and deodorants, and antiperspirants remain cornerstones of the personal grooming industry today.

Electric shaving became so popular that hotels, ocean liners, trains, and passenger airplanes had to provide outlets in the bathroom. By the end of the decade, electric shavers were being manufactured for women, gaining quick acceptance.

Until the 1930s, antiperspirants and deodorants were marketed almost exclusively for women. It was not considered manly to use such products. But that all changed when advertisers, rather timidly at first, began to target men. Lifebuoy Soap's introduction of the term "B.O." (for "body odor," which was typically spoken with a foghorn-like voice in radio commercials) made a previously unspoken topic shed some of its taboo status.

Most American men still combed their hair in the pompadour style, using hair creams or greases to achieve the slicked down look. Once again, the movies had a significant impact on appearance. As more and more Hollywood actors appeared with their hair untreated and tousled by the breeze, the pomade look gave way. By the end of the decade, many men relied on nothing more than a comb and plain water.

The vast majority of males still wore hats and caps, but these were less formal than in the past. Among the most popular styles were soft felt snap-brims and Panamas, the latter a lightweight, unlined woven hat that was a favorite in warm weather.

CHILDREN'S FASHIONS

The vagaries of fashion did not omit children, especially little girls. During the 1930s, two influences determined the directions their styles took: first, the outfits worn by Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret, two popular members of the English royal family; and second, anything worn by the child star Shirley Temple. These were the days when girls dressed as children, not miniaturized adults. Saque dresses (simple dresses worn with bloomers beneath), pinafores, sunsuits, and playsuits ruled. Cheap to buy and to make, these styles dominated the thirties.

Little boys, on the other hand, wore scaled-down versions of men's suits, and these with shorts rather than pants. Sailor suits were another favorite, complete with scarves, insignia, and bell-bottoms. For

boys ages eight to around twelve, knickers (pants that ended just below the knee and tucked into high argyle socks) continued to be popular. Like men, most boys owned several hats, including the traditional white canvas sailor's cap. Another big seller was the aviator's helmet, a strapped leather item that covered the head, including the ears, with cheap goggles attached. Charles Lindbergh wore one when he flew across the Atlantic, and popular pilots like Wiley Post and Roscoe Turner sported them. (See Travel of the 1930s.)

By adolescence, both girls and boys progressed to adult clothing. Boys shed their shorts for "longies" (long pants), and girls wore more conventional dresses. As teenagers, they were of course exposed to most clothing fads. The severity of the Depression, however, kept many teens from indulging. Most crazes were brief and of little long-term impact.

Food of the 1930s

In his second inaugural address on January 20, 1937, President Franklin D. Roosevelt said, "I see one-third of the nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished," but a trip to a new supermarket would never have revealed such despair. The food sections of the leading magazines and newspapers seldom acknowledged economic realities. Only on occasion did features run regarding cost-saving meals. The government did provide information on cheap, nutritious foods and how to substitute them for high-priced varieties, but the program lacked influence.

Local, state, and federal agencies reported malnutrition among the unemployed. The few cases of actual starvation were limited to large cities or chronically poor groups, such as Appalachian miners. The presence of bread lines testified to the hunger experienced by some. But, although hunger existed, food companies continued to advertise their regular products.

The Great Depression brought about massive governmental transformations, employment patterns went through significant alterations, and dreams of financial security were shattered, but the average American noticed only slight changes in his or her accustomed diet.

During the 1930s, nutritionists—both real and self-proclaimed—stressed the importance of vitamins in a person's diet. As a result, many people took vitamin supplements. Food processors began adding vitamins to their products and boasted how they were "vitamin enriched."[1]

Fashion also entered the nutritional picture. Although the reed-thin flapper of the 1920s was no longer stylish, slimness—especially for women—continued to be the standard for attractiveness. As a result, a wave of diets appeared in the popular press. In an ironic turnabout, some Americans rummaged through garbage for edible scraps, while others tried to limit their intake of food to be thin, thus achieving a fashionable look.

Meanwhile, the production of foodstuffs moved from small producers to large corporations. National brands like Post, Heinz, Kellogg, and Campbell's spent huge amounts on mass media advertising campaigns to keep their products in front of the consumer.

The American Diet

The emphasis on promoting widely known brands and foods led to a general acceptance of an "American diet." Exotic, regional, and ethnic foods fell by the wayside, replaced by a national menu. About the only exception to this shift was Italian cooking, which gained a tenuous foothold in a nation rapidly simplifying its tastes in food. Dishes like spaghetti and meatballs cooked

FOOD HIGHLIGHTS OF THE 1930s

1930 The Continental Baking Company changes the course of commercial bread products forever when it introduces loaves cut into slices.

1930 The Birds Eye label appears with the official introduction of commercially packaged frozen, or "frosted," food. It was named for scientist Clarence Birdseye, who perfected a method of flash-freezing perishables and lent his name (as two separate words) to the new brand of frozen food.

1931 "Pure food" zealot Alfred W. McCann, who throughout the late 1920s had somewhat successfully crusaded against the dangers of "acidosis" (the notion that eating foods in wrong proportions causes "acid" foods to overwhelm alkaline foods, in turn causing dreadful diseases) delivers an impassioned radio address on the subject, only to collapse and die from a heart attack at age 52.

1931 Hostess Twinkies make their first appearance. Easy to put into a lunch pail or pick up on the run, Twinkies are an immediate hit both with those who eat them and, more specifically, with housewives who find relief from one more baking chore.

1931 Mars, Inc., introduces its Snickers candy bar, and Welch's pushes its Sugar Daddy caramel-flavored sucker.

1931 General Mills executive Carl Smith gets the idea for premixed biscuit batter from a chef on board a train. By 1931 Bisquick premixed biscuit mix appears on grocers' shelves, alongside a promotional giveaway, a baking pan.

1932 Fritos Corn Chips are sold in 5¢ bags.

1932 General Foods acquires the rights to sell a German product, Sanka decaffeinated coffee.

1932 Three candy bars are introduced: 3 Musketeers, Heath Bars, and Pay Day.

1933 Kraft Caramels are introduced.

1934 Nabisco's Ritz Crackers appear on the market, using a name derived from the fashionable Ritz Hotel in Paris, connecting crackers with elegance and prestige.

1936 Cartoonist Chic Young invents the "Dagwood sandwich" in his comic strip *Blondie*. It consists of tongue, onion, mustard, sardine, beans, and horseradish, but by 1944, the concoction towers with so many ingredients that Dagwood devises a dowel made from a frankfurter to hold it together.

1936 Mars Bars and 5th Avenue candy bars appear.

1937 Kraft Foods unveils Kraft Dinner in a package that promises a macaroni and cheese "Meal for 4 in 9 minutes."

1937 Ragú spaghetti sauce also creates, within minutes, a traditional hot meal for the table, and cleanup is minimized. Sales soar, and the old idea of laboring over a hot stove takes another blow.

1937 Using a recipe from a chef in New Orleans, Vernon Rudolph starts selling Krispy Kreme doughnuts from a shop in Old Salem in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

1937 Hormel introduces Spam.

1937 General Mills conducts a contest to name the country's most popular baseball announcer for its radio broadcasts sponsored by the Wheaties cereal brand. The top prize is a trip to California and a screen test, and the winner is Ronald "Dutch" Reagan.

1938 Nestlé's Crunch and Hershey's Krackel candy bars are welcomed by the snack-eating public.

in a mild tomato sauce continued to enjoy wide popularity.[2]

Culinary standards dropped some: canned peas may not have been as tasty as fresh ones, but they (and other canned vegetables) were more convenient, possibly cheaper, and had a more consistent, if diluted, quality. In fact, people generally accepted the dilution of quality. Any revolution that did occur happened in the arena of efficiency and economy.

Pockets of distinctive foods held on, despite the relentless popularization of the all-American menu. County fairs, regional festivals, and church bazaars still served the distinctive foods of ethnic groups and specific locales. In the South, pork barbeque continued to be a community favorite, whereas in the West it was beef. Scandinavian dishes were devoured in the north central states, Mexican dishes persisted in the Southwest, and New Englanders still enjoyed boiled dinners.

By the beginning of the 1930s, Americans were reasonably educated about what and what not to consume, so the decade witnessed few changes in dietary habits. Changes took place in technologies for preserving and preparing food and how companies distributed and marketed foodstuffs.

Traditional Grocery Stores

The early 1930s saw a nationwide system of small grocery stores serving both urban neighborhoods and rural areas. In the cities, housewives walked to the friendly grocer to pick up the day's essentials. Except for people who lived in the country or far-flung suburbs, the idea of getting into an automobile and driving to buy groceries would have been unthinkable. In many cases, separate trips to a butcher, a bakery, and maybe a produce dealer took place, since most grocery stores of the era mainly carried staples, such as canned goods and prepackaged products. The full-service supermarket only emerged in the 1930s.

In urban areas, workers delivered dairy products directly to the customer's residence. The milkman made his rounds before dawn, leaving milk, eggs, and butter according to the wishes of the homemaker. Empty bottles, always returnable, were put out on the stoop (an all-purpose term meaning the front door, the back porch, a side entrance, or wherever it was agreed such items would be placed) with notes for the next delivery. Often these items rested in a milk box, a small, insulated container which held several quart bottles, along with a few other items. In more remote rural areas, enterprising village grocers sent huckster wagons out into the countryside. The word "huckster" did not have the negative connotations of cheap salesmanship that it possesses today; in earlier years, it signified a dealer of varied small items. Typically, these wagons contained canned goods and prepared foods, which could be traded for fresh dairy products, eggs, meats, and poultry. Pushcarts were a common urban feature in the 1930s, displaying an array of fresh fruits and vegetables. Grocery outlets out in the country mostly remained small, mom-and-pop enterprises with a decidedly local clientele.[3]

Chain Stores & Supermarkets

Some little stores were part of larger chains, including A&P (The Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company), IGA (Independent Grocers' Alliance), Grand Union, and several others, which laid the groundwork for today's one-stop shopping. Piggly Wiggly, a chain based in the Memphis, Tennessee, area boasted self-service as early as 1916, but the idea caught on slowly. Even in 1930, most chain outlets were still neighborhood groceries. These stores often lacked self-service, seldom had meat counters, instead carrying canned meats rather than fresh cuts, and featured few fruits and vegetables. Their connection to a larger chain entitled them to feature the company's label on various goods and perhaps allowed them to charge a slightly lower price on those products.

The first supermarket pioneers appeared in the thirties. In 1930, the King Kullen Market opened in Jamaica, New York. Called the "World's Greatest Price Wrecker," it was possibly the first real supermarket in the United States. By 1931, the Safeway chain closed many of its small stores and converted them into larger operations. The following year, the Big Bear Super Market opened in Elizabeth, New Jersey, advertising cut-rate prices. In 1933 a Cincinnati-based Albers group dubbed itself Albers Super Mkts., Inc., the first corporate

use of the term "supermarket." That same year, the Kroger chain opened a freestanding store in Indianapolis that boasted a surrounding parking lot, which represented the gradual ending of "walking to the store."[4]

By contemporary standards, these early supermarkets hardly qualified as "super." They had crowded, narrow aisles, and their inventory would look absolutely puny compared to the enormous stock carried by a modern market. Housewives used cloth bags, paper sacks, cardboard boxes, or baskets to carry their purchases. The wheeled shopping cart came into existence in 1937.

The phenomenon of the supermarket was based primarily on low prices, not convenience. In fact, many shoppers called them "cheapies." The first tended to be bare-bones operations, often located in abandoned warehouses, with unfinished wooden shelves and tables holding merchandise. Although the small grocery stores against which they competed were seldom much better aesthetically, their cozier neighborhood ambience perhaps made them seem more pleasant.

Early supermarkets did, however, offer lower prices. Buying in bulk and selling in quantity attracted customers, particularly during the depression. A media-driven campaign to create the image of the thrifty housewife, a woman skilled in shopping and economical food preparation changed attitudes about buying patterns. Lower prices encouraged consumers to save money at every turn. The picture of the smart shopper emerged as a dominant motif during the Depression.[5]

Self-Service

Perhaps the most significant shopping innovation of the 1930s was self-service. Until then, most stores, with the exception of the Piggly Wiggly markets (Kroger offered some self-service innovations in several of its early stores), consisted of shelves along the walls holding the goods, and a counter strategically placed, which blocked the customer from reaching the groceries. Instead, the grocer took the shopper's order, and assistants gathered the desired items and placed them on the counter. Next, they were bagged, the bill totaled, money changed hands or credit was arranged (if a customer was known, weekly or monthly tallies were commonplace), and this completed the transaction. There were few opportunities to read labels, compare packaging, or do all the other little things that self-service enabled.

The shift to self-service forced grocers to cut back on some services, such as home delivery. The delivery boy did not disappear entirely, however. A special bicycle, called a "cycle truck," with a small front wheel allowed an oversized wire basket capable of holding several bulging sacks of purchases to be attached ahead of the handlebars. A common sight in American cities throughout the first half of the century, these trucks carried mail, ferried parts within a large factory, and did general hauling. During the 1930s, such bicycles emphasized the familiarity between grocer and consumer.

The practice of phoning in an order to a favorite grocer also began to decline. The size and anonymity of larger stores precluded this kind of close relationship, just as most of them refused to grant credit to shoppers. The custom of holding or reserving special items for special customers also grew less common.

On the positive side, a bigger store meant a larger inventory. Instead of one brand of canned peas, a supermarket might feature two or three. The careful shopper could save a few precious cents by comparison buying. Consumers free to wander the aisles might become aware of new products or new brands. The big food manufacturers were supportive of self-service, and they worked hard to gain prominent placement in the new stores. And, if they were willing to admit it, many old-time grocers also welcomed the idea. Self-service reduced their labor costs, which in turn increased profitability. By 1937, supermarkets accounted for about one-third of the grocery business.

New Products

In 1939, A&P introduced the self-service meat department. It had its own line of prepackaged meats, allowing the customer to choose cuts and sizes without a clerk.

Until the late 1930s, perhaps a few boxes of frozen vegetables might be seen inside a large,

glass-fronted freezer cabinet. The shopper had no access, so an assistant on the other side retrieved whatever choices the buyer made. Most boxes bore the red, white, and blue Birds Eye label. The official introduction of commercially packaged frozen, or "frosted," food took place in 1930, thanks to the efforts of Clarence Birdseye, the scientist who perfected a method of flash-freezing perishables and lent his name (as two separate words) to the industry leader.

Actually, frozen foods were not new; since early in the century growers had packed berries and fruits in a mix of ice and salt for wholesale distribution later. Birds Eye, on the other hand, solved the dual problem of freezing small quantities of produce quickly in order to preserve texture and flavor and putting it up in consumer-sized packages. Birds Eye developed a modern, less expensive, freezer case around 1934 and leased it to grocers for next to nothing. Soon, both grocers and consumers overcame their reluctance, and frozen food became a standard item in stores. Birds Eye also helped its cause by printing and distributing small, pamphlet-like cookbooks (e.g., *20 Minute Meals,* 1932).

Candy

Because sugar was inexpensive during the 1930s, it became a cooking staple in the home. Manufacturers also used sugar freely in many commercial products. In fact, people consumed more sugar per capita during the Depression than ever before or since.

The cheap cost of sugar allowed candy manufacturers to keep prices low. The strong sales that candy bars maintained in the face of an economic depression convinced manufacturers to bring out new, sweet concoctions. In 1931, Mars, Inc., introduced its Snickers bar, Hostess brought out Twinkies, and Welch's pushed its Sugar Daddy sucker. A year later, Mars promoted the 3 Musketeers, a blend of one part chocolate nougat, one part vanilla, and one part strawberry. The toffee-flavored Heath Bar came along in 1932, as did Pay Day. Kraft Caramels debuted the next year; Mars Bars and 5th Avenue came out in 1936. An Amos 'n Andy candy bar even appeared, based on the popular radio series of the same name. When the popularity of the show waned during the 1940s, the bar disappeared.[6]

Food Preparation

During the 1930s, food trends focused on products that involved little or no tedious preparation. For many reasons, the live-in cook had become a thing of the past by the 1920s.

Technology altered the traditional rhythms of American life. Companies introduced new appliances, but women still faced chores that in earlier times a maid would have done. Middle-class American women discovered that expectations about what they should do were being raised, not lowered, despite the innovations. They were supposed to be volunteers, join clubs, participate in leisure activities, have hours and energy remaining for their children, and spend more time with their husbands.

As a result, the ritual of dining went through significant change. Meals became simpler, with fewer courses, featured less complex menus, which meant fewer dishes to clean. When Campbell's figured out in the 1890s how to condense soup (eliminating the water, the consumer would replace it when preparing the soup), it hit upon what would be the major trend in processed food thereafter: package the product in the simplest way possible and keep any preparation to a minimum. The big food processors and manufacturers enthusiastically participated in this conversion. For them, it meant the opportunity to introduce new products that could be advertised offering "speed," "simplicity," and "efficiency."

A good example is Bisquick, which made its first appearance in grocery stores in 1931. It promised to lighten the housewife's workload, and it did. A mix of flour and baking soda, Bisquick enabled baking (especially "quick biscuits") in one easy step. Although it was a boon to cooks, it added to the woes of bakeries. Already reeling from the Depression, one-third of all American baking establishments went out of business between 1930 and 1933. Sales of baked goods plummeted, and millions of households turned to home baking as a means of cutting costs. Of course, much of this drop was accounted for by fewer sales of commercial desserts: pies, cakes, and fancy pastries

were among the first things to be cut from tight budgets.

Another example is Spam. Introduced by Hormel in early 1937, Spam was truly unique. It came in a small, rectangular can that could be opened by a key that unrolled a metal strip. The vacuum sealed container let out a little whoosh of air when a person turned the key. The strip came off, a knife was run around the insides, loosing the spiced, processed meat from the can, and Spam was ready to serve. Spam required no heating, although it could be fried, broiled, or chopped up and served with other dishes; indeed, its uses were only limited by one's imagination. Best of all, Spam was inexpensive. Spam entered the national diet almost from the moment it appeared and typified the urge for effortless cooking.

Ragú spaghetti sauce (1937) and Kraft macaroni and cheese dinners (also 1937) illustrate the quest for kitchen simplicity. Neither product required much preparation other than serving; culinary purists might have grimaced at the thought, but the average housewife obviously felt otherwise. Within minutes, a traditional hot meal could be put on the table, and cleanup was minimum. Sales soared, and the old idea of laboring over a hot stove took another blow.

Fritos Corn Chips (1932), Nabisco's Ritz Crackers (1934), and Lay's Potato Chips (1939) provided easy snacks and additions to meals. A popular recipe in the 1930s was to take some crackers, butter them, and toast them in the oven. A variation had the consumer dipping the cracker in water and then heating it so it would puff up. These new approaches to an old commodity were promptly embraced by the public, with Ritz Crackers rivaling Spam for the varied ways they could be fixed and served.

Not all the pre-prepared, precooked food of the 1930s went solely to adults. The Fremont Canning Company, based in Michigan, began experimenting with strained foods in the late 1920s. During the 1930s, Fremont was recognized for its Gerber Baby Foods, and they dominated a relatively new niche in groceries. Until that time, food for infants was a specialty product, usually found in drugstores. Gerber, however, marketed its jars of strained foods to the public as an everyday item in grocery stores, and succeeded beyond anyone's expectations. On all their jars was a drawing of a cute baby, done by artist Dorothy Hope Smith in 1928. It became their trademark and contributed mightily to their success. By the early 1930s the Gerber sketch had become America's best-known baby. Within a few years, the product line had undergone expansion, and American mothers considered the new baby foods an essential part of any grocery list.[7]

Refrigeration

For much of the decade, most average Americans still owned iceboxes. Usually built with a wooden exterior that enclosed some form of insulated interior, iceboxes ranged from a basic one-compartment unit to more sophisticated models with several doors and different interior arrangements. No matter how fancy, the icebox required a block (or blocks) of ice as a refrigerant. The degree of insulation reflected the quality of the box, but inevitably the ice would melt and have to be replaced. That meant the iceman would have to stop by, usually via horse-drawn wagon, although trucks began to appear more and more by the late 1930s. He carried large blocks of ice. He chipped off a chunk that fit neatly into the home icebox.

By modern standards, iceboxes were messy and inefficient, with limited storage capacities. The ice melted rather rapidly, and despite drains and other devices, the housewife always had to contend with diminishing cold, along with drips and puddles. Finally, iceboxes did not hold much food, given their refrigerating limitations. This disadvantage necessitated frequent visits to the market to restock perishables.

In 1925, the General Electric Company (GE) introduced what came to be called the Monitor Top refrigerator. The compressor motor was housed in a cylinder (the "monitor") atop the actual refrigerator. By 1929, GE sold some 50,000 of these, and the modern kitchen was becoming a reality. Despite the Depression, the company's sales passed 1 million units in 1931 and continued to climb.

With the success of its refrigerator assured, and with profits rolling in, General Electric had the lion's share of the market. The Monitor Top cost an expensive $525 in the 1920s, but it came down to a more reasonable $290 ($3,500 in today's dollars)

in the early 1930s. In an effort to keep sales strong in a depressed economy, GE convinced Hollywood to produce a one-hour documentary called *Three Women* (1935). Starring, among others, the gossip columnist Hedda Hopper and the cowboy actor Johnny Mack Brown, it celebrated the "complete electric kitchen."[8]

In 1935 Sears, Roebuck hired noted designer Raymond Loewy to create a streamlined refrigerator for their Coldspot brand. This particular unit, far more contemporary than the pedestrian Monitor Top, later became a design classic. At the same time, rivals Kelvinator and Frigidaire sold large numbers of their own models. By 1941, more than 3 million electric refrigerators could be found in American kitchens.

The Depression-era electric refrigerator was an improvement, but it did have limitations. The freezer space was a minuscule interior box with a couple of small trays of ice cubes—a big advance over chipping off pieces of ice from a block—and the unit had a shallow meat tray directly underneath. Frost collected throughout the freezing compartment of the refrigerator, forcing the owner to defrost it periodically by removing everything from the interior of the unit and getting rid of the accumulated ice and frost.



1930s-era refrigerator. This model has no freezer, an innovation that began to be introduced later in the decade. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

With the advent of frozen foods, the tiny box inside the refrigerator was not nearly large enough. Most frozen foods and ice cream had to be consumed when purchased, and meat could not be bought in any quantity. Manufacturers addressed this issue, and by the end of the 1930s the latest models had considerably larger freezing compartments. Both the food companies and the appliance makers published pamphlets that showed the housewife how to use the new devices, and gave hints and recipes that aided in the actual cooking processes. For example, GE had *The Silent Hostess Treasure Book* (1930), Westinghouse printed *The Refrigerator Book* (1933), *Famous Dishes from Every State* came from Frigidaire in 1936.[9]

In 1930, the Proctor Company (later Proctor-Silex) brought out a pop-up toaster that improved on previous designs, leading to many new toasters, sandwich grills, waffle irons, and similar appliances during the decade. In keeping with the Streamline Moderne vogue, many of these models were sleek, rounded, and chromed. They could be brought directly to the table, instead of being kept in the kitchen. The housewife could then join her family, in keeping with the attitude that a woman's place extended beyond the confines of the kitchen.

A popular pastime in the 1930s was inviting friends or neighbors over for an informal supper. Often these gatherings were potluck, with each guest providing a dish. With everyone contributing, individual expenses were minimal. Since informality ruled, cooking at the table—using, for example, an electric grill or an electric waffle iron—proved sociable. No one thought it improper to prepare food so publicly with shiny new appliances. In 1930, the Sunbeam Corporation introduced its Mixmaster, destined to become a staple in American kitchens. Priced inexpensively, it allowed the cook to stir, cream, fold, and blend. It also further simplified cooking. Despite the Depression, the Mixmaster sold briskly, and

Sunbeam came out with a whole line of accessories, from juice extractors to choppers and shredders. With its success, the word "Mixmaster" entered the language to denote any home mixer.

In the early years of the century, the Hamilton Beach Company had designed a high-speed electric mixer for restaurant and drugstore soda fountains. They, along with their competitors, improved on the simple gadget. The Waring Blendor—always spelled with an *o*—capitalized on the popularity of bandleader Fred Waring. In reality, he did not invent it; he just lent his name and financial support to it. Company officials introduced Maestro Waring to the device in 1936, and he saw it as a way to make frothy, iced drinks, principally daiquiris, which he favored. The machine's inventor had been pushing it for milkshakes, but with Waring's backing, the Blendor quickly became identified as a bar accessory.[10]

EATING OUT

During the Depression, the majority of people ate most of their meals at home, with the one possible exception being lunch. Nevertheless, many individuals frequented commercial establishments, such as those who chose not to cook, or those who were on the road and unable to do so.[11]

Diners

In urban areas diners were a familiar sight, an outgrowth of the old-fashioned food stand and lunch wagon. Diners, however, evolved into distinctive architectural entities. Once a place for workingmen to grab a bite near a factory, later models were shiny, streamlined eateries that catered to anyone wanting a meal: rich or poor, blue-collar or professional.

Diners were always cheap, a step up from a hot dog stand, but a step or two removed from "real" restaurants. They usually stayed open twenty-four hours, seven days a week. Their menus were endless, and they served breakfast all day long. By the end of the decade, thousands of diners dotted the downtowns and roadsides of American cities. Numerous companies mass produced stainless steel structures that resembled a railroad dining car. They could be trucked to a site, and erected in a matter of hours. The resultant design—a long, narrow room with a shiny, plastic-topped counter running its length, complete with chrome stools and booths upholstered in plastic—became part of the American scene.

Restaurants

By the end of the 1920s, some 2,400 chain restaurants existed in the United States; despite the Depression, the number grew to about 3,000 by 1939. Most eating establishments, however, were still individually owned and operated. Howard Johnson's, usually associated with multiple flavors of ice cream, pioneered the concept of franchising. Instead of owning his restaurants outright, Johnson sold the privilege of running them to agents or franchisees. These investors replicated the firm's distinctive Colonial building with the bright orange roof and cupola; they used the same menu, offered the same twenty-odd ice cream flavors, and took a percentage of the profits. Ultimate control, however, remained with Howard Johnson, the owner. By 1940, Johnson had more than 125 sites, with only one-third of them owned directly by the company. The rest were franchised.

The success of urban chain restaurants led to imitation. Names like Toddle House, Krystal, and White Castle became familiar sights on busy street corners throughout the country. As a rule, they catered to busy working people during the day and to individuals and small groups at night. On the other hand, restaurants like A&W Root Beer and Hot Shoppes (started in 1927 by the Marriott Hotel family) aimed more for the suburban market, particularly people with cars. These roadside stands were not drive-ins, which, although initiated in the 1930s, did not flourish until after World War II. The stands usually located their operations in less densely populated suburban neighborhoods, often adjacent to the popular auto camps and tourist cabins outside city centers. These locations made them attractive to family-oriented customers, especially travelers. By employing standardized designs, building materials, and menus, the chains were the precursors of the fast-food restaurants of today. Their standardization kept costs down and made them



Kewpee Hotels "Hamburgs" restaurant, a good example of a streamlined diner, ca. 1938. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

attractive eating places for millions of Americans looking for quick, cheap food.

One entrepreneur who closely observed the growth of both chain and independent dining was Duncan Hines. Over the years, he compiled a list of his likes and dislikes in American restaurants. In lieu of Christmas cards, he shared this list with friends. Finally, in 1936 he published it as *Adventures in Good Eating*. The book went through innumerable editions and sold 450,000 copies by the end of the decade.

In his book, Hines stressed cleanliness, neatness, decor (too much decoration probably hid dirt, in his estimation), good coffee, and the serving of hearty portions of solid American food (meat and potatoes), and maybe an occasional seafood item. Hines did as much as nutritionists, home economists, and the big food processors to nationalize the American diet, at least on the road. Many a restaurateur proudly displayed a sign that read "Recommended by Duncan Hines" by the entrance.

Tearooms

When people wanted to dine out inexpensively and wanted a place more upscale than a diner, they chose tearooms. Tearooms gained popularity by capitalizing on the concept of a quiet, intimate restaurant that served nothing stronger than tea or coffee. They seemed the antithesis of saloons, were less bright and mechanical than a

diner, and appealed to both women and families. Many historic buildings or quaint refurbished houses had tearooms, thus reinforcing their safe image and attracting patrons in search of a picturesque setting.

With fewer people eating out during the 1930s, many tearooms failed. In addition, the attempts by tearoom owners to make the surroundings charming and cozy failed to appeal to men. Supporters of the overall tearoom concept—no alcohol, an emphasis on salads and other wholesome food—suggested that perhaps a new name was in order if such places expected to stay in business. What emerged in the later 1930s was the term "motor inn," which suggested a rural, folksy setting, but also suggested the more masculine automobile in its nuances. This new connotation led to the increasing acceptance of the family-oriented restaurant, making it a permanent part of the highway landscape.

DRINK

Alcoholic Beverages

From 1920 until 1933, the Eighteenth Amendment, or Volstead Act, prohibited the sale or purchase of alcoholic beverages. Prohibition took a heavy toll on brewers, distillers, and places that served alcohol. The Twenty-first Amendment, or Repeal, was passed in 1933, and people were again free to enjoy alcoholic beverages, restaurants could serve them, and stores could sell bottled alcoholic beverages.

During the years of Prohibition, restaurateurs watched profits shrink, often to the point of bankruptcy. Alcoholic drinks historically served as moneymakers in the restaurant trade; when alcohol could no longer be served legally, business suffered unless drinks were served illegally—as they were in many restaurants. Prohibition resulted in the rise of the speakeasies, establishments where one knocked, gave a password, and then entered a secret world of glitter, fun, and drinks. The illegality of liquor made it expensive; smugglers, bootleggers, and occasional gangsters had to be paid off, often along with cooperative police officers. Being able to drink was a mark of conspicuous consumption and rebellion; it meant a person had the cash necessary to indulge a habit not sanctioned by the government. It allowed people to thumb their noses at authority.[12]

The gangster films of Edward G. Robinson (e.g., *Little Caesar,* 1930) and James Cagney (e.g., *Public Enemy,* 1931) chronicled the crime waves of the late 1920s and early 1930s. Images of tough guys and loose women, along with silver flasks and freely flowing liquor, influenced public attitudes toward law and order. It became stylish to laugh at any drinking restrictions; they were in place for others, not for a smart guy—or smart woman. One particularly strong image at this time was of men and women drinking together, a change from earlier years when drinking was primarily a male prerogative.

The sophisticated dramas and comedies of the era showed similar views of public alcohol consumption. In her first talking movie role (*Anna Christie,* 1930), Greta Garbo whispered "viskey with ginger ale," and audiences loved it. Jean Harlow, clad in a slinky gown, sipped a cocktail in *Platinum Blonde* (1931). Evidently, fashionable people consumed alcohol and made no secret of it.

One product that survived Prohibition was "near beer." The Volstead Act defined illegal beverages as anything containing more than .5 percent alcohol. A concoction that had been around since the early 1900s, near beer was .4 percent alcohol. Supplying yeast and malt for the production of this beverage helped many breweries stay in business. A variation on near beer was "needle beer," regular near beer spiked with spirits. Needless to say, this latter variant was illegal, but its consumption flourished both in homes and speakeasies.

Because of alcohol's high cost during Prohibition, most drinkers tended to be middle class or above; the old imagery of alcohol being the curse of the poor and downtrodden no longer held true. Thus, when Repeal came along, a new class of consumers was in place. Repeal broadened the base, but drinking in the 1930s lost most of the stigma it had held prior to Prohibition.

During Prohibition, Americans consumed alcohol that was inferior or adulterated, a risk that

a large proportion of citizens seemed willing to take; an unknown number of people were blinded or crippled by adulterated alcohol. The consumption of inferior alcohol suggested that most Americans were drinking for the effect of alcohol, not for the taste of it or for its social aspects. When evidence increasingly supported this supposition, the pressure for repeal grew.

Even with Repeal, over one-third of the states, mainly in the South, imposed their own prohibition laws. Three continued to ban the sale of all alcohol other than a weak beer with 3.2 percent alcohol content (most commercial beers contained a higher percentage). Fifteen states, again mostly in the South, outlawed any sales "by the drink," effectively blocking taverns, cocktail lounges, and the like from selling alcohol. The public may have welcomed Repeal, but the states (or often, counties and cities) remained deeply divided.

The end of Prohibition brought numerous advertising campaigns by distilleries, breweries, and wine makers. When it had been illegal, drinking was done on the sly, leading many to associate drinking with secrecy and isolation. The advertisements therefore sought to inform people that responsible social drinking could be considered appropriate behavior. They stressed that no one should feel embarrassed purchasing or consuming alcohol in public, provided it was done in moderation.

After Repeal, a smaller percentage of American women drank, either publicly or privately. Apparently the permissive attitudes of the 1920s, at least for women, did not endure after the end of Prohibition. Most people thought men could drink, but that same majority thought women should not.

Because of the negative connotations associated with the words "saloon" and "bar," terms like "lounge" or "cocktail lounge" became popular. With Repeal, these new establishments flourished in most larger cities. At the same time, private dinners and cocktail parties at home remained in vogue, a carryover of Prohibition practices. The Adolph Coors Brewing Company capitalized on the desire of many Americans to consume alcohol at home. In 1935 they introduced beer in cans. Previously it had been available only in returnable bottles or on tap. The disposable can gave the consumer even greater freedom—and privacy—in his or her drinking habits.

Soft Drinks

Since its birth in the late nineteenth century, soft drink consumption has risen steadily. Certainly, the Depression did not dampen this national appetite for sweet, sugary drinks. Sugar was cheap, as were the other ingredients, primarily carbonated water and flavoring, so bottlers could keep prices low.

Ever since its invention in 1886, Coca-Cola has been the industry leader, and the company was not enthusiastic about Repeal. It ran a series of "Back to Normal" advertisements in 1933, where "normal" was a veiled reference to the return of legal consumption of alcoholic beverages. The ads depicted tired, frowning people who were quickly refreshed by imbibing a Coke. Their sudden alertness was a subtle reminder about alcohol and its negative effects.

In 1930, Coca-Cola began to distribute coin-operated coolers to businesses around the country, another industry first. Drop in a nickel and get an ice-cold Coke. Three years later they created a fountain machine that instantly mixed syrup and carbonated water, replacing the previous manual procedure, which was time-consuming and occasionally inaccurate.

Coca-Cola's primary competitor has long been Pepsi-Cola, a derivative cola drink created in 1898. In its never-ending attempts to overtake its arch-rival, Pepsi ran a memorable ditty in which a male chorus extols the good taste of Pepsi and what a great bargain it is for the consumer. The jingle was a direct jab at Coca-Cola; Pepsi had taken to bottling their soda in twelve-ounce bottles, but continued to charge five cents. Coke, on the other hand, was charging a nickel for its 6.5-ounce bottle, then the industry standard. Coca-Cola ignored Pepsi's challenge. Those extra 5½ ounces of Pepsi cost the bottler little more; the beverage itself was extremely cheap, and a twelve-ounce container cost about the same as a smaller one.[13]

Other sodas also occupied the grocer's shelves. Two brands that managed to survive the Depression were Moxie (first brewed in 1876, but not marketed as a soft drink until 1884) and Dr Pepper (1885).

Although it never became a national best seller, Moxie challenged Coke and Pepsi in some

markets. The trade name "Moxie" entered American speech: it meant vigor, nerve (courage), or skill. To have moxie therefore came to signify admirable traits, a fortunate connection between the product and the language.

Dr Pepper was marketed in its early years as a tonic that promoted "Vim, Vitality, and Vigor." Its most memorable campaign, however, grew out of the Depression. Consumers were urged to "Drink a bite to eat at 10–2 & 4 o'clock." The concept caught on, and for many years thereafter, Dr Pepper was the third-ranked soft drink, right behind Coke and Pepsi.

Various ginger ales, flavored sodas, natural blends like root beer and birch beer (with no alcohol), as well as citrus-based products like 7 Up and other lemon-lime sodas also had fans. Originally sold as an antacid, 7 Up used "Takes the 'Ouch' out of Grouch" as its slogan in the 1930s.[14]

Coffee and Tea

Coffee and tea remained favorites throughout the Depression. General Foods, which already owned best-selling Maxwell House coffee, acquired rights to sell a German product, Sanka decaffeinated coffee, in 1932. The name Sanka came from the phrase "sans caffeine" (without caffeine). Teas also sold well, although many thought that tea was for women, whereas coffee was a more manly beverage, a perception that continued throughout the 1930s and beyond.

Music of the 1930s

In 1932, Duke Ellington penned a little ditty called "It Don't Mean a Thing (If It Ain't Got That Swing)." Hardly his greatest composition, its title nevertheless sums up the music scene for much of the 1930s. Swing was king, and all other music had to follow in its footsteps. In no period, before or since, has one musical form so captured the popular fancy. The 1920s has been labeled the Jazz Age, more for its association with gangsters, drinking, sex, and general disregard for gentility than for the music itself. The 1930s, on the other hand, may properly be labeled the Swing Age.

Perhaps the best way to describe the swing phenomenon is to say that it involved a contagious rhythmic feeling, a desire to snap the fingers, tap the toes, and get up and dance. That definition, of course, focuses on the physical side of swing. Historically, swing referred to the emergence of innumerable large bands during the 1930s that performed primarily for dancers, which is not to say that swing was limited to orchestras. To be sure, sextets, quartets, trios, and singers all "swung."

The swing of the 1930s grew out of jazz, and yet those who embraced swing were not all necessarily familiar with jazz. Swing was part of a much larger cultural, historical, and musical movement that swept aside virtually everything before it.

The Crash of 1929 hit the music business hard. Two-thirds of the nation's unionized musicians were out of work by 1933. The solution to the problem was out there, but it took several years for struggling bands, record companies, and radio producers to discover it.

BLACK MUSICIANS

A number of trailblazing black orchestras during the 1920s and early 1930s experimented with new directions in music. Recording executives thought an insufficient audience existed for these bands, and tended to ignore most of their efforts. A few companies, looking to niche audiences, did issue what they called "race records." These were recordings of blues and jazz, almost always by black performers and aimed at black consumers. It was eventually discovered—particularly when sales were down—that a growing number of white listeners also displayed a strong interest in this music.

The dawn of the 1930s saw a significant audience already familiar with many different bands, both black and white. Unfortunately, the few black musicians known to a white public were usually heard on recordings, since most clubs and other outlets observed strict segregation, and most radio stations refused to play black artists. The

opportunities to perform before white audiences were therefore limited, and integrated bands were virtually unheard of until the later 1930s.

For example, the Fletcher Henderson orchestra was probably the hottest band in the land at the beginning of the 1930s, but the ban on black musicians kept his genius concealed from a potentially huge audience. Although Henderson finally recorded for the Victor record label in 1932, a lack of effective promotion and distribution kept his music from spreading. It was not until 1935, when Henderson began selling arrangements to Benny Goodman, that recognition came, and then it arrived through a successful white band.

JAZZ

Jazz arose from African American culture but also took elements from other musical traditions, including the folk music of the antebellum (pre–Civil War) period. Musical elements seen as central to jazz music, such as call-and-response and improvisation, have their roots in earlier traditions, and yet it was within African American culture, with influence from traditional African and spiritual music, that jazz developed into a unique musical genre. In the 1930s, big band jazz was the most popular sub-genre, featuring ensembles of 10–20 musicians and music composed by a small group of songwriters who gained national prominence. A number of lasting figures in the jazz community got their start playing with the big bands of the 1930s, including Frank Sinatra, Billie Holiday, Benny Goodman, and Ella Fitzgerald. In the 1940s, a new and innovative jazz form called "bebop" emerged. In contrast to the big band jazz, bebop emphasized smaller groups in which each musician found greater opportunity for individual expression. It was during the bebop era when instrumentalists like Dizzy Gillespie and Charlie Parker captivated audiences with their talent for inventive, on-the-spot soloing. In ensuing decades, jazz found new expressions through fusion with other genres of music. From its origins in African American communities, jazz became one of the most enduring musical traditions. In the twenty-first century jazz music has become a global endeavor, with groups representing all genres, from the pre-jazz folk music and blues to modern and fusion jazz of later generations.

The Big Bands

One black entertainer who gained recognition among white audiences was trumpeter Louis Armstrong (1901–1971). A native of New Orleans, Armstrong established considerable fame playing jazz with a variety of groups. He was widely recorded, especially as an accompanist to blues singers, and by 1930 his throaty vocals were becoming as popular as his trumpet playing. Several successful European tours added to his fame, and by 1936 he even had a part in *Pennies from Heaven,* a movie musical with Bing Crosby. Armstrong joined an elite minority of black personalities who had access to the white-dominated worlds of stage, screen, and radio.

Despite segregation, word spread in musical circles about a new dance music, and this word filtered down to a growing public. Sometimes it was gotten out by bands playing in large cities at clubs or dance halls; more often it was delivered by groups large and small that crisscrossed the country, playing wherever and whenever they could.

As bands began to proliferate, they were divided into two categories: swing or sweet. A *swing orchestra* played many up-tempo numbers, emphasizing rhythm and hard-driving arrangements that revealed the jazz roots anchoring the music. They encouraged listeners to get up and dance. These are the bands—Benny Goodman, Harry James, Count Basie, Duke Ellington, Artie Shaw—that are recalled from the period and given critical attention.

A *sweet orchestra,* on the other hand, continued the tradition of country club music, a more sedate and restrained approach to performance. Its innocuous, bouncy rhythms never got in the way of conversation and dinner. At the time, the sweet bands—Guy Lombardo and His Royal Canadians, Hal Kemp, Eddie Duchin, Wayne King ("The Waltz King"), Fred Waring and His Pennsylvanians, and Sammy Kaye ("Swing and Sway with Sammy Kaye"), to name just a few—drew equally large crowds and sold almost as many recordings.



Louis Armstrong conducting band, NBC microphone in foreground, 1937. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

One of the most popular groups of the later 1930s, the Glenn Miller Orchestra, illustrates both the differences and the similarities between the sweet and swing categories. Miller played slow, syrupy ballads, often sung by a vocalist who made no attempt to "swing" the lyric. But he also performed jazz-tinged arrangements of up-tempo tunes that any swing band could envy.

RECORDINGS AND SHEET MUSIC

The entertainment industry watched the public grow more attuned to swing music. At the time, Americans usually learned about new trends in music through sheet music, phonograph recordings, and their radios. Sales of sheet music, which date back to colonial times, remained impressive throughout the 1920s. A popular hit could sell 500,000 copies or more. By the 1930s and the Depression, however, the bottom fell out of the sheet music market. A song that boasted sales over 200,000 copies was considered a real success. Woolworth's, once a primary seller, closed its sheet music departments, leaving Kresge's, a dime-store chain, as the main outlet. Never again would sheet music be an important component of popular music.[1]

Mass production of recordings had begun in the 1890s; by 1910, records were the primary means of producing music in homes. With the onset of the Depression, recording income plunged from $46 million in 1930 to $5 million in 1933. In the late 1920s, the sale of over 350,000 records qualified a song as a hit. By 1931, that figure was 40,000

records. The combination of sound pictures and radio struck the industry hard; in desperation, the leading recording companies slashed prices to an average of 35 to 75 cents a disc. But even that drastic measure failed to boost sales appreciably.[2]

In 1932, Victor introduced the Duo, a 78-rpm turntable that jacked into a radio; it had no tubes or speakers. The Duo sold for a rock-bottom $16.50 and was an immediate success. It could not prevent record sales from continuing their decline, however. It was not until 1934 that swing music helped record sales begin to return to their former levels.

THE TRIUMPH OF SWING

In the summer of 1938, a swing festival on Randall's Island in New York City drew 24,000 people. The event featured twenty-five bands and lasted some six hours. In December of that year, musicologist, critic, and record producer John Hammond organized "From Spirituals to Swing," with staid Carnegie Hall again providing the stage. Hammond, who played a major role in launching Benny Goodman, Billie Holiday, Count Basie, Bessie Smith, and Robert Johnson (and much later Bob Dylan and Bruce Sprinsteen) brought forth a second edition of the concert in 1939.

Swing also improved record sales. Sales reached $26 million in 1938, selling at a rate of 700,000 discs a month, a majority of which were swing recordings. By 1939, eager buyers were snatching up 140 million recordings a year. Said Duke Ellington, "Jazz is music; swing is *business.*"[3]

Two national magazines closely followed the swing phenomenon, chronicling its meteoric rise

BENNY GOODMAN (1909–1986)

Radio figured prominently in the popularization of swing, since this was the way most Americans heard music in the 1930s. From late 1934 until May 1935, a young clarinetist named Benny Goodman participated in a Saturday night broadcast on NBC radio. He and his orchestra split airtime with Xavier Cugat, a Latin bandleader, and Ken Murray, maestro for a decidedly sweet group. The coast-to-coast show was called *Let's Dance,* a name shared with Goodman's theme song. Goodman left the radio show in 1935 and embarked on a nationwide east-to-west road tour with his band. For much of the journey, the group did not do well. Audiences wanted current hits or old standards. Frustrated, the band pulled into the Palomar Ballroom in Los Angeles in August 1935, only to discover that the Angelenos were ready for them. They had been listening to *Let's Dance* and wanted more of the same. The concert was a rousing success.

On its way back east, the band played to a warm welcome in Chicago, where the new music was called "swing." The name stuck, and the Swing Era was officially under way, with Goodman assuming the mantle of the King of Swing. In June 1936, *Saturday Night Swing Session* debuted on CBS. In March 1937, Goodman played at the Paramount Theater on Times Square in New York City. As the band performed, the audience, mostly young people, got up and danced in the aisles. Goodman returned to the Paramount in 1938, and the same thing happened. Adolescents, mainly from the working class, were taking an event and turning it into a national fad.

On January 16, 1938, Benny Goodman and His Orchestra stormed one of the citadels of high culture, Carnegie Hall. That evening he played a "jazz concert," although "swing concert" would probably have been more accurate. The black-tie audience tapped its feet, and swing became the talk of the land.

The Carnegie Hall venture included black musicians—Teddy Wilson, Count Basie, Lionel Hampton, among others—performing side by side with their white counterparts. In a segregated society, swing acted as a bridge, bringing blacks and whites together. In addition, it assimilated popular and high culture in ways seldom attempted before. Any resistance to swing was soon worn down as its popularity swept across the country. Benny Goodman continued his critically acclaimed career after the 1930s, incorporating bebop styles in his performances and recordings of the 1940s. He returned to swing and then classical music, performing, among others, the music of Bela Bartok, Wolfgang Mozart, Morton Gould, Aaron Copland, and Leonard Bernstein.



Duke Ellington, composer, orchestra leader, and jazz pianist, is seen in a publicity photograph of 1933 just prior to his first European tour opening at the London Palladium, June 12, 1933. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

and eventual fall in the mid-1940s. Chicago-based *Downbeat* (founded 1934) and New York-based *Metronome* (founded 1932; an outgrowth of two previous publications of the same name dating back to the 1880s) quickly established large circulations. Both journals were fiercely combative about jazz and swing, taking to task anyone who voiced opposition to either. In addition, each had annual popularity polls that significantly influenced record sales.

MUSIC AND THE DEPRESSION

Since the nation was enduring an economic depression in this era of musical innovation, one would expect that at least part of the period's music would reflect the crisis. Numerous songs about those difficult times were written, but few of them were heard by a mass audience. There were union songs and protest songs, along with songs about miners and farmers and migrants, but there were no big-hit topical songs.

The nation's obliviousness to topical songs came about, in part, because the focus of American popular music was narrowing. While song music and lyrics grew in sophistication, their subject increasingly became that of romantic love. Very little music that reached large audiences addressed the issues of the day.

"Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?" (Jay Gormey and E. Y. Harburg, 1932) was the great exception. Other attempts, such as "There's No Depression in Love" (Dan Dougherty and Jack Yellen, 1931) and "Are You Makin' Any Money?" (Herman Hupfield, 1933), went nowhere, suggesting that the public really did not want musical reminders about the struggling economy.

In 1929, lyricist Jack Yellen and composer Milton Ager wrote the score for an early MGM sound musical, *Chasing Rainbows.* One song that emerged from the film was destined to be associated with the 1930s, the Depression, President Roosevelt and the Democratic Party: "Happy Days Are Here Again." Even today, loyal Democrats play the song at their conventions and gatherings.

Another song that spoke to the era was "Life Is Just a Bowl of Cherries" (Ray Henderson and Lew Brown), which first appeared in the *George White Scandals of 1931,* a yearly Broadway revue. The popular Ethel Merman sang it, and its infectious lyrics, which conveyed the message that life *will* get better, struck a responsive chord. If "Life Is Just a Bowl of Cherries" gave a bright side to the Depression, "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?" presented a grimmer picture. The number debuted in *New Americana,* another musical, and was performed by Rex Weber. The overwhelming majority of people did not hear the song on Broadway, however; they listened to the recording by Bing Crosby, a crooner more associated with love lyrics than with anything having even a vaguely social content.

Balladeer Woody Guthrie, a major voice in left-wing political and social movements of the 1930s, attracted a limited following. His song "So Long, It's Been Good to Know Ya" (1935) became what was called a "Dust Bowl ballad." It reflected the hard times of the Depression, especially

HIT SONGS OF THE 1930s

Songs and performers

"Blue Yodel No. 8 (Mule Skinner Blues)" (Jimmie Rodgers)—1930

"Minnie the Moocher" (Cab Calloway and His Orchestra)—1931

"Night and Day" (Fred Astaire)—1932

"Stormy Weather" (Ethel Waters)—1933

"Love In Bloom" (Bing Crosby)—1934

"On the Good Ship Lollipop" (Shirley Temple)—1935

"Summertime" (Billie Holiday)—1936

"Cross Road Blues" (Robert Johnson)—1936

"Sing, Sing, Sing" (Benny Goodman)—1937

"Over the Rainbow" (Judy Garland)—1939

for rural people. Ironically, the song gained its greatest popularity in 1951, when a folk group called the Weavers (which included Pete Seeger) recorded it.

Earl Robinson wrote several socially significant songs, but they failed to attract a big audience. His "Ballad for Americans" (1939), a frankly pro-American song, was a hit at the New York World's Fair and was featured three times a day at the RCA Pavilion.[4]

The aforementioned songs were exceptions to the prevalence of nontopical songs in 1930s America. Love and romance completely overshadowed social consciousness, and in that vein arose male vocalists who sang close to the microphone in a soft voice, crooning their music. Actually, crooning came about because radio required vocalists to sing softly into the microphone in order to keep electronic distortion to a minimum. As radio technology went through significant improvements, such singing was no longer necessary. But listeners were used to it, and it became a trademark for many vocalists during the Swing Era and beyond. Rudy Vallee, Bing Crosby, Russ Columbo, and others became favorites in the early 1930s, and crooning culminated with Frank Sinatra at the end of the decade.[5]

DANCING

While millions were purchasing swing recordings, an equally impressive number were taking to the dance floor. Swing was melodic; it could be hummed, whistled, sung, and, for a whole generation of devotees, danced to. The 1920s may have had the Charleston, but the 1930s had the Shag, the Lindy Hop, the Suzie-Q, the Big Apple, the Little Peach, Truckin'—a collection of dances summed up in one word: "jitterbug." It was fast and furious, improvised or practiced. The Swing Era's attitude toward dancing can be found in the title of a hit tune associated with the Jimmy Lunceford band: "Tain't Whatcha Do (It's the Way That You Do It)," penned in 1939 by Sy Oliver and Trummy Young.

Harlem's Savoy Ballroom, "The Home of Happy Feet," became the mecca for devoted jitterbugs. In fact, throughout the swinging 1930s the Savoy's management had to replace the club's hardwood dance floor every three years. An anthem of the era was "Stompin' at the Savoy" (1936; Goodman, Sampson, and Webb), an up-tempo dance classic that shares its lineage with both Benny Goodman's orchestra and Chick Webb's Savoy house band.

YOUTH AND SWING

The 1920s may have had its bright and showy "flaming youth," but the 1930s had young music connoisseurs, who effectively challenged the elitist authoritarianism that had traditionally dictated taste in the arts. They also bought millions of records, giving them the all-important commercial clout to accompany their preferences. The old wisdom that experts dictated standards for art, literature, and music came tumbling down in the Depression. The decade saw a democratization of the arts, and much of it was propelled by those young people who emerged as the new cognoscenti. This revolutionized the industry, opening once-closed doors to musicians and leading to the ascendancy of rhythm 'n' blues and rock in the 1940s and 1950s.

SONGWRITING

The decade was also the golden age of American songwriting. During these turbulent years,

composers and lyricists including Harold Arlen, Irving Berlin, Hoagy Carmichael, Duke Ellington, Dorothy Fields, George and Ira Gershwin, Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart, and Cole Porter, and many others defined American popular music. They took the 32-bar popular music format and turned it into art at the same time the big bands were making dance classics with similar materials.[6]

New songs by these consummately talented people were destined to become standards—and to remain popular for generations. In 1930 alone, for example, the Gershwins penned "Embraceable You," Hoagy Carmichael had "Georgia on My Mind," Rodgers and Hart were putting the finishing touches on "Ten Cents a Dance," and Cole Porter was completing "What Is This Thing Called Love?"

American popular music has been remarkably consistent throughout the years. Jazz, swing, and, later, rhythm 'n' blues and rock 'n' roll made inroads, but the pop song remained recognizably the same. It was almost always written in a verse-chorus form, in which the verse posed a situation and then the chorus (the repeating melodic part) brought about some kind of resolution. During the 1930s, this format was especially dominant; jazz and swing, for all their appeal, had to adapt more to the pop format than it to them. In many ways, the 1930s marked the high point of the popular song in American musical culture.

AUDIENCE FRAGMENTATION

If the traditional popular song reached its peak in the 1930s, technology and variety diminished its impact. Music lovers had hundreds of recordings from which to choose, varied radio programs and stations, and a changing marquee of sound movies at the local movie theater. What was happening in music—along with other areas of popular culture—has come to be called fragmentation of the medium. The traditional popular song now had competition from every side: jazz, swing, country, hillbilly, novelty, semiclassical, and on and on.

The audience also underwent some shifts. Listeners began to divide along the lines of race, gender, age, education, location, and other variables. Young people preferred up-tempo swing to syrupy ballads. Women liked crooners better than blues belters. The more educated wanted sophisticated lyrics, not raw emotion, and rural folks leaned more toward country singers. These sweeping generalizations were all correct and all open to debate. By the end of the decade, people did agree that American musical choices and tastes had splintered, and no one style would ever again define the music or the audience.

Even with the dominance of swing as the most popular format, other music also attracted large audiences. With radios in practically every home, and with recordings of all kinds readily available, virtually any taste could be satisfied. This meant that a group like Bob Wills and His Texas Playboys could introduce something called "Country Swing" (also known as "Texas Swing" and "Western Swing") in the Southwest and fill dance halls consistently, yet they had no real following outside Texas and some neighboring states.

Sound movies similarly influenced who listened to what. For example, a number of cowboy actors were elevated to stardom when they sang in their own pictures. A pioneer was Ken Maynard in the early 1930s, but Gene Autry soon surpassed him to become one of the most successful of the Singing Cowboys.

CLASSICAL MUSIC

Little in classical music attracted the public during the 1930s. George Gershwin continued his forays into serious music, often returning to earlier works in new settings. He played his justly famous *Rhapsody in Blue* (composed 1924) in a number of theaters, usually to large crowds. Early 1932 saw the Boston Symphony premiering his *Second Rhapsody,* a composition that furthered his investigations into the marriage of blues, jazz, and traditional composing. Gershwin's *Cuban Overture* (1932) and *Variations on I Got Rhythm* (1934) were also performed at this time. His folk opera *Porgy and Bess* (1935; libretto by Ira Gershwin, with DuBose Heyward and Dorothy Heyward) included many short, popular songs such as "Summertime," "I Got Plenty of Nothin'," and "It Ain't Necessarily So."

In 1935 the conductor André Kostelanetz assembled a sixty-five-piece orchestra for radio's *Chesterfield Time*. The show brought lush arrangements of standards and the semiclassics to the masses. It was highly popular with critics and listeners alike.

Two more academic composers of the period who attracted some public attention were Ferde Grofé and Aaron Copland. Grofé began his career in the 1920s by writing arrangements for Paul Whiteman's orchestra, which gave him exposure to symphonic jazz, particularly George Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue*. Its success led Grofé to compose *The Grand Canyon Suite* (1931), a musical exposition on this natural wonder of America. Philip Morris cigarettes took one part of the suite, "On the Trail," and made it their signature on radio. The clop-clop of mules' hooves as they descended the canyon trail immediately identified the orchestration as Grofé's and—more important—the tobacco company's theme.

Aaron Copland also experimented with jazz in the 1920s, but he reached out for more accessible music and began to achieve a larger audience during the 1930s. His *El Salon Mexico* (1936), *Prairie Journal* (1937), and *Billy the Kid* (1938), along with two film scores, *The City* (1939; shown at the New York World's Fair) and *Of Mice and Men* (1939), were all favorably received. By and large, however, most serious music had a limited following during the Depression; the big dance bands and the nation's fascination with swing simply overpowered it.

BROADCASTING OF CLASSICAL MUSIC

In 1922, the New York Philharmonic Orchestra became the first American orchestra to broadcast live on the radio. Seen as a virtual miracle of modern technology, the first broadcast drew immediate praise from audiences and the media. An article published in New York's *Evening Mail* said of the broadcast program, "It may not be beyond the bounds of possibility that man is on the way to the development of the senses that will open up boundless fields of adventure and delight." Until that time, few had the opportunity to hear an orchestra, either live or by broadcast. The Philharmonic's broadcasts were carried across the country, creating what many believed was the largest classical music audience in history. Other orchestras eventually began broadcasting live concerts, including the Los Angeles Symphony Orchestra in 1926 and the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1958. Because of the broadcasts, the 1930s and 1940s were a golden age for classical music in the United States, paving the way for broadcasts of other musical genres in later decades. Classical music broadcasting waned after the 1960s, due to changes in audience demographics and a general decline in radio funding and patronage. During the 1980s, a number of orchestras stopped broadcasting on the radio, and it wasn't until the 1990s that some orchestras found a new audience for their music, by broadcasting on Internet radio stations.

Federal Music Project

The Federal Music Project (FMP), a New Deal agency, put at least 15,000 unemployed or underemployed musicians to work. Nikolai Sokoloff, former conductor of the Cleveland Symphony, headed up the program. It is estimated that the FMP, which emphasized performance more than it did composing, underwrote a quarter-million public concerts for some 150 million people. Instruction in music and music appreciation was also stressed, allowing some 500,000 students to take lessons under government auspices. The FMP sponsored research on American blues and folk music, accumulating a priceless collection that was eventually housed in the Library of Congress. The project stands as one of the few examples of government interest in the arts and its enthusiastic support of them.[7]

THE DISC JOCKEY AND THE JUKEBOX

Broadway shows, once a primary provider of pop songs, suffered during the Depression. In 1930, 32 musicals opened; in 1934, only 10—and all 10 were financial failures. But Americans had no shortage of new music; the movies were doing well, and radio was booming. And there to play the records sat the "radio jockey." Sometime

in the late 1930s he—there were virtually no women spinning records then—was dubbed a "disc jockey," and the name stuck. The first well-known disc jockey was Al Jarvis, broadcasting from Los Angeles in *The World's Largest Make-Believe Ballroom*. Jarvis's show began in 1932; in 1935 Martin Block had his own *Make-Believe Ballroom* in New York City, a show that was eventually heard nationally. One of Block's features was "Saturday Night in Harlem," which gave exposure to black bands and singers, then a rarity on radio. Others copied his successful format—chatter, records, chatter, commercials—and the disc jockey soon occupied a major portion of the broadcast day.[8]

After Prohibition was repealed in 1933; people could legally consume alcohol again. Repeal was strongly embraced by the music business at all levels. The reopening of lounges, bars, and nightclubs meant they had to have live or recorded music. The jukebox became a standard fixture in these establishments, its neon and flashing lights serving as a kind of summation of 1930s design; it was a skyscraper in miniature. More important, it was a moneymaker. By 1939, over 225,000 jukeboxes could be found across the nation, and they played almost half of all records sold. Their popularity even spurred a novelty song, "The Music Goes 'Round and 'Round" (Edward Farley, Mike Riley and "Red" Hodgson, 1935), a reference to the visibility of the spinning records within the machine.

Another form of mechanical music also emerged in the 1930s. In 1934, Muzak, a service that went directly to restaurants, dance halls, factories, and offices, was made available. It piped in soothing background music with no attempt made to provide the latest hits or dance numbers.

When dealing with pop music, any attempt to list "the best" becomes subjective, but that did not stop a certain group of radio producers. In April 1935, *Your Lucky Strike Hit Parade* premiered on the NBC network. "We don't pick 'em, we just play 'em" was the slogan, and the show became an immediate hit. By surveying record and sheet music sales, the promoters promised a scientific estimate of the nation's popular preferences. Once a week, the show would breathlessly work its way up from number 10 to number 1 on the list of the top-selling songs in America at that time. Accurate or not, audiences loved the suspense, and they got to hear their favorites performed weekly. It was a winning formula; *Your Hit Parade* stayed on the air until 1959. It was also on television from 1950 to 1959 (a 1974 revival flopped).

Sports

and Leisure of the 1930s

The onset of the Great Depression presented Americans with a paradoxical situation: increasing layoffs and swelling unemployment gave millions increased leisure time, but such leisure was, in effect, imposed idleness. The challenge became how to fill empty hours with meaningful activities at a minimal cost.

SPORTS

The spectacular rise of radio in the 1930s meant that athletics could be brought into the home. The sports broadcaster, or "sportscaster," took on an important role at stations and networks. The 1930s also saw the mixing of entertainment and business with sports. Colleges and universities, realizing that they could make money from athletics, hired sports information directors who promoted whatever sport was being played. This professionalization of athletics meant that winning became all-important. With only a few exceptions, the gentleman amateur became a relic of the past, replaced by the player who earned a paycheck.

Television, still in its developmental stage, was not a factor in these shifts, but change was in the air. In 1939 the first telecast of a major league baseball game was broadcast—the Brooklyn Dodgers against the Cincinnati Reds. It was also the first year of a televised game between Columbia University and Princeton University.

Baseball

Attendance plummeted at professional baseball games throughout the decade and would not recover until after 1945. One reason was that people could no longer afford to attend ball games. That was just one cause, however. For traditionalists, baseball was a "daylight game," and 3 P.M. was the proper starting time. Since the owners didn't want to spend money on lighting, they opposed night games. In 1935, the Cincinnati Reds, despite objections, installed lights so they could play night games, and their attendance soared. Other teams either quickly followed suit or planned for the change (though Wrigley Field, home of the Chicago Cubs, did not install lights until 1988). In another move to boost attendance, 1933 saw the first major-league All-Star Game take to the field. The game took place in conjunction with Chicago's Century of Progress Exposition, but it quickly became an annual event.[1]

The biggest star in the major leagues at the beginning of the decade was Babe Ruth. Others—Lou Gehrig, Dizzy Dean, Joe DiMaggio—attracted fans, but none was as towering as Ruth. In 1930, he made $80,000 as a Yankee—more than any



An NBC television crew broadcasts baseball on TV for the first time during a game between Columbia University and Princeton at New York's Baker Field in 1939. Two mobile vans sent the television signal to the transmitter at the Empire State Building for broadcasts to homes equipped with television. AP Photo.

other player, and more than President Hoover. Ruth quipped, "I had a better year." For the fans, he was the Sultan of Swat, and the Great Bambino. But Ruth also epitomized something else: in many ways he was the product of publicity, a figure created by mass media and zealous press agents.

Traditionally, newspapers or specialized publications covered baseball. *The Sporting News,* founded in 1886, was the premier sports magazine of the 1930s. By the Depression, the *News* devoted most of its reporting to baseball and enjoyed a high level of respect among fans. Newspapers emulated *The Sporting News,* thereby popularizing complete box scores, endless statistics, and in-depth articles about players that have since characterized baseball reporting. Newspapers' best sportswriters accompanied the home team when it played away games. Reporters like Daniel M. Daniel, Marshall Hunt, Red Smith, Paul Gallico, Ring Lardner, and Grantland Rice became celebrated in their own right as they followed the game.

Radio proved to be an effective way to relate the events of a game as it unfolded. At first, the owners and leagues opposed broadcasting games, arguing that it would keep away the crowds. Newspapers and *The Sporting News* also derided the practice. In a makeshift agreement, two stations per community were typically allowed to broadcast games, but by 1938, 260 stations were carrying baseball.

Much radio baseball in the 1930s only seemed live. The broadcast was a recreated narrative done in a studio, not at the ballpark. Because of technical limitations, the sportscaster frequently was isolated behind a microphone in a studio, relying on telephones to bring him details of the unfolding contest. His real job entailed filling empty airtime, creating the illusion of constant action. Chatter was his skill, and millions faithfully listened to descriptions of a runner sliding home or a "long, pop fly to center field…" and so on for nine innings.

By the early 1930s, sports ranked second only to music in terms of airtime. A new generation

WORLD SERIES

1930 Philadelphia Athletics (AL), 4 games; St. Louis Cardinals (NL), 2 games

1931 St. Louis Cardinals (NL), 4 games; Philadelphia Athletics (AL), 3 games

1932 New York Yankees (AL), 4 games; Chicago Cubs (NL), 0 games

1933 New York Giants (NL), 4 games; Washington Senators (AL), 1 game

1934 St. Louis Cardinals (NL), 4 games; Detroit Tigers (AL), 3 games

1935 Detroit Tigers (AL), 4 games; Chicago Cubs (NL), 2 games

1936 New York Yankees (AL), 4 games; New York Giants (NL), 2 games

1937 New York Yankees (AL), 4 games; New York Giants (NL), 1 game

1938 New York Yankees (AL), 4 games; Chicago Cubs (NL), 0 games

1939 New York Yankees (AL), 4 games; Cincinnati Reds (NL), 0 games

of electronic reporters—Tom Manning, Jack Graney, Bill Dyer, Ted Husing, Arch McDonald, Fred Hoey, and Harry Caray—became household names as they broadcast the play-by-play over the family radio. A young man named Ronald "Dutch" Reagan did Chicago Cubs games for an Iowa station. He later became an actor, and finally the fortieth president of the United States.[2]

Together, the sportswriters and sportscasters created images of athletes that often exceeded their actual feats, giving rise to the sports celebrity and sports hero. The rigorous training and endless practice were forgotten, replaced by images of instant success and adulation for the lucky few.

Softball

Softball originated in 1887 as a form of indoor baseball suited for play in gymnasiums and other indoor facilities. It was not until 1926, however, that the game got its present name and began working toward standardized rules. With the onset of the Depression, softball bloomed, as factories and offices, schools, churches, unions, and even neighborhoods put players on the field.

The Chicago World's Fair of 1933 sponsored a softball tournament with designated slow- and fast-pitch categories. These events garnered considerable publicity, and it is estimated that over a million Americans played softball in some capacity by 1936. Both the CBS and NBC radio networks covered national championships, and the number of players kept growing. By the end of the decade, five million Americans participated, and almost a quarter of them were women. Millions more attended the games, and attempts were made to create professional softball teams.[3]

As part of the national recovery effort, the government built thousands of parks and recreational areas around the country; many were constructed with the official dimensions of a softball diamond clearly in mind. The National Youth Administration (NYA) built fields on private property, allowing churches and fraternal organizations to have proper playing areas. The Federal Rural Electrification Program introduced night lighting to hundreds of such fields long before the major baseball leagues enjoyed night play. So widespread was softball that many sporting equipment manufacturers saw an upturn in business despite the economic hard times. President Roosevelt himself sponsored a team, the White House Purgers. In many ways, softball became the true national pastime—open to anyone, regardless of social or economic status.

Football

In contrast to today, football was not well publicized during the 1930s. Professional games were virtually invisible, played before small crowds on open fields or in small stadiums. College football had a bigger following. Colleges and universities worked hard at stirring popular interest in the game. In 1935, the Orange Bowl was created, followed the next year by the Sun Bowl, and in 1937 by the Sugar Bowl and the Cotton Bowl.

Schools also instituted rule changes that quickened the play of football and cut down on injuries. In 1932, officials introduced a clause into collegiate rules that made the ball dead when any

part of the player (except feet and hands) touched the ground. Padding became a requirement, and in 1939 helmets were mandated for collegiate players. The size of the ball was reduced so it was easier to grasp, which led to more passing and a more visual game.

Basketball

Like football, basketball was primarily a collegiate sport. For professional basketball, there were two groups, the American Basketball League (ABL), established in 1933, and the National Basketball League (NBL), created in 1937. The two leagues merged to form the National Basketball Association (NBA) in 1949. Despite attempts at organization, American basketball during the 1930s consisted largely of individual teams and colleges. Few stars emerged, and the sport struggled to survive.

At the beginning of the decade, basketball was a slow, low-scoring sport. Final scores of 18–14 or 21–15 were not uncommon. Defense ruled the game. In an attempt to speed up play, the leagues adopted the ten-second rule in 1932, requiring a team to shoot the ball within ten seconds. After each score, officials returned the ball to center court, where the players reassembled for a new tip-off. Officials abolished the rule in the 1937–1938 season, another effort to make the game fan-friendly. Madison Square Garden in New York City hosted the first big college tournament in 1934. In 1938 the tournament became the National Invitational Tournament (NIT).

Hank Luisetti of Stanford University was probably the first real basketball star. He scored 1,500 points between 1936 and 1939. Luisetti perfected the one-handed jump shot. Until then, virtually all shots were two-handed. His popularity earned him top billing in a 1938 movie called *Campus Confessions*. Despite its lurid title, it was billed as a "peppy college romance [with] a real basketball game!"

Elite Sports: Horse Racing, Tennis, and Golf

Horse racing, tennis, and golf have traditionally been viewed as the pursuits of the wealthy. Yet, for brief periods during the Depression, each emerged as front-page news.

In racing, a horse named Gallant Fox captivated millions. The steed galloped to victories in the Preakness, the Belmont Stakes, and the Kentucky Derby during the 1930 season, winning the Triple Crown, racing's highest honor. Gallant Fox's son, Omaha, repeated the feat in 1935, and War Admiral managed it yet again in 1937, thus maintaining a high level of interest in horse racing throughout the decade. Seabiscuit was a small and crooked-gaited horse beloved by the public because he won race after race in 1937. He went on to a thrilling match race against the Triple Crown winner Admiral in 1938, which Seabiscuit won.

Although tennis was perceived as an activity for a wealthy, leisured class, it was estimated that some 11 million Americans played the game during the 1930s. In those days, professional players were virtually invisible. They played at private clubs and were ineligible for the major tournaments. In 1931 "Big Bill" Tilden, the leading player of the late 1920s, gave up his amateur standing and turned professional. His departure relegated tennis to the back pages of the sports section. In 1938, interest in tennis revived when Don Budge achieved the Grand Slam of tennis, winning the Australian, French, English (Wimbledon), and the U.S. Open tournaments, all amateur events. The first player ever to do so, Budge received a flurry of publicity. For a few fleeting moments, tennis reappeared on the front pages, but Budge turned pro shortly thereafter and, like Tilden, disappeared.

Golf did not come into its own until after the late 1940s, but a young amateur from Georgia named Bobby Jones captured the public imagination in the 1930s. Unlike tennis, both professionals and amateurs golfers played in open tournaments. Jones achieved what many in golf believed unattainable: golf's version of the Grand Slam. In 1930, he won the British Amateur and the British Open. When he returned to America, he received a ticker-tape parade in New York City. But that was just the start. He followed those victories by winning both the U.S. Open and the U.S. Amateur championships, giving him all four major championships.

To most fans, Bobby Jones symbolized the little guy beating the pros, and he became golf's first real superstar. He soon retired from the game, but remained in the limelight throughout the decade. Jones capitalized on his popularity with a number of endorsements and used the media to stay involved. He had a weekly radio show that recreated highlights of his illustrious career, made several golf instruction films for Warner Brothers, lent his name to Spalding for a new line of clubs, and played an important role in designing and setting up a new course in Augusta, Georgia, the course that later became home to the Master's Golf Tournament.

The Depression did have a positive effect on everyday golfers. As memberships fell off in once-exclusive country clubs and private courses, the directors opened them to public play. In addition, many municipal courses were built during the Depression years, doubling the number from a decade earlier.

Boxing

During the 1930s professional boxing made headlines almost constantly. The sport's most important title, the heavyweight crown, rested uneasily on a series of heads from 1930 until 1937. The rotation began in 1930, when German boxer Max Schmeling gained the heavyweight title by defeating the reigning champion, American Jack Sharkey. Schmeling lost to Sharkey in a 15-round rematch in 1932. Next, Primo Carnera of Italy knocked out Sharkey for the title in 1933. Carnera then got kayoed by Max Baer in 1934. In the next shuffle, Jim Braddock defeated Baer the following year. More important, perhaps, was a 1936 nontitle bout involving former champion Schmeling and a rising young African American boxer named Joe Louis. Schmeling floored Louis and seemed poised to regain the title; however, Schmeling was denied the bout, and Louis instead faced Braddock. In 1937, Louis won the fight and officials proclaimed this American the world's heavyweight champion.

Joe Louis reigned, undefeated, from 1937 until his retirement in 1949. He defended his title 25 times and stood as an immensely popular champion. But of all his victories, none was sweeter than his defeating Schmeling in a much-ballyhooed 1938 championship fight, a match that established the power of radio. More than half the radio owners in the United States—over 22 million people—listened in as Louis pummeled his opponent. For both fighters, tremendous national pride was at stake. Schmeling's handlers talked of him as the "hope of the Aryan race," and the Nazi propaganda machine spewed out reams of racist hatred in the days before the fight. The quiet Louis, "the Brown Bomber," typified much that was good about America in an era of segregation in most sports, and hopes ran high. Once in the ring, Schmeling was down and out in the first round, and Americans breathed a collective sigh of relief. Louis's decisive victory salvaged American honor and silenced many racists and Nazi sympathizers.

Although few Americans ever attended a prizefight, public interest skyrocketed and popular culture reflected this enthusiasm. Hollywood found staging and filming a match easy to do, and made numerous fight movies. In 1931, Wallace Beery and Jackie Cooper filmed the justly famous *The Champ.* James Cagney continued his action films with 1932's *Winner Take All.* An emerging Spencer Tracy had a bit part in *Society Girl* (1932). *Police Call* (1933) was actually a "B" boxing epic, as were *Kelly the Second* (1936) and *The Kid Comes Back* (1937). Better by far was *Cain and Mabel* (1936), a big-budget pugilistic comedy with Clark Gable and Marion Davies. Ham Fisher's popular comic strip character Joe Palooka was featured in *For the Love of Pete* (1936) and *Taking the Count* (1937). Two boxing features with primarily black casts were *Spirit of Youth* (1937; starring Joe Louis as himself) and *Keep Punching* (1939; featuring light heavyweight Henry Armstrong). *They Made Me a Criminal* (1939; with John Garfield) and a screen adaptation of Clifford Odets's *Golden Boy* (1939; featuring William Holden in a star-making role) took a more serious look at the fight business.

OLYMPICS

By the summer of 1936, when the Olympics were held in Berlin, Adolf Hitler had risen to become the leader of Germany. He decided to make the Olympics a showplace for his National



Jesse Owens at the start of record breaking 200-meter race at the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Socialist, or Nazi, party and its ideologies. Americans were vaguely aware of Nazism and its racist politics, but the truth became more widely known during the Summer Games. Hitler banned all German Jews from participating, a move that led to unsuccessful calls for other nations to boycott the games. In fact, two American Jewish athletes were prevented by their coach, not German authorities, from running in the 400-meter relay in order to avoid controversy.

During the games, Jesse Owens, a black track star from Ohio State University, distinguished himself and brought honor to the United States by winning four gold medals: the 100- and 200-meter dashes, the broad jump, and as a member of the 400-meter relay team mentioned above. Owens's victories challenged the Nazi view of Aryan superiority. Although it is believed that Hitler refused to award Owens his medal, Hitler was actually prevented by the Olympic Committee from presenting any further medals after the first day.[4] Nonetheless publicity about Hitler's beliefs about Aryan superiority awakened many Americans to the true nature of Nazi-run Germany.

LEISURE PASTIMES IN THE 1930s

During the early days of the economic crisis, the average workweek declined from 48 to 40 hours. In addition, the National Recovery Administration (NRA) instituted work codes and fair practices that further reduced hours on the job, especially overtime. By 1935, two-thirds of the American employees covered by these codes worked fewer than 40 hours a week.

People sought activities to fill their increased free time. Cities and towns, along with schools and local businesses, sponsored various hobby clubs, and local YMCAs and YWCAs became important resources. Despite these efforts, a marked rise in sedentary, solitary behaviors occurred during the grimmest days of the Depression.

Endurance Contests and Other Fads

Despite the dour atmosphere surrounding the Depression, the era still saw as much silly behavior as any period in American history. As a rule, fads were cheap and time consuming, public and escapist, and they attracted both adults and children. Sometimes the subject was food, whereby people consumed prodigious quantities of virtually anything edible. Spectators and participants flocked to pie-eating and egg-eating contests, along with clam-shucking, gum-chewing, hotdog-munching, and coffee-drinking challenges.

Many fads focused on endurance. For instance, tree sitters climbed to the highest branches of a tree or to the top of a pole and then attempted to remain aloft for weeks on end. Generally, some convenient means of collecting money was available on the ground, although most sitters went to their perches only after arranging a fee. Once up in the air, sitters whiled away weeks or even months, depending on the deals they had made.[5]

These feats inspired other endurance contests: six-day bicycle races, 4,000-mile roller derbies, and seesaw-riding contests. There were talking marathons, walking marathons, non-stop piano playing, and kiss-a-thons. Six-day bike races took place on makeshift wooden tracks. Two-person teams, usually a man and a woman, circled the track for six entire days, taking turns and fighting exhaustion. Movie stars, especially women, were seen on bicycles in publicity shots. Sales of women's bikes soared. Joe E. Brown, a rubber-faced comedian, hopped on the cycling craze with *6 Day Bike Rider* (1934), an innocuous little movie that emphasized the popularity of the fad.

Likewise, roller-skating briefly became the rage. It was cheap entertainment; abandoned warehouses and other indoor spaces became skating rinks. The Roller Derby was modeled after the six-day bicycle races. A co-ed team skated around a track for 4,000 miles. The event began in the early afternoon and continued until about midnight, assuring the maximum number of paying spectators. For 35 days the teams skated, interspersing regular skating with "jams" and "sprints." A jam involved getting a number of racers simultaneously on the track, thus assuring collisions and general mayhem. A sprint involved skating fast for a brief period of time.

Dance marathons originated in the 1920s and had seemingly run their course by 1930. But in the early days of the Depression, people rediscovered the dance marathon. The rules were simple: a couple had to dance, or at least keep moving, for an hour. They then got 15 minutes off, and then it was back on the floor for another hour. If one fell asleep while on the floor, the other was responsible for keeping him or her upright and mobile. The two could make $20 to $30 a week just holding each other up and shuffling their feet; plus, they got eight free meals a day. Dancing all day and long into the night consumed an enormous number of calories, so the meals were rich and filling.

June Hovick, later a Hollywood star under the name June Havoc, achieved the dance marathon record in 1934: 3,600 hours, equal to about five months, of continuous dancing. Hovick and Elmer Dupree, her partner, shared a prize of $40. In 1938, Horace McCoy wrote a best seller about the craze titled *They Shoot Horses, Don't They?* (which was made into a movie in 1970). The title says it all: dance marathons were not fun. Entrants suffered mightily for the meager prizes and free food.



The exhaustion is clearly evident for this couple at a marathon dance contest. These contests provided a way for teams to make a few dollars and get some free meals. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Chain Letters and Jokes

In the spring of 1935, a new fad swept the country: the chain letter. Chain letters (today's chain e-mail) have continued, although none ever equaled the frenzy generated by its first appearance. A person received a letter with five or six names and addresses listed at the bottom. The recipient crossed out the first name and wrote his or her name at the bottom of the list. But there was a catch: the recipient had to send a dime to the person whose name was scratched out. Also, he had to send copies of the letter to five additional

people. In five progressions, assuming the chain remained unbroken, the sender's name reached the top, and in theory at least, he made a small fortune in dimes. In practice, however, seldom did the chain remain intact and even less frequently did anyone make any money. The fad began in Denver, swamping the local post offices; even the White House received letters. After about three months of virtual hysteria, the atmosphere calmed, and by July the fad had passed.

President Herbert Hoover, the nation's much-maligned leader at the start of the Depression, found his surname the butt of many a neologism. "Hoovercart" and "Hooverwagon" rodeos first appeared in North Carolina in 1933 and soon spread across the country. The events consisted of mules pulling the back halves of Model T Fords over an obstacle course. If the contraption fell apart, so much the better. Wasn't the economy doing the same thing?

The rodeos were just one way of ridiculing the president. People called any makeshift collection of tents, cardboard boxes, tarpaper shacks, and the like that sufficed as housing for the homeless and unemployed a "Hooverville." Most large cities had Hoovervilles, which were usually located close to the railroad tracks.

In a similar vein, "Hoover blankets" were the accumulated newspapers under which the jobless and homeless slept. "Hoover flags" referred to empty pockets. When people turned their pockets inside out to show they were broke, the white linings somewhat resembled flags. The euphemism "Hoover hogs" referred to rabbits consumed for food. Rundown shoes, usually with visible holes in the soles, became "Hoover shoes," and "Hoover leather" meant the cardboard used to resole them. Not all associations were totally negative, however. A "Hoovercrat" was someone who still had faith in the beleaguered president, although that usage was probably damning with faint praise.

Jokes could also make fun of the times. In the 1930s, this meant the rise of the "knock-knock" jokes, which reached their first peak in 1936. There was even a minor hit by the Vincent Lopez Orchestra titled "The Knock-Knock Song." In the course of the melody, the band members cried out, "Knock, knock!" A vocalist would respond with "Who's there?" And this cued yet another corny punchline, but listeners loved it.

GAMES

Games of Chance

In the midst of an economic depression anything that promised easy money drew an audience. A 1939 poll found that one-third of the population admitted to occasionally betting a nickel or so on a game of chance.[6]

A company picnic might stage contests with small cash prizes. Churches got into the act by staging bingo in their parish halls. Slot machines, pinball machines, and punchboards were among the devices favored by Americans to win money effortlessly.

By the mid-1930s, thousands of sanctioned Bingo parties were held almost every night of the week across the country. Some considered it a form of legalized gambling, and opponents conducted sporadic efforts to ban the games, but public support won out, much to the relief of small churches and fraternal lodges.[7]

Another idea that blossomed in the 1930s was the punchboard, a small block of cardboard containing 1,000 holes. Each hole had a slip of paper, or ticket, inserted in it. Only one of the tickets won. For a nickel, a person could punch out a ticket and see if it was the lucky one. If so, the lucky winner received $2.50. Obviously, with 1,000 holes, a nickel each hole, and only one $2.50 winner, punchboards were enormously profitable ($1{,}000 \times .05 = \$50.00$ per board) to the house, not to those who gambled on them. By 1939, it was estimated that some 15,000 punchboards were being manufactured daily.

"Poor Man's Billiards" was the popular name given bagatelle, a simple game that involved a board with holes at one end. In the early years of the twentieth century, all that bagatelle required was a cue and small ball. Places that had the game usually charged five cents for ten shots. If the player managed to sink all or most of the shots, prizes were given. Bagatelle quickly grew in complexity during the 1920s and 1930s. At first, pins were arranged so as to block direct shots to a hole, and these obstacles brought about a shift

in the name to pin games. Finally, the cue stick was eliminated, and pin games evolved into pinball. The first pin machine, called the "Whoopie Game," came out in 1930. The shooter had to employ a mechanical plunger to propel the ball through an increasingly complex course. As before, high scores received prizes. Establishments with pinball successfully evaded the gambling laws for many years by claiming they were games of skill, not games of chance. By 1933, 62 different pinball games were available, and some 250,000 of them were sold annually.

Table Games

Ping-Pong became a minor fad in the 1920s when Parker Brothers trademarked their sets using as their own a name that had existed since the game began in the 1880s. Ping-Pong supposedly suggested the sound of the ball hitting the paddle, which enthusiasts preferred over table tennis. In 1931, the American Ping-Pong Association was formed and sponsored tournaments where only Parker Brothers equipment could be used. To compete, the New York Table Tennis Association formed, with no royalties to Parker Brothers. The two organizations eventually merged as the U.S. Table Tennis Association, and players competed internationally. The 1930s saw some five million tennis tables in private homes.[8]

Pick-Up Sticks was introduced in 1936. The game was based on Jack Straws, an earlier American version, and Marokko, a Hungarian import. In its original form, the jackstraw, a strip of wood



A game of bridge in Oklahoma in the 1930s. Contract bridge was immensely popular, complete with best-selling books and avidly followed tournaments. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

with a hooked end, was used to dislodge specific numbered sticks. In less than a year, the new version sold three million sets.

Contract Bridge became the rage for any adult in the 1930s. Ely Culbertson, a master at traditional bridge, popularized this form of the card game. In contract bridge, partners collaborated by "bidding" their hands, an attempt to inform one another of the value of individual cards. The winning team established a "contract" of how many tricks it anticipated taking.

Despite the complexities of contract bridge, tournaments were soon arranged. Elaborate scoring rules, complete with extra points and penalties, were worked out and made part of the game. The more arcane the rules and scoring, the better people seemed to like it. Even in the worst of the Depression, the sales of playing cards rose. By 1931, over 500,000 people had signed up to take bridge lessons at YMCAs, parks, and other places that offered them. Experts estimated that 20 million people played the game.

Bridge tournaments were often broadcast, hand-by-hand, over the radio, as experts explained rules and strategies, along with the actual play, to eager listeners. Culbertson found himself on the best-seller lists with a series of how-to books. His first two were initially published in 1930 and sold steadily for years. One even had annual updates. He also ran a daily column in hundreds of newspapers showing how to play sample hands.

Board games also increased in popularity during the thirties. Monopoly, the undisputed champion, made its national debut in 1935. Its origins probably date back to 1904 and The Landlord's Game, a little-known diversion that used real estate transactions as part of its strategy. Almost 30 years later, Charles Darrow borrowed from both The Landlord's Game and another real estate contest called the Atlantic City Game, which helps explain the Atlantic City addresses on the properties in Monopoly. Darrow copyrighted his game in 1933 and sold several thousand homemade versions through the mail before attempting to get game manufacturer Parker Brothers to market his creation.

Parker Brothers ignored him. Darrow privately printed some sets and in 1934 got Wanamaker's Department Store in Philadelphia and F.A.O. Schwarz in New York to stock them. They were immediately successful. Parker Brothers took another look, and Darrow and Parker Brothers finally reached an agreement in 1935, after which Monopoly grew to be the most successful board game in history. Some believe that the capitalistic focus of the game and the chance for great wealth made Monopoly a favorite during the Depression, but Monopoly's continuing popularity in the strong economic times of today suggest that it is popular simply because it is a good game.[9]

TOYS

During the Depression toy sales plummeted, and many companies went out of business. But, as factories closed down or slowed production, the survivors had first choice of materials. As a result, overall quality of American-made toys rose.

An example is the American Flyer wagon. In 1923, the Liberty Coaster Company was founded in Chicago. By using the metal-stamping technology of the automobile industry, the firm could mass-produce sturdy wagons in great numbers. With an eye to marketing and current fads, the company changed its name to Radio Steel and Manufacturing in 1930 and produced 1,500 distinctive red Radio Flyer wagons a day. The firm mounted a mammoth display at Chicago's Century of Progress exposition featuring "Coaster Boy" astride his Radio Flyer. It stood over four stories tall, and alerted crowds to the popular product.

Toward the middle of the 1930s, Radio Steel brought out wagons based on the great streamlined locomotives then setting speed records and the Chrysler Airflow, the nation's first mass-market streamlined car, yet sales continued to be dominated by the trusty red wagon with the wooden sides.

A flood of cheap, often shoddy toys from foreign manufacturers also came on the market. Many were made of celluloid, a highly flammable substance best known as the primary component of older motion picture film and shirt collars. Since it could be molded into virtually any shape, manufacturers used celluloid for inexpensive toys—baby rattles, ping-pong balls, and figurines. Japan became the world's leading exporter

of celluloid products during the 1920s and 1930s, endlessly replicating much of American popular culture. Comic-strip characters, sports heroes, movie stars, and other celebrities poured forth in figurine or doll form, some done skillfully and accurately, while others were simply crude caricatures. Consumers associated these cheap toys with low quality, and "Made in Japan" grew into a term of scorn for many Americans. Scorn notwithstanding, sales remained strong throughout the Depression.

A more important fad originated in the Far East: the yo-yo, a simple amusement with a long history that peaked in the Depression. In 1928, Filipino American Pedro Flores began manufacturing the spinning wooden disks. Because yo-yos have a heritage in the Philippines—the name derived from the Filipino word for "spring"—skilled Filipinos were hired to go to schools and other places children might hang out to demonstrate the new models and the latest tricks. Yo-yo companies used this marketing ploy successfully, and the yo-yo caught on. Celebrities were seen with them, Bing Crosby crooned about them, and millions bought them.

A cartoon character added greatly to the health of the toy industry in the 1930s. Mickey Mouse, the animated creation of the Walt Disney Studios, first appeared on film in 1928's *Steamboat Willie*. Over 15 different Mickey Mouse toys came out in 1931 alone. The studio's cartoons of the 1930s captured a huge audience, but the paraphernalia associated with the entire Disney menagerie—from watches, costume jewelry, and clocks to clothing, soap, and dolls—developed into an industry of its own.

For example, the Lionel Corporation, best known for its detailed model trains, produced a Mickey and Minnie Mouse handcar in 1934,



An early model of the Viewmaster. © Adams Picture Library t/a apl / Alamy.

THE VIEW-MASTER

At the 1939 World's Fair in New York, photographer William Gruber of Portland, Oregon, debuted a new invention that eventually became one of the most popular toys in American history. Gruber's invention, ultimately called the "View-Master," was a simple machine that used stereoscopic photographs to create a three-dimensional slide show. The idea of stereoscopic photography was not new in Gruber's time, with stereoscopes for viewing images available in the nineteenth century, and was already a popular novelty item in many stores. Gruber used the same technology but mounted pairs of photographs on a spinning disk, a reel, to allow the user to cycle through sets of images. Over the course of a year, more than 1,000 stores began carrying View-Masters. Gruber thought of his invention as simply a novelty, but the unique product had a much larger impact than he had predicted. During the 1940s, the U.S. military used View-Masters for training, distributing thousands of the them through recruitment and training locations across the nation. Early View-Master reels featured pictures of popular tourist locations like Niagara Falls and the Grand Canyon. Later, the entertainment industry obtained the rights to produce reels with scenes based on film and television characters. After the technology was co-opted by the entertainment industry, marketers began to realize the potential of the View-Master as a child's toy. Gruber's design was remarkably enduring and remained largely unchanged from 1939 through to the twenty-first century.

a time when the company's sales slowed. The Disney-inspired novelty item did extremely well and helped keep the train maker in business.

Cheap, mass-produced miniature tin and lead soldiers enjoyed substantial sales. Most were crude and not terribly realistic, but that did not seem to deter boys intent on staging backyard battles. Perhaps it was the threat of a new world war that spurred the popularity of infantrymen, tanks, cannons, and other martial miniatures.

Most families could not afford store-bought toys during the Depression, hence the popularity of handmade games and toys in the 1930s. Rubber-band "guns" were perfect for shooting desperadoes. The "pistol" was a piece of scrap wood, its "ammunition" consisting of bands taken from old inner tubes. Music could be made with whistles crafted from willow or cane. Modern communication could be accomplished with two empty cans and a long piece of string. For millions of kids during the Depression years, homemade stilts, kites, slingshots, and other makeshift substitutes rivaled any commercial versions.[10]

HOBBIES

With high unemployment and reduced working hours, hobbies of every description boomed during the Depression. Some were enriching, others were merely ways to pass the time. Listening to the radio, going to the movies, and window shopping may not have been traditional hobbies, but they helped fill the void for Americans short on cash and long on time.

More rewarding pursuits also flourished, and the hobby industry expanded while other businesses closed. In addition, municipalities sponsored hobby clubs, how-to classes, and the like. New job skills, like woodworking and auto mechanics, could be learned in a relaxed, no-risk atmosphere, and leisure developed into a kind of substitute work. Commentators and politicians made a concerted effort to define the hobbyist as someone who actively participated in an avocation and, in so doing, learned from it and remained productive.[11]

For example, many city dwellers took up gardening, which helped them save on food bills and engage in healthy work. Most cities had community plots, with neighbors dividing up both chores and space. Garden clubs, once the domains of well-to-do ladies of leisure, welcomed a much more diverse membership, and the exchange of gardening lore became their primary focus.

Hobbies magazine debuted in 1931, followed by hobby columns in many newspapers and magazines. The radio show *Hobby Lobby* was broadcast to more than 150 stations in the mid-1930s. The show made listeners aware of new activities, particularly those that helped others in some way. Special interest clubs of every sort strove to get their ideas on the show, and the voluntarism espoused by *Hobby Lobby* led to the formation of still more clubs.

Despite all the emphasis on being productive and learning new skills, many of the most popular hobbies of the 1930s achieved neither. For example, proponents of hobbies as a form of work argued for cutting the intricate pieces of a jigsaw



Franklin D. Roosevelt examining his postage stamp collection, 1936. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

puzzle by hand and then selling the finished product. Most people, however, preferred simply to assemble the puzzle. Either way, jigsaw puzzles were one of the most popular time killers of the Depression. At first, they tended to be intricately cut from wood and rather expensive, so their market was limited. But 1934 saw the introduction of die-cut cardboard puzzles. These were so cheap they could be given away as premiums. Jigsaw puzzles were available everywhere, from newsstands to book stores and from upscale department stores to Woolworth's.

At the beginning of 1932, over 2 million puzzles were sold weekly. Stores featured "puzzles of the week" and "weekly jigs." In the early 1930s, jigsaw puzzles sold at a rate of about 10 million a week. Stores rented puzzles, and puzzle club members swapped favorites with friends. The craze cooled down upon the inauguration of Franklin Roosevelt, although sales remained high throughout the decade.

Stamp collecting really gained publicity during the 1930s. President Roosevelt was an ardent collector, and his enthusiasm led others to the hobby. In addition, the decade saw countless new American commemorative stamps printed, which further sparked public interest. Of course, it did not hurt that Roosevelt's postmaster general was James A. Farley, a close friend who supported his boss's passion by constantly ordering new issues. The president himself designed a number of commemorative stamps and was probably the envy of collectors around the nation.[12]

Commemorative stamps honored everything under the sun, from current and historic events (Olympics, 1932), holidays (Arbor Day, 1932; Mother's Day, 1934), famous people (Admiral Richard E. Byrd, 1933) to national parks (1934). By and large, the U.S. stamps of the 1930s were especially handsome, produced from exquisitely detailed engravings. The sales of albums and related paraphernalia reflected the ever-increasing popularity of the hobby. Schools and churches encouraged philately, and there was even a radio program for collectors.

Woodworking, ceramics, model airplanes, collectibles, coins, railroad layouts, watercolors and oils, hiking and camping, photography—the list of hobbies pursued during the 1930s is endless. Their most important contribution during the Depression years was a capacity to impart a sense of self-worth to the hobbyist. Jobs may have been scarce, but working hard at a hobby fulfilled the need for self-esteem, that what a person was doing had value, and the hobby itself took attention away from the economic difficulties of the day.

Travel of the 1930s

The worst days of the Depression saw large numbers of the unemployed just drifting. They moved from town to town, always with the faint hope that the next stop would mean a job. While this aimless search hardly qualified as travel, it nevertheless illustrated the American penchant for moving on and finding something better. In 1932, about a million people roamed the rails and highways of the country, victims of an economy in which they played little part.

The terrible Dust Bowl of the 1930s also put thousands on the road. The Dust Bowl referred to the location (the Southern Plain states of Oklahoma, Kansas, Texas, New Mexico, Nevada, and Arkansas) and the period, 1931 to 1939, when drought combined with bad farming methods and poverty to decimate farming in the area. John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939), an American literary classic, chronicles the exodus of Oklahoma farmers from their devastated land and their journey to California in hopes of a new beginning. Here was travel of a totally different kind, with images of "Okies," their jalopies and wagons piled high with meager possessions, wandering the highways of a nation that seemed to be turning its back on them. In many ways, these people were refugees in their own country.

Many other Americans, however, traveled for recreation. These better-off people had the desire—and the means—to enjoy touring, be it by car, train, plane, or ocean liner.

AUTOMOBILE TRAVEL

Americans continued to buy new cars even during the worst years of the Depression, although they actually bought more used cars than new ones throughout 1934 and 1935. Half of American families owned their own vehicles, although most bought the cheapest car they could. By 1935, 95 percent of all the automobiles sold cost under $750 (about $9,300 in contemporary dollars). Gasoline was one of the few commodities to enjoy steady sales throughout the Depression years. In fact, in a survey conducted during the 1930s, keeping one's car ranked ahead of home ownership or having a telephone, electric lighting, or even a bathtub.[1] Cars of the era began to be designed in a streamlined style around 1934, popularized by the Chrysler Airflow, with flowing lines and rounded edges.

Starting in the 1920s, and growing steadily in the 1930s, American families embraced the Sunday drive. Most travelers accepted the dirt, gravel, ruts, rocks, and holes as part of the driving experience. There was no need to rush, because implicit in the Sunday drive was a lack of a set destination; the family was just out for a drive.

STREAMLINING

In the 1930s, America's leading automobile manufacturers like Ford, Chrysler, and Cadillac, released cars that took design cues from the pages of science fiction. This design trend was called "streamlining," and it developed from the science of aerodynamics. Norman Bel Geddes (1893–1958) was one of its chief and most innovative designers. The basic idea was to use rounded shapes that tapered along their length to reduce drag and enhance the passage of air around the vehicle. Combining a desire to build faster cars with futuristic designs, similar to artists' renderings of space craft and jets, the streamlined car was born, and the design trend dominated the industry for over a decade. Streamlining wasn't used only for cars; it was also integrated into the design of car trailers, trains, and boats, as well as for buildings, in industrial design, and in such kitchen appliances as refrigerators, electric mixers, and blenders. Acknowledging the link to the aircraft industry, some designers also outfitted their vehicles with design elements borrowed from aircrafts. The streamlining trend was symbolic of the newest advances in science, and by 1939, the word "streamlined" had been co-opted in popular culture to mean "efficient," "modern," and "advanced." While the popularity of streamlining eventually declined, the science of aerodynamics remained of prime interest to the vehicle industry, and over the ensuing decades designers continued to use streamlining to enhance speed and acceleration, while much of the futuristic detailing was replaced by more modest designs.



The beautiful 1937 Chrysler Airflow four-door sedan in the showroom of the Chrysler Building, New York City, 1937. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Taking a Sunday drive—or any drive—was challenging: automatic transmissions were rare in lower-priced models, air conditioning was all but unobtainable, and even the best tires tended to be unreliable. No well-equipped driver set forth without a spare or two, as well as a complete kit for repairing and/or changing tires. Gas tanks were small, and gasoline mileage was poor: the average vehicle had a cruising range of about 50 miles. If those limitations were not enough, money was scarce, so the 1930s witnessed a high proportion of creaky, dilapidated automobiles laboring down the nation's roads.

Those roads were mostly unpaved. Many city streets were paved, but that paving could consist of bricks, cobblestones, and other rough surfaces. And once a driver reached the outskirts of town, conditions changed abruptly. No interstate highways yet existed; four-lane "superhighways" weren't even considered by highway departments until 1938. In all, the country had about 500,000 miles of two-lane highways during the 1930s, and only about 70 percent of these miles were paved.[2]

As the decade wore on, more and more roads were built, and many existing ones were surfaced. Some of the credit for this goes to the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the Works Progress Administration (WPA), and other federally funded New Deal groups that changed the landscape of the nation. The WPA alone was responsible for over half a million miles of such construction.

Amenities such as service stations, rest rooms, lodging, and restaurants tended to be few and far between. As traffic increased, however, strip development along the highway followed. Gas stations, eateries, cabins, and souvenir shops multiplied. Astute travelers quickly mastered interpreting the signs along the road, not just what they said—"gas," "food," "lodging"—but also what they signified. Coca-Cola, Sealy mattresses, Howard Johnson's foods, and Texaco gasoline were comforting reminders of American efficiency and know-how, and the highway served as a popular promenade to display and advertise them.

By the end of the decade, commercial strips had become part of the roadside landscape. In addition, small shopping centers had begun to appear, usually close to a busy highway and with easy access. These forerunners of the malls of the postwar years were simple affairs, usually an L-shaped cluster of stores and a large paved parking area.

In 1935, the city fathers of Oklahoma City used traffic woes as a way to raise income. The parking meter, or Park-O-Meter, came into being. Initially, they cost $58 apiece and paid for themselves in short order. After that, the income went to the municipality. Other cities soon adopted the device, and the parking meter became a part of the American scene.

A popular comic strip of the era was Frank King's *Gasoline Alley.* The title refers to a narrow lane that bisected many residential blocks of the time. People built their garages so they would face this alley and not the street; the front-facing driveway was still relatively unknown. The gentle, good-natured strip often focused on the activities of the alley: cars, their repairs, their performance, and general automotive lore. Readership of the strip stood in the millions.

Frank Capra's comedy *It Happened One Night* (1934) offers endless examples of the trials and tribulations of road travel in 1930s America. The two stars, Clark Gable and Claudette Colbert, hitchhike, and ride in buses and taxis and, at times, in decrepit automobiles. Closed gas stations, run-down auto camps (a cross between a motel and a roadside cabin), and mechanical breakdowns compound their woes. Presumably, everything depicted in the movie had at one time or another happened to members of the audience, and so a close sense of identification between fiction and reality was quickly established. (See Entertainment of the 1930s.)

LODGING

For those driving long distances, lodging could prove challenging. As a rule, traditional hotels were located in towns and cities, generally close to the railroad station. These were often ornate structures occupying prime business land, and their expensive construction costs were reflected in room rates and restaurant charges. Since their primary clientele had been males who traveled alone on business, rooms tended to be small and unadorned, and most hotels did almost nothing to cater to families. Their restaurants exuded a masculine air, with a smoky bar or lounge as important as tables for diners.

The advent of the automobile, however, changed who traveled and the way they did it. Auto camps began to spring up throughout the country. Typically, they offered a gas pump, a small convenience store with some cheap souvenirs and a few groceries, and a choice between a single-room cabin and a place for erecting a tent. The more luxurious provided a bare-bones recreation hall, café, and covered camping facilities.[3]

Competition among roadside auto camps forced them to improve their offerings. They began providing raised platforms that kept the tent floor dry during rain. Ramshackle cabins were replaced by more orderly rows of reasonably well-constructed cottages. By the mid-1930s, *Popular Mechanics,* a magazine with a large following among do-it-yourselfers, ran articles explaining how to build tourist cabins that would attract business. Folksy names like "Para Dice," "Dew Drop Inn," and "Tumble Inn" added to the appeal of these tourist stops. It was apparent that the family was welcome.

The auto camps and freestanding cabins continued to evolve. Connecting roofs, or carports, between buildings linked the cottages and protected parked vehicles. This innovation led to the creation and construction of the auto court or, as it came to be known, the motel (motor + hotel). It first appeared in California.

Motels appealed to families. They were cheap, and no porters, bell captains, or other personnel stood around expecting a tip. Bags could be transported from auto to room quickly, with no embarrassing parade through a lobby, so there was no need for expensive luggage. Both check-in and checkout were speedy, and parking convenience was assured. Most motels at first tended to be only one story in height, eliminating the chore of lugging bags up flights of stairs. The room itself frequently had a window or two that provided some ventilation; it also had a screen door, and gave a sense of openness. Hotel rooms, on the other hand were frequently up several flights of narrow stairs, and might have only one small window that looked out on an airshaft.

By the mid-1930s, a swimming pool, perhaps some playground equipment—all visible from the highway—became standard fixtures for motels wanting to catch motorists' attention, especially those traveling with children. It did not matter whether the pool was actually used; it, along with the clustered beach chairs and umbrellas, suggested a level of quality higher than competitors who did not offer such amenities.

Some operators formed chains with such names as Alamo Plaza, United Motor Courts, Deluxe Motor Courts, and TraveLodge. The number of courts and motels went from slightly over 3,000 at the end of the 1920s to well over 13,000 in 1939. At the same time, hotels reported sharp drops in occupancy rates. It was estimated that about 85 percent of all vacationers traveled by car during the period. Tourist facilities of all kinds quadrupled between 1927 and 1935, going from about 5,000 establishments to some 20,000.[4]

Despite the rapid growth of the motel business, some doubt lingered about this economical form of lodging in the minds of many Americans. Motels allowed people to travel almost anonymously. Presumably, not everyone stopping at a motel had honorable intentions. In a lurid article written for the popular *American Magazine* at the end of the decade, F.B.I. Director J. Edgar Hoover proclaimed motels, tourist cabins, and anything in between to be immoral and leading to corruption. Hoover's words carried considerable weight, even if much of the message consisted of sensationalism.

TRAILERS

Not everyone, however, needed a motel. Home craftsmen had been fashioning vehicles to tow behind their automobiles for some years, and so the concept was neither new nor foreign to consumers. In the 1920s and 1930s, the trunk on the average automobile was small by today's standards. Seats did not recline, and interior space was cramped.

At the end of the 1920s, handyman Arthur Sherman built himself a box on wheels. He fashioned his creation out of Masonite, a cheap hardboard. Acquaintances admired his work, so he had carpenters assemble several more, and sold them. Then a few more, and a few more after that, until, in 1936, he had 1,100 people working for him, putting together his trademark covered wagons at the rate of 1,000 a month.

The Sherman covered wagon was simplicity itself. At just under $400, it was fairly affordable, easy to maintain, and could be readily imitated. By 1936 at least 700 commercial builders were assembling trailers of one form or another.

The manufacturers began to make their vehicles larger, adding more and more amenities like complete kitchenettes, chemical toilets, self-contained water supplies, and increased storage. By 1935, thousands of families were packing up and moving to trailer camps across the nation. Florida led the rankings, with over 17,000 camps available, most of which could accommodate about 100 trailers each. California boasted some 6,000 camps. Every state in the union had facilities; North Dakota, at the bottom of the list, had more than 100. These nomads had discovered that living in a trailer was generally cheaper than residing in a conventional home, plus they found themselves among like-minded individuals.[5]

In the midst of this boom, Wally Byam formed the Airstream Trailer Company. His product was constructed entirely of aluminum, instead of the usual hardboard and wood framing then in vogue, and his creation was ultra-streamlined, resembling an airplane or a spaceship more than a conventional trailer. Byam saw his product as a recreational camper, not as a home on wheels. His Airstream Trailer would eventually become one



Trailers on the move in Florida in 1939. The popularity of trailers lasted until the end of the decade and the onset of World War II. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

of the most popular and enduring travel trailers of all time.

Widely read magazines, such as *Harper's, Life, Popular Mechanics,* the *Saturday Evening Post,* and *Time,* chronicled the phenomenon, but the bottom fell out of the trailer market in the recession of 1938. Before it collapsed, however, popular culture picked up on its success. *Ella Cinders,* a nationally syndicated newspaper comic strip, had a long-running episode that dealt with the subject, and several radio soap operas had their heroines living the trailer life. Montgomery Ward, the huge merchandiser, added a furnished trailer to its catalog. There was even the "Roosevelt caravan," a string of fifty trailers pulled by new cars promoting Franklin Roosevelt and his programs as part of the 1936 presidential campaign.

PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION

The automobile was not the only way to get to a destination; mass transit was a major force in the country's urban centers. For example, the adventuresome could go from Boston to New York City by bus and trolley. The journey first involved obtaining a "wayfinder," a detailed listing of regional routes and schedules. Once aboard, there were numerous stops in New England towns and the expenditure of twenty-plus hours to do it. But the final fare, at about a nickel each stop, was approximately $2.40. By using a combination of buses, trolleys, and electric interurban rail transit, even a trip to New York City from Chicago was possible.[6]

Because of the slow improvement of state and federal roads, bus usage grew rapidly. In 1930, 20

percent of all intercity travel was by bus, and that figure continued to increase during the Depression years. Greyhound Bus Lines had coast-to-coast routes in the thirties, and their success led a number of smaller companies to form National Trailways in 1936. The additional lines meant that the United States had an effective intercity and cross-country bus system in place by 1935.

Around 1935, the Greyhound Corporation began running full-page, four-color advertisements in the *Saturday Evening Post* extolling the pleasures of a long-distance trip via a Greyhound. The illustrations showed buses that were progressively more streamlined over time. Although the ads depicted happy families getting on board, most bus passengers were commercial travelers such as salesmen, going from town to town to conduct business. The average American family travelled by car. Nevertheless, the impact of increased bus use was felt by the nation's railroads; they saw both the number of passengers and revenues decline.

Where buses could offer distinctive service was in the area of tours. These were extremely lucrative, and Greyhound in particular offered tour packages around the country. Tours usually included round-trip transportation, hotel accommodations, and visits to selected sites. Niagara Falls, the national parks, big cities, and scenic vistas were popular destinations. Greyhound's organized tours were so successful that the company created its own travel agencies; they did well throughout the Depression era.[7]

The aforementioned *It Happened One Night* employs a Greyhound bus as part of its story. Likewise, other films used "the Hound" as a basis for their plotting. *Fugitive Lovers* (1934), a comedy starring Robert Montgomery, was a big box-office draw. Montgomery embarks on a picturesque cross-country bus tour with—among others—the Three Stooges as company. The movie marked an early outing for the zany trio, but the fabulous scenery and the comforts of the bus may have been the most lasting impressions audiences carried away from the film.

Most cities boasted at least a couple of taxi companies, although the economic downturn hit cabs hard and many firms went under. During the grimmest years of the crisis, a typical taxi charge might total twenty cents for a one-mile ride, about half of the fare just a few years earlier. The survivors, however, profited in the later 1930s and became a familiar part of the urban scene.

TRAIN TRAVEL

The railroads were slow in adapting to the modern needs of actual or potential passengers. Air travel was still in its relative infancy, the bus and coach lines appeared to offer little real competition, and auto travel, though growing rapidly, did not figure into their calculations.

The 1930s witnessed a profound shift in public opinion about travel. The automobile could take people anywhere. Buses, too, had become more popular; 1935 witnessed a first: more people rode buses than trains. Despite the shifting demographics, trains still offered a variety of choices to the consumer. The country was crisscrossed with railroad tracks, and dozens of companies vied for passengers. Very few towns were not served by a railroad. Great terminals in the nation's cities welcomed passengers into a temple-like atmosphere, a world of bustling African American porters, clouds of steam, and boards with endless lists of arrivals and departures.

The railroads' miscalculations were based on a history of success. Much of the National Park system in the West had grown because of the impact of passenger rail service. For instance, Yellowstone Park, isolated from any major highways, welcomed 45,000 rail visitors in 1915; only 7,500 came by automobile. By 1930, with an improved road system, a paltry 27,000 took the train to the park; 195,000 drove their cars. For the American traveler, momentous change had occurred, but the still prosperous railroad companies ignored the message.[8]

In spectacular magazine and poster advertisements, the railroads continued to present the romance of steam engines and gorgeous vistas. The enticements of the ads may have convinced some families to visit Glacier or Yosemite, but they had no interest in taking a train to do it.

It would be unfair to say that the railroads ignored passenger service. During the 1930s, every

day, at every hour, passenger trains were pulling out of and into stations across the nation. Some of the trains were quite miserable, with old, dilapidated cars, poor service, and erratic schedules. Some were merely adequate; others were quite good, with dining cars, bar cars, sleepers, and compartments, ranging from staterooms to an efficiency module called a "roomette," a self-contained unit that was introduced on selected trains in 1937.[9]

Several of the major American railroads spent prodigious amounts to create and maintain a few luxury trains. They realized that people with money were abandoning traditional train transportation for airlines and highway travel to travel first class. In addition, railroads cut fares to lure more passengers, and they offered coach travelers amenities such as lounge cars equipped with radios, a tacit admission of the role radio was coming to play in Americans' lives. The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad air-conditioned its all-parlor train, the New York to Washington Columbian, in 1931. This move was an industry first; by 1936 almost 6,000 passenger cars enjoyed this feature.

The change that most people noticed, however, was the move to streamlining. The sleek, forward-looking engines of the Grand Central Railroad, the Pennsylvania, the Burlington, the Santa Fe, the Southern Pacific, and the Union Pacific have come to be associated with the 1930s and the 1940s. Names like the Super Chief, the California Zephyr, the Hiawatha, the Broadway Limited, the Twentieth Century, and the Mercury can still conjure up pictures of beautiful people in elegant clothes, sipping cocktails while the sun dips behind snow-capped mountains. These diesel-powered locomotives may not have been much faster than their more traditional steam counterparts, but they *looked* faster, and they also looked modern and fashionable.[10]

Hollywood has always liked trains. The camera can remain focused on a limited set, and the passing scenery is just background. A film like 1934's very successful *Twentieth Century* was a case in point: adapted from the stage, the story unfolds during the railroad trip itself. During the course of the film, glamorous actors like Carole Lombard and John Barrymore move from modern compartments to a sleek cocktail lounge. Always in the background is the motif of motion,



Advertisement for Southern Pacific Railway, showing the new streamlined train, the interior of a dining car, and a map of the four routes of Southern Pacific, 1937. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

of movement—from one affair to another or from one place to another. *The Silver Streak* (1934; not to be confused with the 1976 comedy *Silver Streak*), set in the West, gives a tightly controlled picture of railroads and speed. A train must race against time in order to save lives. The image of the engine cutting a swath of smoke and steam in the vastness of the desert is well done.

AIR TRAVEL

Perhaps nothing captured the American travel imagination like the magnificent zeppelins, or dirigibles, which traversed the skies during the early 1930s. Named for Count Ferdinand von Zeppelin (1838–1917), a German scientist and engineer instrumental in the development of lighter-than-air craft, the great airships were poised to become a significant force in aviation.[11]

Hollywood brought out several movies that featured zeppelins. Howard Hughes directed *Hell's Angels* (1930), a special-effects-filled picture that featured dogfights around a German zeppelin in World War I. Another aerial epic was *Dirigible* (1931).

The U.S. Navy saw dirigibles as an effective extension of the fleet. In the midst of the Depression, the admirals persuaded Congress to approve the construction of the *Akron* (1931) and the *Macon* (1933). The *Akron* generated a lot of good publicity for the navy, flying around the country and engaging in maneuvers. It carried four small biplanes on its huge frame, releasing them while airborne and then recapturing them while still aloft. In 1933 the *Akron* went down in a storm with the loss of 73 lives, the worst air disaster until that time. The *Macon* likewise plunged into the ocean in 1935. With these two failures, the U.S. government effectively retired from any further airship development until World War II.

At the same time, the privately owned Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, long active in dirigible research, continued work with non-rigid airships, or blimps. By the outbreak of World War II in 1941, Goodyear blimps had transported several hundred thousand passengers and carried countless advertising messages on their exteriors.

Despite the setbacks suffered by the U.S. Navy, Germany strove to perfect these unwieldy craft and was the nation most advanced in overall airship utilization. The pride of their fleet was the *Graf Zeppelin,* a mammoth 775-foot dirigible that circumnavigated the globe, including stops at Lakehurst, New Jersey, and Los Angeles. As a result of these exploits, the United States in 1930 issued a set of three commemorative airmail stamps, each depicting the *Graf Zeppelin* in flight. Now extremely rare and valuable, the stamps were in denominations of 65¢, $1.30, and $2.60. Three years later, to celebrate Chicago's Century of Progress Exposition, another stamp was printed, this one showing the *Graf Zeppelin* heading for the towers of Chicago. It came in a fifty-cent denomination and is equally sought after by philatelists.

The *Graf Zeppelin*'s sister ship, the *Hindenburg,* was built in 1936; it was the most luxurious dirigible in the skies, and great hopes were held out for it to make such air travel commonplace between America and Europe. The *Hindenburg* flew without incident from Germany to Lakehurst and back in May 1936, accomplishing the journey in the record time of just under 65 hours. As a result, public interest in airships was at an all-time high, and it appeared that regular transatlantic dirigible travel was now a reality. Nine more flights ensued, usually with several celebrities on board. The passengers raved about the smooth, quiet ride.[12]

In May 1937, as always, a crowd turned out at Lakehurst for the *Hindenburg*'s arrival; among them was Herb Morrison, a reporter for NBC Radio News. As it approached the mooring mast, something went terribly wrong and the airship burst into flames. Morrison, microphone in hand, managed to report the disaster live over the airwaves. As he watched and reported—"Oh, the humanity!" he cried—38 people died in the flaming wreckage. Theories for the cause include lightning igniting the hydrogen gas that powered the *Hindenburg* or an electric spark (possibly caused by lightning) setting fire to its outer skin covering. After the disaster, no one wanted anything to do with airships. The tragedy, however, did little to diminish the public's fascination with daredevil airplane stunts and feats, such as wing walkers, aerial acrobatics, races, and mock combat.

Charles Lindbergh (1902–1974), who had thrilled the country with his solo flight to Paris in 1927, took to the air again during the 1930s. He and his wife, Anne Morrow Lindbergh, envisioned great growth in commercial aviation and worked to create a North Atlantic route for future airliners. Following these journeys she wrote a pair of best sellers—*North to the Orient* (1935) and *Listen! The Wind* (1938)—about their adventures.

With each passing year in the decade, airplanes were flying higher, faster, and longer. In 1931, the American aviator Wiley Post (1898–1935) kept listeners glued to their radios or readers eagerly awaiting the latest newspaper edition that chronicled his latest exploit. That year, Post raced around the world in his *Winnie Mae,* a single-engine, high-wing monoplane with detachable landing gear that gave it greater speed and distance. Post

telegraphed accounts of his journey to a news syndicate which released them to a waiting public. Even with all the ballyhoo, he accomplished something significant: he and his navigator had circled the globe in 8 days, 15 hours, and 51 minutes, a new record. Post—dashing in a black eye patch and leather gear—took off again in 1933, but this time he was alone. He and the *Winnie Mae* beat their own record by over 21 hours, making him both the fastest and the first to do it solo. Distances were shrinking, and the public avidly followed each new accomplishment.[13]

The annual National Air Races involved two events that gripped public attention, the Thompson Trophy and the Bendix Trophy races. The first was a closed-course race where small planes buzzed around a set pattern that used tall pylons as markers. The closer and faster a pilot could shave a pylon, the better the elapsed time. The Thomson Trophy races were dangerous, and a number of daring fliers crashed and died.

The Bendix Trophy was based on time and distance, usually a coast-to-coast flight. Initiated in 1931, this race drew the top aviators of the day. Jimmy Doolittle of the Army Air Corps, Howard Hughes, Frank "Meteor Man" Hawks, and Roscoe Turner were some of the pilots who combined distance with speed and endurance. In fact, Hughes carried these goals far beyond the original boundaries of the event. A movie director, inventor, and millionaire, he climbed into his self-designed *Hughes Special* in 1935 and reached the almost unbelievable airspeed of 325 miles per hour. Two years later he sped across the country in under eight hours, and in 1938 he circled the globe in three days, nineteen hours, and fourteen minutes, more than halving Wiley Post's 1933 record.

The public also followed a young aviatrix—as women pilots were then called—named Amelia Earhart. In 1928, she had earned fame as the first woman to fly the Atlantic, but as a passenger. Earhart quickly became something of a celebrity. In 1932, at the age of 35, she made her own solo flight across the Atlantic, again the first woman to do so. She flew from Hawaii to California in 1935, quickly following that exploit with yet another solo flight from Mexico City to New Jersey. She was the first flier, male or female, to accomplish either of these feats. She announced plans for a round-the-world flight in 1937. Somewhere over the vast reaches of the Pacific, her plane disappeared, and the plane, Earhart, and her navigator Frederick J. Noonan, have never been found.

The daring of these pilots spread to the newspaper comics. Adventure series like *Ace Drummond* (1935–1940) competed for space on the crowded funny pages. Purportedly drawn by Captain Eddie Rickenbacker, a renowned World War I flying ace, the strip was really the work of Clayton Knight. It included a small panel entitled *Hall of Fame of the Air,* where the exploits of real fliers were celebrated. Frank Miller's *Barney Baxter in the Air* (1935–1950), aimed at the youth market, involved an adolescent boy in all sorts of aerial adventures. With the approach of World War II, Barney pushes hard for military preparedness, making his strip one of the first major series to suggest that war was inevitable and the nation needed to be ready for it.

Probably the most popular of all the flying strips was *Smilin' Jack* (1933–1973), a mix of humor, romance, and adventure. The creation of Zack Mosley, the series reminded readers of Wiley Post and even Amelia Earhart, since women fliers appeared in the stories. Awkwardly drawn, the strip enthralled its readers with its meticulous attention to mechanical detail. The romance may have come directly from radio soap operas, but the airplanes came from the headlines.[14]

By the mid-1930s, altitudes above several thousand feet, speeds over 125 miles per hour, and distances exceeding a thousand miles were made commonplace by technological advances. To lure first-time travelers, as well as more seasoned fliers, aeronautical designers worked diligently to make the aircraft of the 1930s suggest speed and efficiency. As a result, sleek, streamlined forms began to characterize commercial aircraft—shapes that have continued to dominate flight to the present.[15]

No airplane of the period better summarizes the changeover than the Douglas DC-3. These craft, designed in 1933 as the DC-1 and first manufactured as the DC-2, carried their passengers in relative comfort during the day. However, the airlines also wanted to offer customers berths for long-distance night flying. In 1936 Douglas introduced

the DC-3, a larger version of the DC-2. By day it seated 21 persons; at night it offered berths for 14 in its "skysleeper" or Douglas Sleeper Transport. The DC-3 was fast—it could cruise at almost 200 mph, an astonishing speed for any commercial plane at the time—and it was fabulously reliable. Over 11,000 DC-3s were built, making it the most successful and most profitable airplane of all time. In 1939, the DC-3 carried some three-quarters of all air passengers in the United States.

The 1930s saw the theatrical release of over 25 commercial films that were aviation-oriented. The decade opened with two World War I dramas, director Howard Hughes's *Hell's Angels* (1930) and Howard Hawks's *The Dawn Patrol* (1930). These movies indicated the direction the majority of future aviation pictures would take: war stories with lots of combat footage.

Mostly forgotten potboilers, aviation movies did provide an exciting moment or two of flying during the early days of the Depression. But a pair of exceptions also came along: *King Kong* (1933) and *Flying Down to Rio* (1933). *King Kong* was not an aviation film; it was a classic mix of horror and fantasy. The final sequence, however, with the giant ape perched atop the newly built Empire State Building, brushing off attacking army biplanes as if they were annoying gnats, is an iconic cinematic moment. (See Entertainment of the 1930s.)

Flying Down to Rio likewise was not specifically an aviation movie, but it contained one of the great film flight sequences. In this musical, technology is a vehicle for showcasing the talents of dancers Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers. But even Astaire and Rogers take a backseat to a bevy of chorus girls as they kick up their heels in unison while standing on the wings of a large airplane, flying down to the famous Brazilian city. A triumph of special effects, the scene makes absolutely no social or technological comments; rather it displays the wonder and fun only movies can provide.

The films of remainder of the decade returned to more traditional aerial imagery. As the war clouds over Asia and Europe darkened perceptibly, the American screen often emphasized thoughts of preparedness.

Test Pilot (1938) portrays a flier (Clark Gable) and a mechanic (Spencer Tracy) who put experimental aircraft through their paces. The story includes footage about testing the military's then-new B-17 bomber and the importance attached to military superiority. By the late 1930s, any thoughts of neutrality were in the process of being conveniently forgotten by Hollywood, and the content of many action films reflected this loss of innocence.

SEA TRAVEL

Ocean travel, though the privilege of only a few, was played up in the popular press and became a subject of note during the Depression years. Most of the great liners sailed under the flags of foreign nations. Flying the tricolor of the French Line were the *Île de France* and the *Normandie,* the latter perhaps the quintessential ocean liner of the 1930s. Arriving in New York Harbor in 1935 on its maiden voyage, the *Normandie* carried almost 2,000 passengers in unsurpassed comfort.[16]

The English, once the rulers of the sea, were not to be outdone by the French. They were represented by several liners, but the *Queen Mary* served as the flagship of Cunard Lines for much of the decade. The *Queen Mary* was built in 1934 and made a triumphant New York arrival in May 1936. Like the *Normandie,* the *Queen Mary* epitomized luxurious travel. Americans were fascinated by these grand ships. Despite the absence of liners under the American flag, most of the passengers—perhaps 75 percent of the total—crossing the Atlantic were from the United States.

Using the most stylish graphics of the period, the various lines painted a picture of modern luxury at sea. The placement of the ads in magazines, newspapers, travel agencies, posters, and billboards guaranteed that millions would see the alluring vision of a lifestyle associated with the very rich.

As filmmakers became enamored of the ocean liner, a remarkable string of comedies, mysteries, and musicals came out that were set, either in whole or in part, on sleek, polished liners. First came *Transatlantic* (1931), a minor film that was, nevertheless, a pioneer. It presented Art Deco as a style of contrasting blacks, whites, and geometric forms. These decorative motifs went on to influence imitators and convinced movie patrons that life on the high seas was very good indeed.

In 1934, *Chained* brought together Clark Gable and Joan Crawford for some shipboard romance. The ship, of course, presented a backdrop consisting of the most fashionable design trends. *A Night at the Opera* (1935), featuring the Marx Brothers, has many hilarious scenes on an ocean liner, including the classic stateroom scene where a preposterous number of people, including stowaways emerging from a trunk, end up in the same tiny room.

Follow the Fleet (1936) has the unparalleled dance team of Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers cavorting against a Moderne backdrop of ships and sailors. The following year, RKO Pictures had the duo at it again with *Shall We Dance* (1937). As always, the plot was secondary to the dancing. The story, however, does get Astaire and Rogers aboard a white, streamlined liner that echoes the ads of the major steamship companies. Both films reinforce what was already fact; art now was imitating the commonplace.

Possibly the epitome of all the liner-associated pictures is *The Big Broadcast of 1938* (1938). The movie had plenty of stars—W. C. Fields, Bob Hope, Dorothy Lamour, Martha Raye—but it also boasted a streamlined ship created by Norman Bel Geddes, one of the premier theatrical and industrial designers of the day. In a climactic race against another liner, the film's S.S. *Gigantic* resembled nothing so much as a waterborne spaceship. Here were the Buck Rogers/Flash Gordon comic strip motifs carried over into 1938 and pointed toward the optimistic world of tomorrow that would shortly be celebrated in the New York World's Fair.

Visual Arts of the 1930s

In the eyes of most Americans, the artistic movements of the 1910s and 1920s were confusing and unintelligible. Modern art was characterized as decadent, the work of foreigners, and resistance to it was seen as proper and patriotic. A few museums presented shows that introduced new currents of visual expression, but for the most part exhibitions presented the tried and true, using representational art—still lifes, landscapes, portraits—as their foundation.

Even with the insularity of American taste, a few significant works achieved both critical and public acclaim, and Modernism crept into popular works, albeit slowly and circuitously. Tradition, in the form of representational art, continued its hold on the popular audience. That many of the traditionalists often employed Modernist motifs and techniques in their work was overlooked at the time, and only in retrospect is this aspect of their achievements acknowledged.

PAINTING AND ALLIED ARTS

Few serious artists prospered during the Depression years. Their works were seen, if at all, by a limited, elitist audience, and the larger mass audience remained ignorant of changes occurring in American art at the time. Both collectors and museums lacked the funds for purchases, and many galleries closed. Not until the federal government took the unprecedented step of subsidizing the arts did the future brighten for talented painters and other artists.

Regionalism

If any one school of painting rose to national prominence, it was Regionalism. The artists considered Regionalists employed themes of national identity, using the land as a carrier of meaning. Instead of Paris and sidewalk cafés, the Regionalists might paint an American diner and fill it with typical small-town citizens. Regionalism celebrated a nostalgia for the past, especially the rural past that was fast disappearing with technology and urban growth. In addition, the Regionalists made no attempt to debunk American institutions and values, as did so many artists in previous decades; they preferred to mythologize American history, elevating the commonplace and giving it heroic status.

The two regionalists who attracted the most attention, both critical and popular, during the period were Grant Wood (1891–1942) and Thomas Hart Benton (1889–1975).[1] Wood was the better known, primarily on the basis of one painting, *American Gothic,* a work he first exhibited at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1930.

This simple portrait of two people drew instant acclaim. Crowds lined up to view the work, and the Art Institute promptly purchased it for their permanent collection, paying the sum of $300. Since then, Wood's picture has become instantly recognizable to millions, both in its original form and as the object of parody. Countless advertisers have employed the image, usually humorously, as the backdrop for every conceivable product, relying on the audience's familiarity with the painting to assist in presenting their message.

None of Wood's many other notable paintings ever approached *American Gothic* in popularity. He had struck a resonant chord with virtually all Americans, and he capitalized on it. Publicity photographs showed Wood attired in overalls, a folksy Iowan who represented the Heartland. He spoke obliquely about his work, changing stories about *American Gothic* to please his public.

American Gothic may be the best-known painting of the 1930s, but the self-appointed spokesperson for the Regionalists was Missouri-born Thomas Hart Benton. He demanded a manly, representational art, free of the false affectations of Modernism and European influences. In December 1934, *Time* magazine chose Benton for its cover in a wide-ranging feature on contemporary American art. Benton took this opportunity to lambaste much of the current artistic community, and claimed that Regionalism superseded any Modernist movements.

Despite his tendency to pontificate and exaggerate, Benton did have considerable popular appeal. He helped to reinvigorate the art of mural painting, contributing a number of outstanding large works that attracted wide audiences. He freely used allegory, along with the folktales and legends of heartland America, as his text.



Sunday Morning by Thomas Hart Benton. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Writhing, elongated figures, with all their serpentine contours, became his trademark, and he formularized it into compositions, all the time saying that his work was a repudiation of Modernism. Benton was the most colorful of the Regionalists, and he helped to make many people aware of his approach to art.

Urban Realism

The Regionalists weathered the Depression, but the impending war soon overshadowed their efforts. Meanwhile, many other artists were striving for recognition, and most could be grouped as urban and social realists. The unemployment and despair seen in many American towns and cities during the Depression brought about a new wave of interest in the urban scene. Many artists, like Edward Hopper (1882–1967) and Charles Sheeler (1883–1965), depicted the American city as cheerless, a drab, ugly place. Whereas earlier interpreters had painted the city as a lively scene, many of the urban painters of the 1930s, particularly Hopper and Sheeler, sucked the life out of it. In their work, the city tended to be eerily quiet, permeated by an overriding feeling of loneliness, as if people could not connect with each other. There was a sense of detachment—often the viewer was placed at a distance from the subject.[2]

Hopper's cityscapes were painted in such a way that the urban hustle and bustle was absent, as if a kind of inertia had stifled all activity. Sheeler's unsullied factory landscapes, on the other hand, depicted the power of industrial America, but no workers ran the machines he so lovingly detailed. With great factories standing idle in the Depression, Sheeler's paintings provided mute comment on the unrealized power of American industry. Both artists had their followers, and today they are certainly significant American painters, but their fame was limited to museums and galleries.

An altogether different view of the city was provided by Reginald Marsh (1898–1954). For him, a city street was a raucous, honky-tonk place, full of the gritty details of life. It may not have been pretty, but it was alive, and he plunged the viewer into the midst of noisy chaos, a place of bustling visual turbulence. Edward Hopper's city scenes made the onlooker ponder, but Marsh's were more celebratory—that was the way the city was, and there was no need to be moralistic about it.

Thanks to several mural commissions and his own vibrant paintings, Reginald Marsh achieved a modest popular success. Although he enjoyed satirizing the rich in many of his works, his poor and downtrodden exhibited a sense that they were comfortable and belonged in this environment. Marsh reflected the growing urbanism of the United States, and his candor in depicting the inherent life of a large American city (almost always New York) appealed to a broad cross section of the population.[3]

Federal Art Project

In 1933, the administration of President Roosevelt created the Public Works of Art Project, a six-month program designed to employ 3,750 artists and aid in the creation of over 15,000 works, including 700 public murals. Run by the Treasury Department, it was judged a success, and a much more ambitious program for all artistic endeavors grew out of it.[4]

The newly created Works Progress Administration (WPA) was given the mandate to create meaningful jobs for thousands of unemployed citizens, so it formed a number of alphabet agencies, such as the Federal Art Project (FAP). The FAP became a beacon of hope for unemployed artists and art teachers, just as similar agencies came to the aid of theater, music, and literature. In each instance, many individuals who otherwise would have been unemployed found rewarding projects within their areas of expertise. At no other time has the government offered such largesse to the arts.

The FAP peaked in 1936, when 6,000 artists and artisans were on its rolls. The program survived until 1942, making it one of the longest-running federal projects of that type. In all, the FAP spent over $35 million, dispensing assistance to about 12,000 artists. Its output was significant: over 4,500 murals, 19,000 sculptures, and more than 450,000 paintings and prints are attributed to this one agency. The FAP did have one stipulation: works had to depict American themes, either from the present or from history. Artists looked to the national past for orientation and direction, and this approach helped lead to the fascination with



Poster for Federal Art Project exhibition of art from the Illinois Federal Art Project at the Federal Art Gallery, in New York City. Created between 1936 and 1938. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

anything and everything considered early American, which boomed throughout the decade.

Many of the FAP murals depicted cowboys, farmers, aviators, laborers, mail carriers (a disproportionate number of the murals were done in post offices), and folk heroes. For the most part it was a sanitized view of early America, essentially presenting white male Americans happily working in a chosen land.[5]

Arts

Photography

At the same time that the WPA was collecting documentation about America's past through art, photographers were going into cities and out to the countryside to capture American life on film. Their work was called "social documentary" and "photojournalism," and their photographs of coal miners, sharecroppers, child laborers, immigrants, and the destitute constituted a new level of social awareness. Photographers like Margaret Bourke-White (1906–1971), Walker Evans (1903–1975), Lewis Hine (1874–1940), Dorothea Lange (1895–1965), Carl Mydans (1907–2004), Arthur Rothstein (1915–1985), and Paul Strand (1890–1976) gained fame with their hard-hitting black-and-white studies.

Bourke-White's *You Have Seen Their Faces* (1937; written with Erskine Caldwell) stirred emotions with its portraits of American farm families

HISPANIC AMERICAN AND AFRICAN AMERICAN ART OF THE 1930s

While the melting pot culture of the United States allows for innovative combinations of cultural traditions, racial tension and, at times, overt racism have made it difficult for minority artists to break into the professional art scene. Early Hispanic American and African American artists often produced work that directly imitated popular white artists. This changed significantly during the 1930s, when both Hispanic American and African American artists began exploring art that tapped into their own cultural traditions. African American artists found a patron in the Works Progress Administration, a federal agency that funded a number of depression-era artists. Some works depicted scenes of African American urban and rural life, often calling attention to race relations, discrimination, and other social issues. While Hispanic artists of the era had a more difficult time finding funding opportunities, there was a movement in the Southwest among artists who took their inspiration from the mural painters of Mexico, like Jose Clemente Orzoco. Hispanic painters created murals in cities in New York, Arizona, and New Mexico, murals that celebrated Hispanic culture and traditions. While intolerance and racism certainly hindered the progress of minority artists, the 1930s proved that pride in one's ethnic heritage could inspire creative evolution, which would in turn inspire generations of artists to push the limits of creative innovation.



One of Walker Evans's justly famous photographs, taken in 1937, when he was working with the Resettlement Administration: "Negroes in the lineup for food at mealtime in the camp for flood refugees, Forrest City, Arkansas. 1937." Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

facing bad economic times; Rothstein's *The Depression Years* (1978) provided a photographic overview of the country during the crisis and contained a mix of urban and rural images. Evans joined forces with the writer and critic James Agee to produce *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (1939; revised 1941). The two focused on farm families, especially sharecroppers, and their double plight: the Dust Bowl and the economic chaos of the period. The book's combination of lyrical text and searing photographs showed just how unequal the ordinary, daily lives of people could be. Collectively, these books helped establish photojournalism as a legitimate literary form.[6]

When *Life* magazine came into being in 1936, its success was due in part to the growing public interest in photojournalism. Eastman-Kodak, the huge film and camera manufacturer, sensed they were losing a large part of the lucrative home camera market because of a flood of cheap competitors' models. In response, they brought out the Baby Brownie in 1934, a simple point-and-shoot camera that used easily available roll film. Naturally, they recommended Kodak film. The Brownie sold for an affordable $1.00; plus it took bigger pictures than most others. Despite the Depression, the Brownie swept the nation, eclipsing its competition.

Other popular developments in amateur photography included Kodak's inexpensive movie camera, the 8mm Cine-Kodak Eight, introduced in 1932. In 1935, RCA pioneered in sound photography by unveiling the Sound-on-Film movie camera, making sound home movies possible for the first time.

Sculpture

A less popular visual art was sculpture. The average citizen equated sculpture with large,

public statues of long-dead historical figures that could be seen outside courthouses and in parks. Unless one lived in New York or Chicago and had access to the leading museums, modern sculpture was unseen and therefore had no popular impact.

Not so the work of Gutzon Borglum (1867–1941). The public readily accepted his creations as great sculpture. Throughout the 1930s, under the watchful eye of photographers and journalists, Borglum worked away at Mount Rushmore, a mountain located in the Black Hills of South Dakota. First with dynamite and then with pneumatic drills and 400 assistants, he roughed out the faces of four presidents—George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt. Hitched up to a precarious system of scaffolding that allowed him to swing across the face of the mountain, he blasted away at the busts, generating not only sculpture but also lots of publicity. Critics assailed the project as the worst kind of tasteless exhibitionism, but the public loved it. Mount Rushmore became a National Memorial, and millions have journeyed to South Dakota to see the huge likenesses of past U.S. presidents.[7]



Gutzon Borglum and superintendent inspecting work on the face (nose) of George Washington, Mt. Rushmore, South Dakota, 1932. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Paul Manship (1885–1966) also exemplified American taste in sculpture for the decade. His smooth, stylized works appealed to many, and his monumental figure of Prometheus above Rockefeller Center's skating rink has charmed generations. Although the piece is quite traditional, it seemed to sum up the average American's view of what public sculpture should be: large and easily identifiable.

ILLUSTRATION

Although Americans may not have been aware of the work being done by sculptors, they didn't lack exposure to significant paintings and drawings. Continuing a trend begun in the nineteenth century, American illustrators were creating art for magazines, books, posters, and advertising. These commercial artists churned out thousands of pictures that ranged from the amateurish to works that could stand beside anything produced by serious artists. The 1930s was a rich decade for American illustration, although many of its skilled practitioners have been forgotten or remain anonymous.

N. C. Wyeth

During the 1930s, the dean of American illustrators was Newell Convers Wyeth (1882–1945). A prolific artist, Wyeth did over 3,000 magazine illustrations, beginning with a cover for the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1903. He also created murals, paintings, and advertisements.

Ladies' Home Journal, Woman's Day, Good Housekeeping, McCall's, and *Redbook* were among the magazines that used his work, and such diverse companies as International Harvester, the American Tobacco Company (Lucky Strikes), General Electric, and Coca-Cola were among his commercial associations. Even with all these commissions, he still created murals for banks, schools, hotels, and other institutions, the majority featuring episodes from American history.

Financially secure, he enjoyed the luxury of painting for its own sake. In an acknowledgment of his renown and popularity, most of this mature work was purchased by museums, galleries, and individuals.[8]

Norman Rockwell

No American illustrator has enjoyed greater popularity than Norman Rockwell (1894–1978). A superb technician and stylist, Rockwell was also endowed with a storyteller's imagination. Most of his thousands of pictures were essentially narratives; they revealed a bit of story that viewers found easy to follow. His greatest successes could be viewed on the covers of the *Saturday Evening Post,* the primary carrier of his work. In all, Norman Rockwell executed 322 cover illustrations for this immensely popular magazine, a span that began in 1916, when he was only 22, and continued until 1963. Because of the magazine's large circulation, each cover was seen, on average, by four million people, giving him the largest audience ever enjoyed by an artist before or since.[9]

In reality, Norman Rockwell was a classical painter, working in the established European tradition of bourgeois storytelling. More so than N. C. Wyeth, Rockwell focused on the passing American scene. He painted small towns and their citizens, but Rockwell could hardly be considered a Regionalist. He focused on the ordinary and the familiar, and cast them in a warm, often humorous, glow. The viewer could identify with a Rockwell narrative and make sense of the story. Because of this approach, and his technical skills, he set the standards for American illustration from the 1920s through the 1950s.

The Depression never occurred in a Rockwell painting. He wisely sensed that most Americans preferred not to be reminded of the economic collapse, particularly on the covers of their favorite magazines or in the illustrations that accompanied stories or advertisements. Instead, Rockwell reassured the country that the nation's values were sound, that social and political rituals had meaning, and that the family and the individual would ultimately triumph. All the same, he suggested that a little stubbornness, a little laughter, and maybe even a bit of mischief would lighten everyone's spirits.

With the onset of the 1930s, Rockwell's *Post* covers shifted slightly from his earlier ones. He executed 67 covers during the decade, with a marked decline in the presence of children. Adults became his focus, perhaps in recognition that this was a more serious—more adult—period in the nation's history. He also allowed some contemporary celebrities into his creations: the rugged actor Gary Cooper graced a 1930 cover, allowing himself to be daintily made up by a studio employee; Jean Harlow, the reigning "Blonde Bombshell," wowed a group of gaga-eyed reporters in 1936; and two coeds swooned over a photograph of leading man Robert Taylor in 1938. In addition, Rockwell displayed a growing appreciation for fashion trends. The slim but curvaceous look favored by stylish women was duly depicted. His men, however, remained attired in shapeless suits that could come from almost any decade, a wry comment on the lack of distinctive style for most American men of the period.

Although Norman Rockwell will always be associated with the *Saturday Evening Post,* he, like N. C. Wyeth, contributed illustrations to many other magazines at the same time. His work appeared in *Boys' Life, Judge, Ladies' Home Journal, Leslie's, Liberty, Literary Digest, Popular Science,* and *Woman's Home Companion.* He devoted much energy to the Boy Scouts, illustrating their guidebooks and doing an annual calendar for them from 1925 to 1975.

By the 1930s, Rockwell's fame was assured, and advertising representatives flocked to his Vermont studio in an attempt to get him to draw or paint something extolling their products. As a result, a steady stream of illustrations poured forth lauding Fisk Tires, Overland automobiles, Edison Mazda (now General Electric), Sun-Maid Raisins, Jell-O, Coca-Cola, Orange Crush, the Red Cross—over 150 companies and organizations in all. His carefully lettered signature always appears in his work, even the most mundane advertisements. In this way, the name Rockwell soon became familiar to millions. It was a simple tactic, but it helped sustain his growing fame and popularity. Plus, his signature suggested an unspoken endorsement of the product.

Haddon Sundblom

Another illustrator needs to be mentioned, simply because one of his creations has been so completely accepted by the public. Haddon Sundblom (1899–1976) is responsible for the Santa Claus who now dominates Yuletide imagery. The artist did advertising for the Coca-Cola Company, including creating a yearly Christmas painting featuring Santa holding a Coke. Beginning in 1931, and continuing for the next thirty years, Sundblom painted Jolly Old Saint Nick enjoying "The Pause That Refreshes." Soon, every illustrator in the country was imitating the Sundblom model—rotund, ruddy complexion, big smile, twinkling eyes, and all the rest. Prior to 1931, Santa Claus tended to be more of an elfin figure, at times almost a gnome. In addition, earlier Santas were not always so merry; they could be rather frightening or mischievous. N. C. Wyeth did several interpretations of Santa Claus, but the man behind the beard seemed almost sinister in comparison to Sundblum's merry figure. Norman Rockwell wisely adopted this generic version of Santa in the 1930s, divorcing himself from some of his own Saint Nicks of earlier years.[10]



Young boy surprising Santa Claus as he takes bottle of Coca-Cola from the refrigerator. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

ENDNOTES FOR THE 1930s

OVERVIEW OF THE 1930s

1. Two books that cover the New York World's Fair and its time capsule in considerable detail are David Gelernter, *1939: The Lost World of the Fair* (New York: Avon Books, 1995), 269–70, 353; and Alice G. Marquis, *Hopes and Ashes: The Birth of Modern Times, 1929–1939* (New York: The Free Press, 1986).
2. Elliott West, *Growing Up in Twentieth-Century America: A History and Reference Guide* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 81–169.
3. Kennth T. Jackson, *The Crabgrass Frontier* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 193.
4. T. H. Watkins, *The Hungry Years: America in an Age of Crisis, 1929–1939* (New York: Henry Holt, 1999), 60.
5. Maurice Horn, ed., *100 Years of American Newspaper Comics* (New York: Gramercy Books, 1996), 197–98.
6. Winona Morgan, *The Family Meets the Depression* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1939), 16–19.
7. Robert S. McElvaine, *The Great Depression: America, 1929–1941* (New York: Times Books, 1961), 189–90.
8. Agnes Rogers, *I Remember Distinctly: A Family Album of the American People in the Years of Peace, 1918 to Pearl Harbor* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), 154.

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1. West, *Growing Up in Twentieth-Century America,* 81–169.
2. Errol Lincoln Uys, *Riding the Rails: Teenagers on the Move During the Depression* (New York: TV Books, 1999), 13–22.
3. Thomas Hine, *The Rise and Fall of the American Teenager* (New York: Avon Books [Bard], 1999), 206–7.
4. Grace Palladino, *Teenagers: An American History* (New York: Basic Books, 1996), 5, 17–25.
5. Steven M. Gelber, "A Job You Can't Lose: Work and Hobbies in the Great Depression," *Journal of Social History* 24 (1991): 747–49.

6. For more on attitudes about smoking see Michael Schudson, *Advertising, the Uneasy Persuasion: Its Dubious Impact on American Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1984); and Jane Webb Smith, *Smoke Signals: Cigarettes, Advertising, and the American Way of Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990).

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2. David P. Handlin, *American Architecture* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1985), 197ff.
3. William Peirce Randel, *The Evolution of American Taste* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1978), 183–85.
4. Clifford Edward Clark Jr., *The American Home: 1800–1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 193–95.
5. Much more detailed information about the housing crisis can be found in chapters 6 and 7 of David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 160–217.
6. John A. Jakle and Keith A Sculle, *The Gas Station in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 144–50.
7. Carl ton Jackson, *Hounds of the Road: A History of the Greyhound Bus Company* (Bowling Green, OH: Popular Press, 1984), 46–47.
8. Michael Horsham, *'20s and '30s Style* (Secaucus, NJ: Chartwell Books, 1989), 24–31.

BOOKS, NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, AND COMICS OF THE 1930s

1. A good introduction to the mystery genre is Julian Symons, *Bloody Murder: From the Detective Story to the Crime Novel* (New York: Penguin Books, 1972).
2. Margaret Mitchell, *Gone with the Wind* (Garden City, NY: Garden City Books, 1936), 689.
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1940s

Timeline

of Popular Culture Events, 1940s

1940

October 1: The Pennsylvania Turnpike officially opens.

December 8: The Chicago Bears beat the Washington Redskins 73–0 in the NFL championship game, the first professional football game broadcast nationally on radio.

December 21: Novelist F. Scott Fitzgerald dies of a heart attack.

Baldwin Hills Village construction begins in Los Angeles, California (finished in 1941).

The Lanham Act, which dedicates $150 million to the creation of housing for war workers, is passed into law.

Rockefeller Center opens in New York City.

The first Dairy Queen opens in Joliet, Illinois.

The first McDonald's drive-in restaurant opens in San Bernardino, California.

William Faulkner's *The Hamlet,* Ernest Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls,* Richard Wright's *Native Son,* and Carson McCullers' *The Heart is a Lonely Hunter* are published.

John Ford's movie adaptation of *The Grapes of Wrath* is released.

Jukeboxes appear everywhere, including stores, bars, and gas stations. A nickel buys 1 song, or 16 for 50 cents.

Eighty million people per week attend the movies.

Bugs Bunny debuts in the Warner Brothers cartoon *O'Hare.*

The Road to Singapore, starring Bob Hope, Bing Crosby, and Dorothy Lamour, is the top box office hit of the year, grossing $1.6 million.

1941

December 7: Japan attacks Pearl Harbor, Hawaii.

M&M's, Cheerios, aerosol cans, and La Choy Canned Chinese Food are introduced.

Work begins on the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia (finished in 1943).

From May 15 to July 17, the New York Yankees' Joe DiMaggio hits safely in a record 56 straight games.

The Boston Red Sox's Ted Williams hits .406, becoming the last man of the modern era to bat over .400 for an entire season.

Quonset huts are invented at the Quonset Point Naval Station on Rhode Island.

Eudora Welty's *A Curtain of Green,* Walker Evans and James Agee's *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men,* and John Crowe Ransom's *The New Criticism* are published.

Orson Welles's *Citizen Kane* is released.

Howard Hawks's *Sergeant York,* starring Gary Cooper, is the top box office hit of the year, grossing $4 million.
The phrases "Kilroy was here" and "Rosie the Riveter" first appear.
"Uncle Sam Wants You" posters appear every where.
Mount Rushmore is completed.
At a folk music festival in Seattle, the term "hootenanny" is coined.
President Roosevelt approves the Manhattan Project, a secret program aiming to harness nuclear power for military purposes.
President Roosevelt issues Executive Order 8802, which bans racial discrimination in hiring practices for any work resulting from government defense practices.

1942

January: The government institutes food rationing, which would evolve into the rationing of anything deemed "essential" to the war effort, such as meat, coffee, gasoline, and rubber.
February 19: President Roosevelt issues Executive Order 9066, which calls for the "evacuation" of all enemy aliens. The order is only applied to Japanese Americans on the West Coast, and 110,000 of them are put into 10 internment camps in seven western states.
February 22: The U.S. government orders production of all civilian autos halted.
March and April: On the West Coast, Japanese and Japanese Americans are rounded up and placed in internment camps.
The U.S. Government War Production Board enacts Regulation L-85, which regulates all aspects of clothing production and inhibits the use of natural fibers.
President Roosevelt creates the Office of War Information and the War Advertising Council.
William Faulkner's *Go Down Moses and Other Stories* is published.
Janette Lowrey's *The Poky Little Puppy,* which goes on to become one of the best-selling children's hardcover books of all time, is published.
Dannon Yogurt and Kellogg's Raisin Bran are introduced.
Michael Curtiz's *Casablanca* is released.
William Wyler's *Mrs. Miniver,* starring Greer Garson, is the top box office hit of the year, grossing $6 million.
Irving Berlin's *This Is the Army* debuts on Broadway.
Bing Crosby sings "White Christmas" in the film *Holiday Inn.*
Norman Rockwell's "Four Freedoms" paintings—*Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Worship, Freedom from Want,* and *Freedom from Fear*—are published in the *Saturday Evening Post* and used by the U.S. government to help sell war bonds.

1943

April 30, 1943: The term "pin-up girl" originates in *Yank,* an armed forces newspaper.
September 20: The War Department lifts its ban on the publication of pictures of dead American soldiers. *Life* magazine subsequently publishes a full-page photo of three dead American soldiers who were killed on Buna Beach in New Guinea.
The USDA establishes Recommended Daily Allowances for dietary guidelines.
Rodgers and Hammerstein's *Oklahoma!* and Bernstein, Comden, and Green's *On the Town* debut.
The Zoot Suit Riots take place in Los Angeles in June.
Carson McCullers's short story "The Ballad of the Sad Café" is published.
The Jefferson Memorial in Washington, D.C., is completed.
For Whom the Bell Tolls, starring Ingrid Bergman and Gary Cooper, is the top box office hit of the year, grossing $11 million.

1944

Leo McCarey's *Going My Way,* starring Bing Crosby, is the top box office hit of the year, grossing $6.5 million.
Work begins on the Equitable Life Assurance Building in Portland, Oregon, designed by Pietro Belluschi (finished in 1947).

The Federal-Aid Interstate and Defense Highway Act is passed, creating the National System of Interstate Highways.

Appalachian Spring, composed by Aaron Copland and choreographed and starring Martha Graham, debuts.

Frank Sinatra's concert appearances at the Paramount Theater in New York City cause bedlam.

Leonard Bernstein composes the *Jeremiah Symphony.*

Seventeen magazine debuts.

The Supreme Court upholds the legality of Japanese internment.

1945

January 20: President Roosevelt's executive order interning Japanese Americans is lifted.

April 12: President Roosevelt dies of a cerebral hemorrhage while vacationing in Warm Springs, Georgia. Vice President Harry S. Truman becomes president.

April 29: Adolf Hitler commits suicide in his bunker.

May 7: *Life* magazine publishes a six-page photo spread entitled "Atrocities," which features horrific, graphic images from German concentration camps.

May 8, V-E Day: The German Army surrenders unconditionally, and victory in Europe is secured.

June: The United Nations Charter is signed.

August 6: America drops an atom bomb on Hiroshima, Japan.

August 9: America drops a second atom bomb on Nagasaki, Japan.

September 2, V-J Day: Japan's surrender to the Allies is signed aboard the U.S.S. *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay. The ceremony is broadcast via radio nationwide.

November: The Slinky is first sold in Philadelphia for $1.00 each.

Rodgers and Hammerstein's *Carousel* and Tennessee Williams's *The Glass Menagerie* debut on Broadway.

Karl Shapiro's *V-Letter and Other Poems,* Weegee's *Naked City,* and Randall Jarrell's "The Death of the Ball Turret Gunner" are published.

Of the 54 million total casualties of World War II, 405,399 are American.

Thrill of a Romance, starring Esther Williams, is the top box office hit of the year, grossing $4.5 million.

1946

Berlin and Fields's *Annie Get Your Gun* debuts.

Tupperware is introduced.

William Wyler's *The Best Years of Our Lives* and Howard Hawks's *The Big Sleep* are released.

Carson McCullers's *The Member of the Wedding,* Robert Penn Warren's *All the King's Men,* William Carlos Williams's *Paterson: Book I,* Weegee's *Weegee's People,* Dr. Benjamin Spock's *Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care,* and *The Portable Faulkner* (edited by Malcom Cowley) are published.

Minute Maid Frozen Orange Juice, Maxwell House Instant Coffee, Ragu Spaghetti Sauce, Tide, and French's Instant Mashed Potatoes are introduced.

The first homes are sold in Levittown, New York.

The first televised soap opera (*Faraway Hill,* DuMont Network) debuts.

The term "Iron Curtain" is first used in a speech by Winston Churchill.

The Atomic Energy Commission is established.

The National School Lunch Act is passed to help raise the dietary standards of children, especially those from economically disadvantaged families.

The U.S. government lifts restrictions on rationed items.

The New Yorker publishes John Hersey's "Hiroshima" in August. The article later becomes a book.

Leo McCarey's *The Bells of St. Mary's,* the sequel to *Going My Way,* starring Bing Crosby, is the top box office hit of the year, grossing $8 million.

1947

June 21: CBS unveils the 33 1/3 rpm record.

December 27: *The Howdy Doody Show* debuts on NBC.

Jackie Robinson debuts with the Brooklyn Dodgers, breaking baseball's color line.

The U.S. government lifts wartime price controls.

Research begins for Seattle's Northgate Regional Shopping Center (finished in 1951).
Work begins on the United Nations Secretariat in New York City (finished in 1950).
Reynolds Wrap Aluminum Foil, Elmer's Glue, Redi Whip, and Ajax are introduced.
B. F. Goodrich introduces tubeless tires.
The term "Cold War" is first used.
The wartime draft ends.
President Truman becomes the first president to address the nation on television.
Tennessee Williams's *A Streetcar Named Desire* debuts on Broadway.
The Central Intelligence Agency is created.
The seven-game Dodgers v. Yankees World Series is the first to be televised.
William Wyler's *The Best Years of Our Lives,* starring Fredric March and Myrna Loy and released in late 1946, is the top box office hit of the year, grossing $11.5 million.

1948

June 8: *Milton Berle's Texaco Star Theater* debuts.
The Supreme Court rules that religious training in public schools is unconstitutional.
Howard Hawks's *Red River* is released.
The first Baskin-Robbins ice cream store opens.
The Road to Rio, fifth in the "Road to…" series of films, starring Bob Hope, Bing Crosby, and Dorothy Lamour, is the top box office hit of the year, grossing $4.5 million.
Cheetos, Nestlé's Quik, and V8 Juice are introduced.
Faulkner's *Intruder in the Dust* is published.
Albert Kinsey's *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* is published.
Norman Mailer's *The Naked and the Dead* is published.
The transistor is invented.
President Truman desegregates the army.

1949

August 29: American intelligence confirms the detonation of the first Soviet atomic explosion. The Cold War immediately heightens as America loses what President Truman calls its "hammer on those boys."
General Mills and Pillsbury begin selling instant cake mix.
KitchenAid introduces consumer electric dishwashers.
Eudora Welty's *The Golden Apples* and Gwendolyn Brooks's *Annie Allen* are published.
Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman* and Rodgers and Hammerstein's *South Pacific* debut.
Gene Autry records "Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer."
Silly Putty, Legos, Scrabble, Candyland, and Clue all debut.
These Are My Children, the first daytime TV soap opera, debuts on NBC.
The Goldbergs, the first TV sitcom, debuts on CBS.
The North Atlantic Treaty, which establishes NATO, is signed in April.
Jolson Sings Again is the top box office hit of the year, grossing $5.5 million.

Overview of the 1940s

Birth of the Baby Boom

NICKNAME OF THE DECADE

Life during wartime didn't become a reality for most Americans until December 7, 1941, when the Japanese unleashed a surprise attack on the American fleet stationed at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. Once America itself was attacked, World War II was a necessary war in the eyes of an overwhelming number of Americans, both for humanitarian reasons and for the very survival of the country.[1] While there were pockets of resistance to America's involvement in the war, in its drive to win the war the nation was more unified than ever before. To discuss that era as a period in which the right and wrong courses of action were readily identifiable belies the complexity of America in the 1940s. Clearly, it was a time of hope and joy for some, but for others it was also a time characterized by fear, prejudice, and uncertainty.

POLITICS AND POPULAR CULTURE DURING WORLD WAR II

From Isolationism to World War II

On September 1, 1939, German leader Adolf Hitler's forces overran Poland. On September 3, Britain declared war on Germany, a declaration France soon echoed. World War II was on, and in America fears over involvement in yet another world war began to grow. Those who understood that America would eventually become involved understood not only the moral imperative of American participation, but also the reality that isolationism no longer worked in a world in which countries were becoming increasingly interdependent. But the isolationists didn't want to see a repeat of World War I, which they saw as a situation in which thousands of Americans went off to die in a foreign battle that wasn't America's problem.

Several factors played a role in the popular and political currency of isolationism. In 1940, 55 percent of Americans—70 million people—lived in towns with fewer than 10,000 residents. While that population composition would change dramatically in the 1940s, in 1940 rural dwellers were much less likely than their urban cosmopolitan counterparts to see the need to participate in a war. The desire for military participation was also split along class and ethnic lines. Typically, people in the higher income brackets were more in favor of intervention, with favor for such action declining concurrently with where one fit in economically. It's not shocking that among the poorest Americans (i.e., those most likely to actually have to fight on the front lines) isolationism was a popular notion. Ethnically, there was a mix of feelings. Many of the millions of European Americans who had come to America in the

preceding years had done so precisely to avoid the kind of conflicts that had plagued Europe for centuries. However, many European Americans still had allegiance to their ancestral nations and couldn't stand the thought of their former homelands, where millions of relatives still lived, being overrun by Nazis.[2]

DEPICTION OF THE ENEMY DURING WORLD WAR II: GERMANS

The fear and paranoia that gripped the United States during World War II fueled the development of a variety of anti-German propaganda, from short films and radio advertisements to posters and billboards. The image of Adolf Hitler was a popular theme, and Hitler came to symbolize the German enemy as a whole. In many posters and billboards all Germans, including women and children, were depicted with Hitler's face and/or infamous mustache. The strategy of the campaign was to convince the public that a German invasion was impending in an effort to stimulate interest in military service and civilian participation. Pamphlets, radio programs, and films described how German children were taught from a young age to accept the doctrines of the Nazi movement and to place a reduced value on human life, making them more efficient soldiers. Pro-military advertisements often used words like "vicious," "barbaric," and "savage" to describe the German war effort and the Nazi state of mind. The anti-German propaganda campaign was among the most successful in American history, and the view of Germany and the German people espoused in propaganda was mirrored in the ideas and attitudes of the general public.

President Roosevelt, an incredibly astute politician, knew early on that America would have to get involved in World War II. After the Polish invasion of 1939, Germany continued to invade countries across Europe, including the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. In September 1940, Congress passed the Selective Training and Service Act and instituted the draft. In October, FDR publicly promised the nation that "[y]our boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars." When asked if that would hold true if America was attacked, Roosevelt tellingly noted that in such an occurrence the war would no longer be foreign.[3]

Britain was the one major European country that had not yet fallen to the Nazis, in part because of the geographical advantage of its being an island, but the nation had no more money with which to buy American goods. All throughout 1940 and 1941 Americans listened raptly to CBS radio reporter Edward R. Murrow's crackly, live broadcasts from London, which brought to life the dire situation of Londoners experiencing nightly air attacks from the Germans.[4] Murrow's broadcasts led to an enormous outpouring of sympathy for the plight of the British. The dire straights of England's financial situation ultimately led to House Resolution 1776—better known as the Lend-Lease Act—passed by Congress in 1941. The idea was that America would lend war goods such as airplanes and foodstuff to the British, who after the war would give back the equipment not destroyed and eventually repay America in kind for the products it consumed, although no schedule for repayment was laid out.[5] Although scholars debate whether the plan really worked all that well—German submarines routinely sank British (and a few American) freighters—it still signaled America's increasing commitment to helping the Allies defeat the Axis powers, initially comprised of Germany and Italy.

In the early dawn hours of December 7, 1941, Japan launched a surprise attack on the American fleet stationed at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. America was decidedly unprepared for an attack; in addition to the many destroyed ships, 2,390 Americans lost their lives, the largest number from a single enemy attack on American soil since the Revolutionary War, and a number that would not be surpassed until the attack on the twin towers of the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001. On December 8, FDR spoke before a joint session of Congress, declaring December 7, 1941, "a day that will live in infamy." The same day, both houses of Congress declared war on Japan. On December 11, Germany and Italy declared war on the United States, which responded with its own declaration

of war against Germany and Italy. The unthinkable exception Roosevelt had earlier cited as the one situation in which he would send Americans to war—an attack on American soil—had happened. The nation was galvanized and united in its desire to respond to the attack on Pearl Harbor; the isolationist movement was over. World War II was considered by most Americans to be a just cause, a war necessary for moral, political, and strategic reasons. After Pearl Harbor there was scarcely any domestic opposition—political, ethnic, or religious—to U.S. involvement.[6]

Although his popularity was slowly beginning to wane, in 1944 FDR was elected president for an unprecedented fourth time, beating New York Governor Thomas Dewey with 53.4 percent of the popular vote.

Roosevelt had seen the country through its darkest depths, from the Great Depression to the hard-fought struggles of World War II. The effort took its toll. On April 12, 1945, President Roosevelt died of a cerebral hemorrhage while vacationing in Warm Springs, Georgia. FDR was a towering figure in popular culture, maybe the most accomplished president in history and certainly the longest serving. With his 31 "Fireside Chats" over the years—popular radio broadcasts listened to by upwards of 70 percent of Americans—and his steady leadership through years of divisive crises, Roosevelt had become an American father figure, a seemingly irreplaceable part of the landscape of everyday American life. When radio announcer Arthur Godfrey described FDR's funeral procession to the grieving nation over the radio, his voice wavered and choked up repeatedly. His tears were shared by the nation.



Franklin D. Roosevelt, during one of his "Fireside chats" in 1937. These broadcasts, prepared for the listening American public, ran from 1933 to 1944. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

***TIME* MAN OF THE YEAR**

1940 Winston Churchill (British prime minister)

1941 Franklin Delano Roosevelt (32nd president of the United States)

1942 Joseph Stalin (Soviet dictator)

1943 General George C. Marshall (chief of staff of U.S. Army)

1944 General Dwight D. Eisenhower (commander of Allied forces)

1945 Harry S. Truman (33rd president of the United States)

1946 James F. Byrnes (secretary of state)

1947 George C. Marshall (secretary of state)

1948 Harry S. Truman (33rd president of the United States)

1949 Man of the Half-Century, Winston Churchill (British prime minister)

From World War to Cold War

Vice President Harry S. Truman, who was not yet well-known nationally, stepped into an extraordinarily difficult situation in replacing FDR as president; though the tide of the war in Europe had irrevocably turned and Allied victory was imminent, the situation in Asia was still uncertain. Truman had to decide how to use the atomic bomb, how to keep the Allies in unison, and how to follow through on Roosevelt's now shaky domestic policy.

Of the many programs started by FDR, none would have more resounding consequences on everyday American life than the ultra top-secret

Manhattan Project, which was centered primarily in Los Alamos, New Mexico, a government-created "secret city." The primary goal of the $2 billion-plus project was to develop a nuclear bomb before Germany did. In July 1945, just a few months after Roosevelt's death, the first nuclear blast and opening salvo of what would become the Cold War, was detonated in Alamogordo, New Mexico. Like Roosevelt, Truman saw the bomb as both a military and a diplomatic weapon. The bomb allowed Truman to break off negotiations with Russia, although it was a joint declaration of the Big Three—Britain, Russia, and the United States—that warned Japan to surrender unconditionally or face utter devastation. Japan refused the ultimatum of the Big Three and vowed to continue fighting.[7]

Scientists from the University of Chicago urged the president to drop the bomb on an uninhabited part of Japan first, as a threat, but Truman sided with his Scientific Advisory Panel, which posited that if the bomb was to be used at all, it "should be used for maximum military effect."[8] Truman, ostensibly in the interest of saving American lives, decided to drop the bomb on a Japanese city. On August 6, 1945, the first bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, killing an estimated 80,000 people immediately. Three days later, on August 9, 1945, a second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, killing 40,000 more people. Many more would die of wounds and sickness in the coming weeks, months, and years. A week after the Nagasaki bombing, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill said simply, "America stands at this moment at the summit of the world."[9] The Atomic Age had begun. Japan officially surrendered on September 2, 1945—Victory over Japan, known as V-J Day. The bomb had ended World War II, and President Truman never publicly expressed regret for his decision to drop nuclear bombs on Japan. The term "Cold War," coined by journalist Walter Lippmann in a 1947 critique of U.S. foreign policy toward Russia, refers to a war that is not "hot," or characterized by violent physical confrontations.[10]

The Cold War between America and Russia has its seeds in World War II, but it was a series of events that took place in the immediate postwar era that led to the ongoing nature of the Cold War, which is generally thought to have lasted until 1991. In order to stop the Russians from spreading communism—the United States adopted the Marshall Plan, which Secretary of State George C. Marshall proposed in 1947. Marshall's plan was simple: Pledge billions in aid to rebuild war-torn Europe and Japan, and when America is done, it will have contained communism in Europe and earned eternally loyal and thankful democratic allies. At home the Marshall Plan helped spur the postwar economic boom that was the largest and most sustained the country had ever seen up to that time. Naturally, Russia concurrently embarked on its own plans to gain allies and spread communism around the world; and the Cold War was beginning to come into full swing.

Fear of communism infiltrating American society was pronounced in the late 1940s, and the Republican Party, out of power for nearly 20 years, took a tough stand against communists. In the midterm elections of 1946, the Republicans won back both houses of Congress and hopes were high that a Republican would defeat Truman



Hiroshima bomb explosion, 1945. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

in 1948. Once again, the Republicans nominated New York Governor Thomas Dewey for the presidency. Republicans accused Truman of being a Roosevelt lackey who would extend New Deal policies. On the eve of the 1948 presidential election, it looked as though he would lose to Dewey. Newspapers around the country declared Dewey the winner and ran headlines saying as much. Truman won in a squeaker, resulting in one of the most famous photos from the annals of 1940s popular culture: Truman holding up the front page of the *Chicago Daily Tribune* with a headline that reads, "DEWEY DEFEATS TRUMAN." While Truman was never as popular as his predecessor, he was not without his homespun charm, and his straightforward approach to his job—as exemplified by his oft-quoted phrases "the buck stops here" and "if you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen"—did win him the admiration of many Americans.

Despite Dewey's loss, the country continued to move toward the conservative conformity that would characterize the nuclear family era of the Eisenhower-led 1950s. In 1947 the Central Intelligence Agency was created to gather foreign counterintelligence and protect American interests abroad. At home, Truman launched the Loyalty-Security Program, which screened prospective government employees to ensure they weren't communists or some other sort of threat to the American way of life. Concurrently, FBI boss J. Edgar Hoover testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), claiming that Truman's program wasn't going far enough to root out subversive elements in society. Hoover proposed that the FBI, in conjunction with HUAC, should undertake a program to expose disloyal Americans. Over the next several years, and often with the help of confidential information supplied by Hoover's FBI, HUAC would drag suspected communists to testify before it. Often people who had done nothing more than be a member of the Communist Party were jailed or subpoenaed. HUAC would force people to testify with the promise of no repercussions, provided they were willing to name the names of other communists they knew. The most famous HUAC hearings had to do with the so-called Hollywood Ten. In 1947, ten Hollywood figures, who either belonged or had previously belonged to the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA), were directed to testify before HUAC. Not one of the Ten named names, and they were all found guilty of contempt of Congress for refusing to do so. They included the following, who were primarily screenwriters: Alvah Bessie, Herbert Biberman (director and writer), Lester Cole, Edward Dmytryk (director), Ring Lardner Jr., John Howard Lawson, Albert Maltz, Samuel Ornitz, Adrian Scott (producer and writer), and Dalton Trumbo. All were sentenced to a year in jail, although Dmytryk later retestified in 1951 and implicated some others, and as result was removed from a blacklist that denied anyone on it employment in the entertainment industry.

RACE AND GENDER

Wartime propaganda portrayed an image of a totally united America in which all had an equal part in joining together to defeat the Axis powers, which wasn't exactly true, especially for women and members of ethnic minorities. As war broke out, German and Italian Americans were initially thought to be suspect, with noncitizen Italian Americans being designated by the president as "enemy aliens." But Italians and Germans were relatively old immigrant populations—as well as European—and they had generally already dispersed and assimilated into all walks of society. For the most part, their wartime experience was much smoother than that of African Americans, Latinos, and especially Japanese Americans. Still, the needs of war in some instances created new opportunities for traditionally marginalized populations in America. Not long after war was declared, employers turned to people they normally shunned, especially women and African Americans.

Latinos benefited during wartime as well. Many Latino agricultural workers went to the cities to find work. While they were often discriminated against, they still found jobs. For example, in 1941 not a single Mexican American worked in Los Angeles shipyards, whereas by 1944 approximately 17,000 were employed in these shipyards. In addition to the 350,000 Mexican Americans drafted into the military, Latinos also filled the

gaps in agricultural work created by Anglos who joined the military or who took better manufacturing jobs. In 1942 the U.S. government cut a deal with Mexico, and during the war several hundred thousand *braceros* were allowed to come to the United States and work in the field.[11]

Native Americans, who in 1940 weren't even franchised with the right to vote in New Mexico and Arizona, still served the country admirably, with 25,000 serving in the armed forces. Navajo military men are credited as having made a particularly beneficial contribution by becoming military "code-talkers," speaking their native language over the radios during military actions. America's enemies never did break the Navajo code. But while blacks and other minorities made strides, Japanese Americans were rounded up by the thousands and put into internment camps for the duration of the war. While there was notable progress made against discrimination based on race and gender in the 1940s, at the start of the 1950s want ads that specified race and gender preferences were still common and raised few eyebrows.



Corporal Henry Bahe Jr., left, and Pvt. First Class George H. Kirk, Navajo code talkers serving with a Marine Signal Unit, operate a portable radio set in a jungle clearing, close behind the front lines on the island of Bougainville in New Guinea (present-day Papua New Guinea), in this December, 1943, U.S. Marine Corps photo. AP Photo/USMC via National Archives.

African Americans

Cumulatively, over 27 million civilians moved someplace new during the war, a disproportionately high number of which were African American.[12] Whites tended to move from the Northeast and Midwest to the Southwest and the West Coast. Conversely, blacks moved from the South to the Northeast and the Midwest to pursue the seemingly endless number of war-related jobs in the urban cities. Furthermore, the nature of agriculture in America changed forever during the war. Fully 6 million people left farms during the war, but because of better technologies and farming approaches, agricultural output increased by 25 percent.[13] The age of small family farms was essentially over; in their place were the giant agribusinesses that continue to produce the bulk of food today.

Cities boomed, as did suburbs, which sprang up around cities so that workers could commute into the cities to work during the day, and then return to the more peaceful suburbs at night. But the newly migrated African Americans typically didn't live in the suburbs. They often lived in bad conditions in overly populated sections of big cities, such as in Chicago, where 300,000 blacks lived on the South Side, an area thought to have a human capacity of just over 200,000.[14] Their increasing presence in various cities caused racial tensions to soar, as whites, who in most instances were given every priority over blacks, nevertheless felt the pressure of increased competition for jobs and housing. More than 200 recorded race riots occurred in the 1940s.

High black unemployment contributed to the black migration to urban centers to look for jobs. In the cities, blacks who secured work often found themselves in menial, unskilled jobs, a situation that became increasingly hard to take when it was obvious just by looking around that better employment opportunities were expanding rapidly for white men meeting the need for workers in the build-up toward war.

In early 1941, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, became angry at the lack of opportunities for African Americans in an economy that should have been booming for *everyone* who wanted to work, regardless of color. Randolph planned a massive march on Washington for the late spring. Roosevelt's administration feared that the planned march would upset the perceived feeling of national unity. Roosevelt struck a deal: Randolph cancelled the march when Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, which banned racial discrimination in hiring practices in any work resulting from government defense contracts. The Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) was established to oversee contactors and their hiring practices. Despite many whites resisting change, by mid-1943 employers had been forced to hire blacks, women, and other minorities out of necessity: Contractors simply couldn't meet demand without hiring from groups traditionally discriminated against. Although management and white-collar jobs were primarily reserved for white men, by 1943 the number of both skilled and unskilled black workers had doubled and nearly two-thirds of the one million blacks who took war-related jobs were women.[15]

Militarily, at the start of the war blacks weren't allowed in the Air Force or the Marines at all, and they could only join the Navy as part of the "messman's branch," which meant they worked in the kitchen. Both the Army and the American Red Cross separated donated blood by race.

Many notable and powerful leaders in the administration, including Secretary of War Henry Stimson and General George C. Marshall, didn't believe the armed services could or should be integrated. Roosevelt said, "The integrity of our nation and our war aims is at stake in our attitude toward minority groups at home." Still, he was in no hurry to change the norm. The irony was obvious and painful for African Americans; where was the logic in fighting against a totalitarian, anti-Semitic Germany for a country that barely paid even lip service to pressing issues of inequality within its own borders?[16]

Black leaders saw and recognized the obstacles facing them, but they also saw the war as an opportunity. Most believed in the morality of the war and that it was important that African Americans contribute to the cause, but they felt that their willingness to fight for the cause could and should draw attention to their own plight as a people who were discriminated against. In non-wartime, it's hard to say if blacks could have persuaded leaders to let them serve, but the overwhelming needs of the military branches for more soldiers resulted in a policy change: Blacks were made eligible for service in the Navy and the Marine Corps and the Army began accepting more blacks than it previously had. The number of blacks in the military jumped from under 100,000 in 1941 to almost 470,000 in 1942, although blacks in all branches of the military remained segregated throughout the war. The American armed forces didn't fully integrate until Truman ordered it in 1948.

Despite the notable and visible progress that African Americans made over the course of the 1940s, there remained much room for improvement in race relations in the country, particularly in the area of equal civil rights for blacks and other ethnic minorities.

Japanese Americans

The most visible case of institutionalized racial discrimination in America in the 1940s was the government's unconscionable treatment of Japanese Americas. In 1941, Japanese Americans made up approximately one-tenth of one percent of the total population, with only 127,000 living in the United States.[17] Japanese had long been discriminated against on the West Coast for their willingness to take low-paying jobs, which whites felt drove down their own wages, when in actuality, the Japanese took low-paying jobs because that's all they could get. Regardless, racial tensions festered on the West Coast. When the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor in December 1941, long-simmering racial tensions boiled over. Rumors swirled about Japanese saboteurs having infiltrated American society on the West Coast. Japanese were singled out by government policies, and on the streets other Asian groups (Chinese, Koreans, etc.) were often mistakenly targeted for being Japanese as well. Despite the fact that not one Japanese American was ever found to have been a saboteur, public and political pressures mounted,

and in February 1942, Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, which called for the evacuation of all enemy aliens, although the order was only applied to Japanese Americans on the West Coast. Initially, relocation to other parts of the country was tried, but the Japanese were unwelcome everywhere. The newly created War Relocation Authority (WRA) then changed course and, with the full support of Congress and the executive branch of government, put 110,000 Japanese Americans into 10 camps, called "internment camps," in 7 western states. Of those interred, 80,000 were U.S.-born citizens. The Japanese were unjustifiably placed in horrible places located in barren, arid areas and fenced in entirely by barbed wire. They lived in one-room barracks that were shared by either families, regardless of size, or groups of unrelated singles. The barracks were furnished only with cots, blankets, and a single light bulb. Bathrooms and dining rooms were shared communal facilities. Over the years the WRA slowly released upwards of 35,000 people from the camps and relocated them elsewhere, but that still left a huge amount of people unjustly interred. Ansel Adams (1902–1984), one of America's most well-known photographers, documented the Manzanar War Relocation Center in Northern California in 1943. In 1965, he gave the pictures to the U.S. Library of Congress. He hoped to show how Japanese Americans "suffering under a great injustice, and loss of property, businesses and professions, had overcome the sense of defeat and despair by building for themselves a vital community in an arid (but magnificent) environment."[18]

In 1944, several legal challenges to internment camps made their way to the U.S. Supreme Court, which upheld their legality in all cases.[19]

In their enforced absence, the property of Japanese Americans was sold at public auction. Cumulatively, Japanese Americans would lose



Entrance to Manzanar Relocation Center. Photograph by Ansel Adams, 1943. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.



Students sitting in a classroom laboratory. Manzanar Relocation Center, California. Photograph by Ansel Adams. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

in excess of $400 million through forced property sales. While some Japanese were allowed to leave the camps and relocate to other parts of the country, most of the internees weren't allowed to leave until January 20, 1945, when Roosevelt's executive order was lifted. Even in the face of such discrimination, a number of Japanese Americans served in the armed forces in World War II, during which they proved themselves valorous, courageous, and loyal.

Women

Much has been made of the role of women workers—Rosie the Riveters (see Advertising of the 1940s)—during World War II. While women were essential in the war effort, two-thirds of adult women remained full-time homemakers during the war. By 1944, when the number of female employees in war-related jobs peaked, the percentage of women in the workplace had increased 24 percent since the start of the war, and women comprised 36 percent of all civilian workers.[20] During the war years, for the first time in American history married women workers outnumbered single women workers. While white women were definitely favored, the need for workers was such that employment for women from virtually all ethnicities jumped during the war.[21] Women worked in factories and in construction, as miners, welders, and riveters, and for radio stations and newspapers. Hundreds of thousands of women served in women's divisions of all branches of the military. In 1942 the government created the Women's Army Corps (WACS), the U.S. Coast Guard Women's Reserve (SPARS, which derived from the Coast Guard motto "Semper Paratus—Always Ready") and the

Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Services (WAVES) programs. Women did everything but fight in combat (some women held other noncombat jobs on or near the front lines) and were allowed to hold regular ranks.[22]

Women, like other minorities, were typically denied management positions and often were required to do the most menial and tedious tasks. Women (and other minorities), as decreed by the National War Labor Board in 1942, were by law supposed to get equal pay for doing equal work to that of their white male counterparts. Records show they did not; in 1943, for example, men averaged $62.95 per week and 3.5 more hours a week than women, who averaged just $44.91 per week.[23] With more women working and men at war, kids at home had more unsupervised free time, resulting in an increase in the nation's juvenile delinquency rate during the war. In fact, juvenile delinquency was the most publicized crime problem of the 1940s. Some critics have credited the rise of delinquency with being a major factor in the importance placed on family and traditional gender roles in postwar America. Women made great gains in the workplace during the war, but the gains were only temporary; for the most part, women went back home after the war, with many of their jobs being taken by returning veterans. Women's place in the work force dropped back down to prewar levels, despite surveys taken between 1943 and 1945 showing that from 61 percent to 85 percent wanted to stay employed after the war.[24]

THE BABY BOOM AND HOME LIFE

In the early years of the war, men literally began to disappear from American streets, called to military duty in far-off lands. But many men left a parting gift; marriage rates jumped by 50 percent in the early 1940s and so too did the birth rate. The baby boom is often said to have begun in 1945, when soldiers returned home from the war to relative prosperity and began having families with their wives. While that did happen, birthrates increased well before 1945, as evidenced by the rise in birthrates in the early 1940s, the "goodbye babies" who were part of what's been called the "baby boomlet." From 1940 to 1945 the nation's population grew by 6.5 million.[25] And for every spouse left behind at home, the U.S. government would send a monthly check of $50. This was a welcome amount, especially for a small number of women—called "Allotment Annies"—who took advantage of the system and married as many men as they could in the hopes of collecting $50 checks repeatedly or $10,000 if her husband were killed in action. Just as marriage and birthrates increased, so, too, did divorce rates, as some women, left alone at home by a man they barely knew, decided against waiting for their husbands' return.

After the war, men came home ready to assume their traditional roles as heads of families. They took advantage of the newly established G. I. Bill, which would pay for soldiers' college educations and also give them low interest rates on home mortgage loans. In 1940, 109,000 men and 77,000 women received bachelor's degrees; by 1950 the numbers had jumped to 328,000 men and 103,000 women.[26] While white males gained the most from the G. I. Bill, fully 50 percent of all people who served in the armed forces had received some sort of education benefit by the time the bill ended in 1956.[27] Men who had been at war wanted to start their lives, and they didn't wait. They came home and quickly got married. In 1946, the marriage rate was 16.4 per 1,000, 25 percent higher than it had been in 1942.[28] Also in 1946, a new record high of 3.4 million babies were born, 26 percent more than in 1945. The baby boomlet that had begun a few years earlier had blossomed into the baby boom. The idea of the man off at work while his wife stayed at home caring for two or three-plus kids became a much pursued norm; the year 1957 saw 4.3 million children born—still the largest annual number in American history—making it the peak year of the baby boom. By the tail end of the baby boom in 1964, 40 percent of all Americans had been born since 1946, and this group still makes up the largest single portion of the American population.[29]

Child-oriented industries sprang up around things such as educational toys, diapers, and baby food. Dr. Benjamin Spock's 1946 book, *Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care,* the must-read child-rearing handbook for parents of the boomers, became one of the best-selling books

in history.[30] The so-called nuclear family—a father, a mother, and children—became the idealized and preferred social unit of the Cold War era and beyond.

In the 1940s, teenagers frequently hung out at drugstore lunch counters where they could get sodas, sweets, and sandwiches. By the late 1940s, in conjunction with their increased access to automobiles, they also frequented drive-in restaurants and drive-in movie theaters, which boomed with the rise of the car culture in the aftermath of the war.

Still, while the prosperity many American families experienced in the late 1940s and early 1950s was real, as early as 1948 there were signs that the strict heterosexual relationship characterized by marital fidelity, though the preferred model for all Americans, was problematic to emulate. In 1948, Indiana University Professor Albert Kinsey, an entomologist by training, released his landmark 804-page book, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male,* often referred to as the "Kinsey Report." The Kinsey Report challenged the reality of what was thought to be normal sexual behavior. Based on his research, Kinsey found that 85 percent of white males had premarital intercourse and 55 percent had extramarital intercourse; 69 percent of white men had experience with a prostitute; 92 percent of all men masturbated; 37 percent of all men had reached orgasm at some point in their life with another man. Kinsey's report was inflammatory and controversial, although he viewed himself as a scientist who was simply reporting the facts and offered no moral judgments to accompany his findings. Kinsey's book, scientific in nature and definitely not easy



Soda fountain in Rushing's drugstore in San Augustine, Texas, on a Saturday afternoon, April 1943. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

reading, was a success, selling 200,000 copies in its first two months of release alone. Most of his findings were relatively tame, but those weren't the things people focused on. Over time his findings were challenged as having resulted from too limited a cross section of respondents to be very accurate. In hindsight, however, it becomes clear that the exact accuracy of his findings isn't nearly as important as the fact that the proscribed ideal of a house in the suburbs with a spouse, car, lawn, kids, and a dog wasn't for everyone.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE ASCENDING MIDDLE CLASS

The war effort had unexpected long-term effects on the shape of the postwar American work force. Americans who had previously worked for themselves, for small businesses, or as farmers, abandoned those jobs for war industry-related work, which paid well and gave one the sense of contributing to the war effort. Simultaneously, government contracts went to the companies that could produce the most products in the least amount of time. Hence, the 10 biggest companies in the country ended up with more than 30 percent of the government war contracts. After the war there were a number of strikes as workers wanted to maintain the relatively good pay and conditions of the war era. Personal income tax had grown immensely during the war, as the government scrambled to pay for the process. In 1940, of the 15 million who filed tax returns, almost half didn't make enough to be taxed. In 1942, Congress passed the revenue tax law, making most salaries taxable. The next year paycheck withholding was introduced. Accordingly, in 1945, 50 million people filed, with over 42 million owing the government. Cumulatively, taxes paid for almost half the cost of the war, with loans and bond sales paying for the rest.[31] In the immediate aftermath of the war, all kinds of products remained hard to get while factories retooled for peacetime production and the black market continued to thrive. With literally millions of veterans returning home and needing work and housing, people were afraid America was going to reenter a depression. Now that the war was over, how could everyone possibly find work? But people's fears were allayed by 1948. Personal wealth accumulated but not spent during the heady financial years of the early 1940s, combined with the government's decision to help rebuild a devastated Europe through the Marshall Plan (which cost about 5–10 percent of the federal budget during the plan's four years) and ease the domestic income tax, spurred a massive era of consumption, which in turn led to a strong economy, plentiful with jobs.[32] Americans wanted cars, houses, TVs, you name it, and they were willing to spend money to get it. For many Americans, disposable income was a simple fact of life, and as industries returned to producing things for personal consumption, the economy boomed and unemployment remained relatively low. This led to the rise of the American middle class as the predominant slice of the American populace.

By the end of the decade, America was the most dominant and prosperous nation on earth. The country was committed to spreading democracy elsewhere around the world. In addition, America led the world in production and consumption. In postwar Asia, 400 million people dealt with starvation; stateside, Americans wondered what to do with food surpluses, and obesity was beginning to be recognized as a growing health problem. The gross national product had risen from $97 billion in 1940—roughly the same as in 1929 when the stock market crash occurred—to $210 billion in 1945.The industries that in other countries were devastated by the war (aviation, chemical engineering, electronics, steel, etc.) were booming in the states. America had the world's largest standing army and the atom bomb.[33] Not surprisingly, America became a great imperial power, and it would only become more dominant in the intervening 40-plus years of the Cold War.

Despite postwar prosperity, 30 percent of all Americans remained poor by the standards of the time; 80 percent of all homes were heated by coal or wood; 33 percent of homes had no running water, and 40 percent lacked flush toilets.

Advertising of the 1940s

In the 1940s, the typical advertising format for radio and the nascent TV industry was one of single sponsorship for single shows. When America entered the war in 1941, advertising changed in that rather than promoting corporate products virtually all advertising, in one way or another, publicized the U.S. war effort.

SELLING THE AMERICAN WAY

The Office of War Information

In June 1942, President Roosevelt created the Office of War Information (OWI), headed by former CBS news analyst Elmer Davis. The OWI's primary purpose was to put all the government information and press services under singular leadership. The OWI did play a role in advertising America's war effort, but to many the office's responsibilities seemed to be too vast and nebulously defined. By 1943 the OWI had lost congressional support and was hence disbanded, with most of its primary responsibilities taken over by the newly formed War Advertising Council.

The War Advertising Council

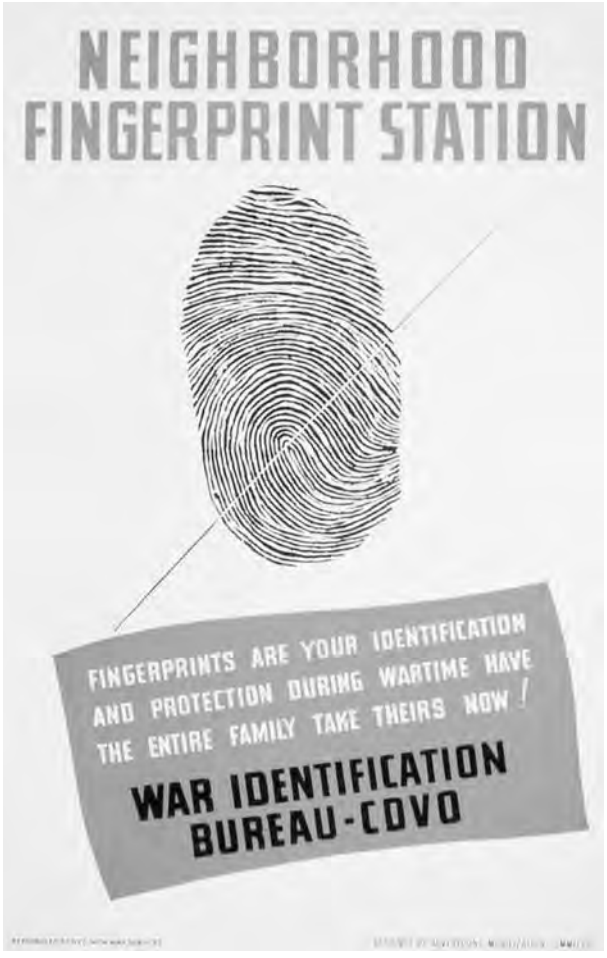
Just as it had done during World War I, the advertising industry offered its services to help the war effort. In World War II, however, there was disagreement on how it should do so. Some felt that the government should pay for its advertising, whereas others in advertising did not want to essentially work for the government. In 1942 the War Advertising Council was officially created to resolve these conflicts and to coordinate the advertising industry's war effort.

Perhaps the biggest initial difficulty was that the Treasury Department felt that advertising shouldn't continue, for, in its eyes, it wasn't an essential industry. Furthermore, there was a dearth of commercial products because just about everything was being funneled to the war. Because of these shortages, President Roosevelt suggested that since there wasn't the same need to advertise, perhaps advertising costs should no longer be a tax-deductible business expense. Companies balked, because for most buying advertising, regardless of its effectiveness, was better than the alternative: paying taxes.

Madison Avenue, with the help of the War Advertising Council, convinced the Treasury Department that it should be allowed to continue advertising in what were vaguely described as "reasonable" amounts. These new ads typically included references to a product's role in helping in the war effort, no matter how dubious that claim may have been. In exchange for allowing adver-

tising dollars to continue as a tax deduction, the industry ended up contributing approximately a billion dollar's worth of free ad space and time to the war effort. By 1943 the War Advertising Council had adopted the slogan, "A War Message in Every Ad." The council was encouraging civilians to do all kinds of things: buying war bonds, getting fingerprinted, working hard to ensure maximum production, enlisting in the armed services, galvanizing women to join the work force, and organizing campaigns for military recruitment and the salvage of fat.[1]

The industry's willingness to help the government war effort was rewarded by their being allowed to continue advertising non-government-related companies, industries, and products. In contrast to World War I, in which the advertising industry lost money, during World War II advertising expenditures went from $2.2 billion in 1941 to $2.9 billion in 1945 and to $5.7 billion by 1950. The Advertising Council still exists as the Ad Council, although it's not nearly as unifying a force in the industry as it was in the 1940s.



War Identification Bureau poster, an ad that helped the war effort, 1940 or 1941. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Rosie the Riveter

The term "Rosie the Riveter" was supposedly the nickname given to Rosina Bonavita, who worked at the Convair Corporation's airplane production facilities in San Diego, California. The phrase, which quickly entered the popular lexicon in 1941, referred to newly hired women who were doing hard work on the production lines that had previously been reserved exclusively for men. The Convair Corporation was an early leader in hiring women, but the trend rapidly became national as working men became an increasingly scarce resource. The traditional prewar mentality that a woman's place was in the home gave way to the reality that women could perform factory jobs just as well as men and that it was essential to the war effort that they join the workforce. Advertisers of all kinds—from the OWI and War Advertising Council to innumerable private companies—capitalized on the phrase "Rosie the Riveter," which became a universal term that applied to all women working for the war effort.

Of the many images used to encourage women to join the workforce during World War II, the image of women in factories predominated. Perhaps the most famous Rosie was J. Howard Miller's 1942 poster, which he based on Rose Monroe, who worked in the Willow Run Aircraft Plant in Ypsilanti, Michigan (Monroe herself would later be included in a promotional film for war bonds). The poster featured a woman shown from the side to the waist up. She was wearing blue overalls and a red bandanna and was flexing her right bicep. The caption read, "We Can Do It!" Miller's Rosie helped introduce the accessories of war work—items such as tools, uniforms, and lunch pails—to the image of the feminine ideal that would emerge during the war years. Another famous Rosie was Norman Rockwell's May 29, 1943, *Saturday Evening Post* cover. Rockwell's Rosie was positioned in a pose Michelangelo had used for his Sistine



The famous 1942 poster by J. Howard Miller, which exhorted women and all Americans to do their best for the country. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Chapel frescoes, but this Rosie was dressed in coveralls. She was eating a ham sandwich and had a rivet gun across her lap and a halo around her head. Rosie was even popularized in song by the Kay Kyser Band's hit recording, "Rosie the Riveter."[2]

Rosie the Riveter remains a lasting and powerful symbol of American women working on production lines to help make the supplies the Allies needed to win World War II. At the conclusion of the war, women were expected to return to the home—which some women did—but World War II was the start of women joining the workforce en masse.

INSTITUTIONAL ADVERTISING

Throughout the war, companies made films of varying lengths that celebrated America's war effort, particularly concentrating on the ways their products and workers contributed to making the overall effort better. For example, U.S. Steel's *To Each Other* (1943) told the tale of the company's immense wartime production output. Similarly, General Motors made *Close Harmony* (1942), which was set in a barbershop and featured a customer answering the barber's and other customers' questions about the conversion of American factories from peacetime producers to wartime providers. Labor unions also made films that celebrated the role of the worker in a company's output and featured titles such as *United Action Means Victory* (1940). During the war, the United Auto Workers-Congress of Industrial Organizations (UAW-CIO) film department was the largest of any in the country, with some 450 prints from a variety of different sources, including the U.S. Army and Navy and the OWI. Once the war ended and advertising became more segmented, executives of companies that had used institutional advertising realized that their wartime films kept product awareness high and made the transition back to peacetime selling easier.

CORPORATE SPONSORSHIP

Early television advertising followed the model of radio in that shows were sponsored by single corporate entities. However, the influence of TV in the 1940s paled in comparison to that of radio. The preferred format for corporations to sponsor was highbrow concert music such as classical music or opera. By the 1944–1945 season, 20 out of 22 concert programs had major corporations as their sponsors. But corporations also sponsored dramatic anthologies. Perhaps the most famous examples of companies identified with dramatic radio anthologies was DuPont's *Cavalcade of America* and U.S. Steel's *Theatre Guild on the Air.* DuPont's initial sponsorship of *Cavalcade* in the mid-1930s came at a time when few companies engaged in continuous institutional advertising and the value of radio for advertisers had yet to be fully realized.

Produced in conjunction with New York's Theatre Guild, *Theatre Guild on the Air* featured radio adaptations of plays that had nothing to do with U.S. Steel, its corporate sponsor. For the most part, the Theatre Guild retained artistic control over the choice of works, but the two intermissions

were filled by corporate "messages," read by actual U.S. Steel corporate officers.

It was an unusual marriage of artists and corporate types, but for the most part it worked. In the early 1950s, both *Cavalcade of America* and *Theatre Guild on the Air* made the leap from radio to TV, which many other radio shows would eventually do as well. (See Entertainment of the 1940s.)

THE "COMMON MAN"

During World War II companies aligned themselves with everyday people, G. I. Joes, John Smiths ("the average family man"), assembly line workers, and other folksy types. U.S. Steel claimed that it was the ordinary citizen whose "labor and living have established what we know as the 'American Way.'" Standard Oil ads talked about "Private Bill Jones, and the rest of us." Republic Steel ran ads featuring a G. I. named "Leatherneck Joe…Mechanic," sitting on a log looking out at readers. The copy was supposedly his words, which encouraged Americans at home to "keep America American." Some companies, including DuPont, GM, and General Electric, made films that celebrated the contributions of the ultimate American everyman: farmers.[3] Furthermore, companies that had previously relied on predominantly white work forces had begun to appeal in their advertising to a workforce that was becoming increasingly diverse, although ostensibly still pluralistic in its patriotic belief in the war effort.

Advocacy Advertising

On occasion, a company advertises to deflect attention from complaints about a particular product. An influential early example of this kind of advertising occurred in the New Haven Railroad's 1942 advertisement entitled, "The Kid in Upper 4." The primary function of the New Haven Railroad was to bring commuters into New York. Its service was frequently lacking, but was even worse during the war, as it had to yield its lines to trains carrying war-essential freight and personnel. Nelson Metcalf Jr., wrote the soon to be infamous copy with the intent to "make *everybody* who read it *feel ashamed* to complain about train service."[4]

The ad featured a young man lying in an upper berth staring wistfully upwards. But this was no ordinary kid. He was going off to the war overseas tomorrow and thinking about all that he'd leave behind: "hamburgers and pop…a dog named Shucks…[and] the mother who knit the socks he'll wear soon." The gist for consumers was "don't complain because our service is lousy; it's only lousy because we need to first accommodate the Kid in Upper 4 and others like him." The success of this ad was phenomenal. It first ran in the *New York Herald Tribune* in November 1942, and ran continuously until the end of the war. The Kid in Upper 4 became an iconic figure. He was used to sell U.S. war bonds and to raise money for the Red Cross, and he appeared in an MGM short, a song, and a variety of national magazines, including *Time, Life,* and *Newsweek*. In the end he proved to be a lasting example of the effective results possible with advocacy advertising.[5]

De Beers

In 1939, the first incarnation of the modern De Beers diamond ads appeared. By the end of the 1940s, De Beers' campaign had become a landmark in American advertising. Its campaign slogans and the direction of its advertising have changed little since their inception, making the campaign one of the most successful in history. By the early 1940s, the De Beers Consolidated Mines Limited cartel was facing trouble. Prior to the Depression, people held on to diamonds as an investment, but when the financial crisis hit, people tried to sell them. Diamonds flooded the market.[6]

The question for diamond companies was simple: How can we make diamonds a product consumers keep? In 1938, De Beers approached the advertising firm of N. W. Ayer and Son, Inc., to devise a new campaign. Two things had to happen. Diamonds had to be thought of as a commodity to be bought but not sold, and the aftermarket for diamond sales had to be destroyed. De Beers controlled over 90 percent of the diamond market, so meetings were conducted in South Africa or London, as American law prohibited monopolies from having offices in the United States. Furthermore, De Beers itself couldn't be directly sold to

end users. Instead, the campaign had to speak about diamonds in general, and purchases had to occur from sellers who sold items with De Beers diamonds for consumer resale.

Ayer came up with a brilliant campaign based on its research that the postwar generation didn't even associate diamonds with romantic love, and young men were confused about how much to spend. For its copy and illustrations, Ayer chose the works of artists such as Matisse and Picasso, accompanied with poetry pertaining to the symbolism of the diamond as a token of love. The kicker was the 1947 catchphrase—"A Diamond Is Forever"—which effectively dictated that a diamond was more than a rock: It was an heirloom that must be kept in the family. Also included was the famous rhetorical question, "Is two months' salary too much for a diamond engagement ring?"[7] De Beers had made essential in the American mind a product that had no real value, and it institutionalized the idea of a diamond as the proper stone for declaring one's eternal love for another. The ads proved amazingly successful, as evidenced by both catchphrases still being used today.

COCA-COLA

Coca-Cola was wildly successful before World War II, but the war years radically transformed it, changing it from a nationally dominant to an internationally dominant product. Strangely, the advertising that helped Coca-Cola was the U.S. military. Military leaders wanted soldiers to drink "soft" drinks instead of liquor or beer. To help accommodate this policy, as well as increase the presence of Coke abroad, Coke headman Robert Woodruff instituted a policy to make Coke available to all military personnel for only a nickel, no matter where they were stationed. Coke was quickly in high demand, and in 1943 Eisenhower urged the installation of 10 new bottling plants in different places so that soldiers would have Coke no matter where they were stationed. Bottling plants followed the military and by V-J Day there were 64 plants operating worldwide.[8] During the war Coke became associated in the eyes of much of the world with America itself. After the war, the taste for Coca-Cola grew so large that Coke became the most widely distributed mass-produced product in America.

FUTURISM ON MAIN STREET

Another advertising trend during the 1940s was the move during the war toward futurism—the celebration of life-changing technologies that would make lives easier in the future. Since people were rationing many items, they dreamed of how things might be after the war. Companies promised that their wartime research would have big payoffs in the lives of postwar consumers. Some industries, such as the plastics industry and the automobile industry, fought against futuristic advertising because they knew full well that they'd have a big job ahead of them just returning to peacetime production, let alone revolutionizing their product lines.

Futurism in advertising was common in the 1940s. The legacy of the 1939–1940 New York World's Fair depiction of the future of city planning was seen in many advertisements. The new products could be radically different, so long as they fit in comfortably within the American image of small-town Main Street, U.S.A. Companies incorporated images of Main Street in their

ADVERTISING SLOGANS OF THE 1940s

"Better things for better living [through chemistry]," DuPont, 1939

"A diamond is forever," De Beers, 1948*

"I'm Chiquita Banana, and I've come to say…" Chiquita, 1944

"Pepsi-Cola hits the spot," Pepsi-Cola, 1940s*

"There's a Ford in your future," Ford Motor Company, 1943

"Remember, only you can prevent forest fires," USDA Forest Service, 1947; Smokey [the] Bear, 1945*

"You don't have to be Jewish to love Levy's real Jewish Rye," Levy's bread, 1949*

*Among Advertising Age's "The Advertising Century: Top 100 Advertising Campaigns," http://adage.com/century/campaigns.html.

campaigns to remind Americans just what it was they were fighting for.

Of course, the advertised future never came, at least not all at once, as it was promised. Furthermore, most of the innumerable small towns that had flourished as plant towns during the war never reverted to their prewar size. No plant town could reflect advertisements' depiction of small town America. The politics of such places tended to favor the companies rather than the "little people," and their increased populations brought with them all the problems associated with larger towns.

HOLLYWOOD AND THE SELLING OF THE WAR EFFORT

On December 18, 1941, just 10 days after America officially entered the war, President Roosevelt appointed Lowell Mellett as Coordinator of Government Films, thus recognizing Hollywood's role in supporting the war effort. In 1942, Mellett's office became the Bureau of Motion Pictures (BMP). Until 1943 the BMP acted as the main liaison between Washington and Hollywood.

While convincing war movies were made during World War II, most weren't as realistic or graphic as some directors and screenwriters would have liked. Likewise, newsreels, though prevalent, weren't particularly graphic when showing the war's frontlines. The watering down of war reporting and war films was primarily the result of a stricter than normal Production Code, Hollywood studio head censorship, and greater government intervention, largely by the OWI and the War Department. Because they feared too much reality might demoralize people on the home front, what was shown on movie screens of devastation occurring overseas was neither shown in full nor depicted realistically. In movies this was achieved by fabricating scenarios to show American actions abroad in the best possible light, while in newsreels events deemed likely to disturb were simply omitted.

Nevertheless, the government recognized the power of movies as a mass medium. Industry estimates during the war years put the number of people seeing a movie at 85–90 million per week or over *half* of America's entire population. The program usually consisted of the feature "A" film and shorts such as a "B" featurettes, newsreels, cartoons, and previews of coming attractions.

Movies were so popular that in 1944, Department of Commerce estimated that eighty cents of every dollar spent on "spectator amusement" (which included sports and theatre) was spent on motion pictures.[9] The government recognized Hollywood's reach and called on the industry to help it get out a wide variety of messages to the American people, both at home and abroad. In exchange for the studios' help, the government agreed to drop its anti-trust suits against the industry during the course of the war. (See Entertainment of the 1940s.)

Approximately 7,000 studio employees—around one-third of their total workforce—joined the military during World War II. Most movie stars in the military became figureheads, paraded around in front of the troops to boost morale, although some, such as Jimmy Stewart and Clark Gable, actually saw combat. Stars that didn't join the military directly still did their part to entertain the troops and help in the general war effort. For example, Veronica Lake, famous for her long blonde hair, cut her hair after the War Production Board declared long hair a hazard for women working in plants with heavy machinery (the fear was that their hair might get caught in the machinery). Likewise, stars of all kinds attended bond rallies to help sell war bonds for the United States. But most of the industry people who joined were the techies—soundmen, set-builders, lighting people, cameramen, and the like. Rather than going off to fight, however, they found themselves making movies, albeit of a very different kind.

The military had its own filmmaking branches, such as the Navy Photographic Unit and the Army Signal Corps, but their work wasn't as good as Hollywood's was. The studio techies enlisted by the various branches of the military helped bring a new quality to military training films, making films like *Safeguarding Military Secrets* (1942) and *Enemy Bacteria* (1942), a little more palatable. Several major Hollywood directors played a part in the military's use of films as well. For example, the most influential and widely seen of the government orientation movies were the seven

films that comprised director Frank Capra's *Why We Fight* series (1942–1945), while John Ford's widely seen *Sex Hygiene* (1941) made clear to soldiers, in graphic fashion, the necessity to avoid sexual relations that could result in the contraction of syphilis.

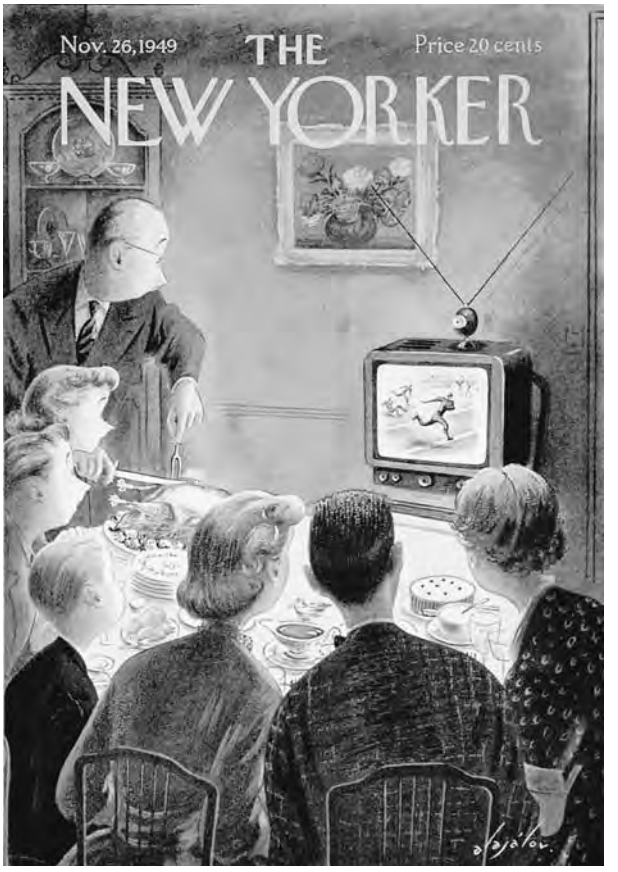
Animation also played a key role in garnering support for the American war effort, with Bugs Bunny singing "Any Bonds Today?" and Donald Duck throwing tomatoes straight into Hitler's face in Disney's *Der Fuehrer's Face* (1942). In fact, Disney was the one Hollywood studio that was declared a "key war production plant," with 94 percent of its work being war related; it specialized in animated instructional films for military personnel.[10] Likewise, Tex Avery's unit at Warner Bros. got into the act with "Private Snafu." The Mel Blanc-voiced Snafu, which stands for "Situation Normal, All Fouled [or Fucked] Up," was the mascot of the biweekly featurette, the *Army-Navy Screen Magazine*. Because the *Army-Navy Screen Magazine* was distributed directly to soldiers, it wasn't subject to the same kind of censorship as a film released to the general public would have been, so it was much more bawdy, which resulted in all kinds of racy cautionary tales happening to Snafu.[11]

Along with their effectiveness at conveying crucial messages to soldiers, movies still retained their effectiveness as tools for entertainment. Movies were so popular with soldiers that by 1945, Army Overseas Motion Picture Service estimates put the number of nightly picture shows in just Europe and the Mediterranean at 2,400. When they weren't engaged in the work of war, movies relieved soldiers' boredom. Civilians were also targeted with a barrage of wartime films. Perhaps the most prevalent were the so-called victory films. Victory films were generally less than 20 minutes long and their primary purpose was to engage Americans in the war effort. Films like "*Frying Pan to Firing Line* (1942) and *Let's Share and Play Square* (1943) promoted conservation and salvage efforts, while *Winning Your Wings* (1942) was a 10-minute recruiting short for the Army Air Force that featured Lt. Jimmy Stewart. Shorts could be made relatively cheaply and distributed comparatively quickly, so the OWI relied on them heavily throughout the war to encourage Americans to participate in the war effort.

While the *Army-Navy Screen Magazine* and victory films didn't resemble typical advertising, the government was, in effect, selling ideas to its soldiers and to the civilian public.

SINGLE-PRODUCT ADVERTISING CAMPAIGNS

During the war, companies still advertised individual products, although their selling was tied into the war effort as often as possible. For example, Parker Pen ads read, "Parker red, white, and blue—the pencil for all Americans. Show your colors with this pencil," and Big Ben Clocks' motto was, "Victory won't wait for the nation that's late." Dutch Masters claimed its cigars were "An American Privilege," and Tussy Cosmetics



This *New Yorker* magazine cover from 1949 shows how television was beginning to intrude into family life. A family is at Thanksgiving dinner and the father is carving turkey, but all are intently watching football on television. Cover by Alajolov, 1949. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

introduced "Fighting Red—new brave lipstick color by Tussy."[12] It wasn't until the late 1940s that American advertising and consumer culture reassumed a more recognizable form—ads for the products themselves. After the end of various rationing programs and the return to normal manufacturing, consumer culture in America experienced a boom the likes of which it had never seen before. The advertising campaigns for many newly available products were so successful—such as DuPont nylons—that they caused riots in the streets when they weren't available in adequate supply.

One of the more memorable ad campaigns was the 1944 advertising campaign for Chiquita Bananas. The United Fruit Company wanted a way to market imported South American bananas. The company's advertising firm devised a campaign that featured a beautiful woman of indeterminate ethnic descent, who in her attire suspiciously resembled rising star Carmen Miranda. (See Entertainment of the 1940s.) "Miss Chiquita" shook and shimmied as she sang an infectiously catchy tune that began, "I'm Chiquita banana and I've come to say…" and went on to detail how to eat, store, and cook the then exotic fruit. The advertising campaign was hugely successful and bananas would go on to become one of the world's most eaten fruits.[13]

Television began to take off in the late 1940s. Advertisers did their best to market their TVs as an essential household item, such as DuMont claiming its sets were "Today's Most Welcome Gift," or GE advertising that its line "Beats Everything in Sight."[14] Most screens were small, 10 or 12 inches, but the whole unit was huge, as they often had record players, AM/FM radio sets, and record storage all in the same unit. TVs were built into cabinets that looked like furniture and advertisements of the day often discussed the dimensions and visual appeal of the cabinet just as much—or more than—the actual screen. A 1948 ad for a Farnsworth TV, for example, didn't even mention screen size: "This graceful television cabinet has been beautifully expressed in rich, lustrous mahogany. Embodying authentic eighteenth-century English design principles, its compact size and simple lines permit its use with any home decorating motif, modern or traditional."[15] Americans bought the message: in 1946, less than 10,000 TVs were sold; in 1950, the number of sets sold skyrocketed to 5 million.

Architecture

of the 1940s

As America moved increasingly toward wartime preparations, the country finally came out of the Depression. Because of this shift, the number of production jobs in urban areas skyrocketed, and the need for convenient housing for the workers became immediate. Over the course of the decade, several new housing options would become available for working Americans; the first notably different option was Baldwin Hills Village (now called Village Green) in Los Angeles, California (1940–1941).

In the 1920s, a consortium of socially conscious architects and planners, the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA), realized America was becoming increasingly modernized and urban. They believed that nature could and should still play a role in American cities, and they sponsored a series of high-profile housing projects that were notable for attempting to integrate nature into traditionally urban locales. The last of their sponsored constructions was Baldwin Hills Village, an 80-acre development on the fringes of developed Los Angeles. A similar project was developed, called Harbor Hills, in San Pedro, California, a suburb of Los Angeles, built for workers in the defense industry. Reginald Johnson, the chief architect for Baldwin Hills Village, was also among those architects collaborating on Harbor Hills, a 300-unit development finished in 1941.[1]

The planners of the RPAA were fully aware that Los Angeles was an automobile-dependent city but, believing that the home should be a refuge from the pressures of modern life, they devised a way to minimize the impact of cars on the home lives of the Village's residents. In the center of Baldwin Hills Village was the large Village Green, the equivalent of an open park space, which had, extending from its outer edges, long strips of green space called garden courts. On the outside edges of the garden courts were two-story row houses, which contemporary Americans would immediately recognize as typical apartment buildings. The fronts of the apartments faced in toward the green space, while the backs faced what were called garage courts (essentially parking lots). The goal was that while at home people would forget about their cars and enjoy the green spaces in which their homes were set.[2]

The designers were confident that the communal green spaces would be heavily used and would create a strong sense of community among residents. Instead, the adults generally chose to remain in their own small, individually segregated ground-floor patio areas. Furthermore, children frequently played close to home rather than in



Detail of curved interior sidewalk and open space at Harbor Hills, 1941, in the Los Angeles area, which, like Baldwin Hills, was designed to offer apartment housing but with lots of green space for residents to enjoy. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

the central Village Green.[3] While the intentions of the RPAA weren't exactly realized in Baldwin Hills Village, its design has long since become a standard in American apartment complexes.

The federal government was keenly aware of the need for more housing for newly arriving workers in military-related industries and passed the Lanham Act of 1940, which initially committed $150 million to the creation of housing for war workers. William Wurster, a San Francisco Bay Area builder was commissioned to plan 1,677 homes for Carquinez Heights near the naval shipyards in Vallejo, California. To speed up the process, Wurster incorporated flat roofs into his homes, which allowed the ceilings and the floors to be built in the same way. Furthermore, he arranged the houses in long rows, so as to make room for much smaller yards, the logic being that workers needed in the war effort wouldn't be spending time taking care of their yards.[4] Similarly styled developments sprang up all over America.

PREFAB HOUSING AND QUONSET HUTS

The ability to quickly make cheap but usable housing had long been a dream among American homebuilders. While prefabricated mail-order houses, farm, and commercial structures were being sold as early as the turn of the nineteenth century, prefab homes were best suited for rapidly growing areas or start-up industries. In the early 1940s, America's military was experiencing unprecedented growth; it needed buildings



Model of Wingfoot prefabricated home manufactured by Goodyear in front of a Goodyear service station, Washington, D.C., 1946. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

in which it could house soldiers and equipment both at home and abroad.

In 1941, at the Quonset Point Naval Station in Rhode Island, the Navy's construction arm—the Seabees—created a prefabricated building that became known as the Quonset hut. With its easily assembled skeletal structure of preformed wooden ribs and exterior of corrugated steel sheets and interiors of pressed wood, the Quonset hut proved invaluable. By 1946, over 160,000 Quonset huts had been built, most of them in Europe.[5] After the war, many were brought back to America, where they served a variety of purposes, from agricultural buildings, to commercial use, and even cheap housing.

LEVITTOWN AND THE COMING OF THE SUBURBS

When the war ended in 1945, white veterans returned home to find the country waiting for them with open arms. To alleviate the possibility of servicemen living in the bleak financial conditions that characterized the 1930s, the government instituted the G. I. Bill of Rights. The G. I. Bill offered "qualified" veterans job training, money for schooling, and money to buy their own homes. While this was a wonderful opportunity for white soldiers, many minority veterans were excluded from the process due to both long-standing societal racial discrimination and institutionalized discrimination by the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), which offered builders low-cost loans while at the same time tacitly encouraging them to include restrictive racial covenants into the deeds of their properties.[6]



Aerial view of a housing development in Levittown, New York. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Into this milieu of unparalleled opportunity and incredible demand came William J. Levitt and his brother Alfred, who in 1946 embarked on a housing project that would change the face of the American home forever. The brothers purchased 1,500 acres of potato fields in Nassau County, Long Island, on which they intended to build small, single-family homes.[7] Coinciding with the Levitts's purchase was America's returning to a relative state of normalcy for the first time since the stock market crash began the Depression in 1929. The G. I. Bill and other government programs designed to prevent the social discord many felt might accompany the end of the war worked beyond anyone's wildest dreams, resulting in unprecedented levels of financial growth and prosperity that would last into the early 1970s. The newfound prosperity, coupled with a severe housing shortage, led to a glut of people wanting to buy homes.

Heavily influenced by the ideas of prefabrication and mass production that had so long tantalized homebuilders, the Levitts hit on the right idea at the right time. Unlike more traditional houses, Levitt homes had no basements. Instead, they rested on simple concrete slab foundations that allowed work crews to simply build up from them in an assembly line manner, complete with prefabricated parts. At the height of their productivity, workers were completing around 30 homes a day. The houses, all two-bedroom, one-bath affairs, looked more like boxes than homes and were separated only by their color, but their basic design was highly effective. The kitchens had large picture windows facing out to the front, while the rest of the rooms faced the backyard, thus ensuring more privacy than city-living, working-class folks had ever known before. Furthermore, the homes came with stoves, refrigerators, washers and (later in the 1950s, TVs), high-tech items previously reserved for America's upper classes. Not surprisingly, people flocked to Levittown, which grew in



The Farm Security Administration—Office of War Information took this picture in 1941 of "an apartment building in the Negro section" of Chicago, Illinois, 1941. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

population from 450 in 1946 to more than 60,000 by the late 1950s.[8]

Levittown was in some ways less ethnically exclusive than its prewar predecessors were, but only as concerned whites. Prior to the war it was not at all uncommon for existing outlying areas to exclude Jews and Catholics from owning homes outside of the inner cities. But Levitt, himself Jewish, saw no reason to limit Jewish and Catholic vets from owning homes in his project.[9] However, with encouragement from the FHA in the form of loan preferences, Levitt routinely excluded African Americans, Puerto Ricans, and other ethic minorities from owning his homes by including in his deeds a covenant that forbade their sale to minorities. Furthermore, if a resident in the future decided to sell his home to a member of a minority group, he could legally be sued by his neighbors. Although the Supreme Court ruled against the constitutionality of such stipulations in 1948, the issue was fought in the courts for years, and wasn't permanently outlawed until the Fair Housing Act of 1968.[10] While Levittown itself was the product of a simple and affordable architectural design, its reverberations in American culture were immense, resulting in a kind of unintended but profoundly wide-reaching shift in the architecture of American culture. Whereas the majority of Americans lived in cities prior to World War II, after the war white Americans, in a phenomenon that would come to be known as "white flight," flocked to the suburbs that sprang up around every major city in America after the initial success of Levittown.

The need for the building of new roads and other infrastructures had disastrous repercussions for the minorities who, in part because of racial discrimination, were left behind in the cities. Long-standing urban apartments and housing areas were razed to make room for the roadway arteries needed to get suburban workers in and out of the cities; displaced residents were then moved into overcrowded and underfunded government housing projects that were miserable places to live. While American cities before the war weren't characterized by high-quality living conditions, in the postwar years they became downright wretched for the urban poor. Although there are a variety of factors involved in the continued decline of living conditions in American inner cities, some of them can be traced back to the startling success of the Levitts's simply designed but highly functional homes.

THE BEGINNING OF THE SHOPPING CENTER

Traditionally, urban shopping centers consisted of rows of shops on city streets. The consumer could use public transportation and walk from store to store. But the skyrocketing use of automobiles complicated the matter. People drove into the city to shop, but eventually ended up fighting for parking spaces or parking inconveniently far away.

In 1947, John Graham and Company began doing research for the Northgate Regional Shopping Center (1947–1951). They discovered that the proximity of smaller retailers to the bigger businesses played a role in how many consumers patronized the smaller businesses. They conceived of a shopping complex in which large stores would act as anchors on either end of a row of smaller specialty stores. But the problem remained: How do you make a consumer downtown accessible by cars but not inundated by them? Their solution was simply elegant and highly effective. Just as the Baldwin Hills Village developers had turned the apartments of the Village inward, with cars on the outside, so too did the creators of Northgate invert their replication of a downtown shopping center.[11]

Northgate was a gigantic sprawling complex with large anchor stores on either end of the double-rowed complex, as well as in the middle. Smaller shops were strung between them. The storefronts faced inward rather than out, thus the "street" going down the center of the development was internal, open only to pedestrian traffic. The outside of Northgate, with its seemingly endless expanse of parking lot, was ugly. But the inside, with no cars, the convenience of many stores in one area, no problems with Seattle's notoriously wet weather, and the freedom to walk leisurely was a consumer's, and a retailer's, dream. Northgate's success quickly spawned countless imitators.

ARCHITECTURAL INNOVATIONS

Several singular architectural innovations of the 1940s would prove to be influential. Two of the more notable innovations were Eleanor Raymond's Dover, Massachusetts, sun-heated house (1948) and Philip Johnson's New Canaan, Connecticut, glass house (1949).

Eleanor Raymond sought to make use of newly emerging technologies in her postwar home designs. One home in particular, designed for her patron, Amelia Peabody, came to be known as the "sunheated house." The south side of the upper story appeared to be made entirely of windows. However, the "windows" are actually solar collectors designed to gather heat. Although the system as designed didn't really work and was eventually replaced by a more traditional heating system, the early solar experiments and technologies would help lead to further innovations in solar technology in the ensuing decades.[12]

Perhaps the most famous home constructed in the 1940s was architect Philip Johnson's glass house. Johnson first gained recognition as an architectural critic and became director of the architecture department at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City. He and the architectural historian Henry-Russell Hitchcock produced an exhibition catalog titled *The International Style.* Typical International Style buildings were made of reinforced concrete with white walls, flat roofs, and large windows. The exteriors looked modern and clean.[13] Johnson became an architect in the early 1940s. One of his first important designs was the glass house in New Canaan, Connecticut, which he used for a time as his primary residence. Johnson based his design on the ideas of Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, a leader of the International Style. As such, the home is essentially a large all-glass rectangle, notable for its walls, which are made entirely out of glass.

LUDWIG MIES VAN DER ROHE

The German-born Mies was not formally trained as an architect, but he was nevertheless drawn to the field early. In the early 1920s he designed two plans for skyscrapers that appeared as though they were encased in glass, but they were never built. Seeking to escape Nazi oppression, Mies emigrated to the United States, where in 1938 he became the director of architecture at Chicago's Armour Institute, which in 1940 was renamed the Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT).

Mies was asked to design a new campus for the school, a project that took 15 years to complete. The cumulative project is often considered to be the first modern academic complex in America. Mies espoused an architectural philosophy he called *beinahe nichts,* "almost nothing."[14] Mies applied this motto to his vision of the IIT campus, which is notable for its asymmetrical shapes and lack of individuality among the buildings. Mies believed that modern academia would be fluid in its change and that to make distinctly different buildings designed for particular uses would limit the campus's flexibility. Instead, he strove to design a kind of essential architectural form that could be adapted for a variety of changing purposes, hence IIT's chapel didn't look much different from its classroom buildings. While the IIT campus was influential, it was the realization of Mies's vision of the skyscraper that would prove his greatest contribution to American architecture.

In 1947, the Museum of Modern Art in New York City held a well-received retrospective of Mies's work, resulting in Mies receiving major commercial commissions. Among his most important designs of the 1940s was the pair of 26-story apartment towers at 860–880 Lake Shore Drive in Chicago. Mies's 1920s vision of shining skyscrapers of glass and steel came to fruition in the Lake Shore Apartments (1948–1951). With the Lake Shore Apartments, Mies hit on a relatively simple new idea that changed skyscraper technology dramatically. Rather than putting the skeletal structure of the buildings on the inside, Mies had steel I-beams welded to the exterior of the buildings' structural columns. The I-beams broke up the tediousness of the smooth glass surfaces while also heightening the structures' sense of verticality.[15] As a result of the success of the IIT and the Lake Shore Apartments, Mies became the leader of what came to be known as the "Chicago school" of architecture, which was basically a version of the International Style.

THE EQUITABLE LIFE ASSURANCE BUILDING AND THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARIAT

By the mid-to-late 1940s, Mies's influence was beginning to be evident in the designs of other architects. Pietro Belluschi's Equitable Life Assurance Building in Portland, Oregon (1944–1947) didn't go as far as the Lake Shore Apartments in placing its skeletal structure on the building's exterior; its windows were slightly inset. Another notable example of Mies's architectural influence could be seen in the United Nations Secretariat (1947–1950), which was designed by an international consortium of architects. While its windowed exterior conceals its skeletal structure, the comparatively smaller size of its windows makes it visually appear to be almost a kind of grid.

Mies's work in the 1940s influenced the building of urban skyscrapers in the ensuing decades. While some people felt that he had violated his own "almost nothing" philosophy in that the I- beams he incorporated into his buildings' exteriors worked as a kind of ornamentation, his landmark designs of the 1940s spawned a whole new school of architecture, which came to be known as the "Miesian Style." Miesian-inspired buildings sprang up everywhere after the 1940s, causing some to see buildings adhering to his influence as evidence of a Second International Style.

THE PENTAGON

By early 1941, it had become clear that America would eventually enter World War II. Such an undertaking required a central point from which to coordinate the dispatching of American troops at home and abroad. In order to house the varied offices of the War Department under one roof, in September 1941, U.S. Army engineers began building the Pentagon on the west bank of the Potomac River in Arlington, Virginia, just across from Washington, D.C. Upon its completion in January 1943, the Pentagon immediately became one of the world's largest office buildings, with more than 3.7 million square feet of office and other space, housing over 20,000 people working for the Departments of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, and the Office of the Secretary of Defense.[16]



Aerial view of the Pentagon, Arlington, Virginia, ca. 1947. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

The Pentagon was constructed in the shape of a pentagon, or five-sided figure; the 5 concentric rings are connected by 10 spoke-like corridors. The outer wall of the structure measures about one mile around and is surrounded by over 60 acres of parking lot. In addition, the Pentagon has one of the world's largest private telephone systems, with around 100,000 miles of cable handling more than 200,000 calls a day.

The building also has many shops, restaurants, and cafeterias, as well as a radio and television station, a bank, dispensary, post office, and heliport.[17]

The Pentagon is one of America's most enduring buildings, but it is just as important for what "the Pentagon" has come to mean in American popular culture. In films, literature, and the popular press, when people refer to "the Pentagon," they don't necessarily mean the building itself. Instead, the word is also a symbol of a vast, infrastructure of America's military-industrial might.

Books

Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics of the 1940s

In the early 1940s, paper rationing lead publishers to find a way to publish books that didn't use as much paper as hardcover books, which typically had thick, high-quality paper. For the first time, publishers began printing mass-market paperbacks. These books were made with thin, comparatively low-quality paper (and were much cheaper to produce than hardcovers), which meant that more books could be printed in spite of rationing. Publishers began establishing book clubs to distribute their books and feed the public's growing appetite for reading. For a monthly fee, club members would be sent a "publisher's choice" and also have the option to buy other books in a publisher's catalog at a discount. At their height in the1940s, American book clubs had over three million members who bought over one million books a month.[1] Reading was especially popular among soldiers, who often had a lot of down time on their hands. Throughout the early 1940s "victory book rallies" were held to solicit book donations for soldiers. At one two-week-long New York City Public Library Drive, over 600,000 books were donated.[2] Many soldiers developed a lifelong reading habit, and upon their return they helped to swell the membership numbers of various book clubs. With the rise of television in the 1950s, the book club craze declined from its late-1940s peak. Books became more diverse and varied in tone, subject, and style. Continuing a rise in popularity that began in the 1930s, hard-boiled detective fiction novels appeared frequently on various best-seller lists. Some of the more notable works in this vein included Raymond Chandler's continuing series of Philip Marlowe novels, *Farewell, My Lovely* (1940), *The High Window* (1942), *The Lady in the Lake* (1943), and *The Little Sister* (1949); James M. Cain's pulp classic *Mildred Pierce* (1941), and the introduction of Mickey Spillane's Mike Hammer in *I, the Jury* (1947). In addition to capturing the imaginations of American readers, throughout the decade many of these books would become source material for the series of films that have collectively come to be known as film noir. (See Entertainment of the 1940s.)

NONFICTION

During the 1940s, nonfiction books dealing with war, such Marion Hargrove's *See Here, Private Hargrove* (1942), Joseph E. Davies *Mission to Moscow* (1943), W. L. White's *They Were Expendable* (1943), Richard Tregaskis's *Guadalcanal Diary* (1948), and Major Alexander O. de Seversky's *Victory Through Air Power* (1942), were best sellers, as were books by major figures of the war era, including General George C. Marshall's *General Marshall's Report* (1945), Dwight D. Eisenhower's *Crusade in*



The Darryl F. Zanuck movie production of *The Grapes of Wrat*h by John Steinbeck with Henry Fonda, Jane Darwell, and John Carradine, 1940. Courtesy of Photofest.

BOOKS TO MOVIES

In the 1940s, Hollywood repeatedly turned to popular novels for source material; this was not new, as some of the biggest box office films in history, such as *Gone with the Wind* (1939) and *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), had been adapted from novels. But during the 1940s Hollywood began adapting novels into films more quickly than in the past, so it wasn't uncommon for a book to be a popular novelistic success one year and a box office smash the next, as was the case with John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath,* which was published to critical and popular acclaim in 1939, and in 1940 made into one of the most enduring films of the decade by John Ford, who won a Best Director Oscar for his work. Making movies from best-selling books helped to ensure a built-in audience that would want to see a particular film, and it would also spur book sales. Some of the many other best-selling novels of the decade that were also made into popular films included Richard Llewellyn's *How Green Was My Valley* (1941), Joseph O. Kesselring's *Arsenic and Old Lace* (1944), Jan Struther's *Mrs. Miniver* (1942), Betty Smith's *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn* (1945), Laura Z. Hobson's *Gentleman's Agreement* (1947), and Robert Penn Warren's *All the King's Men* (1949).

BOOK CENSORSHIP

Book censorship occurred in some parts of the country in the 1940s. For some authors, the notoriety could lift a title to the top of best-seller lists, which happened with Kathleen Winsor's *Forever Amber* (1944). The novel chronicles the life of Amber St. Clare, a pregnant, abandoned, and destitute London 16-year-old who eventually manages to become the mistress of King Charles II. The novel was bawdy for its time and was immediately banned in Boston for being obscene. Thsis piqued interest elsewhere, and the book sold like hotcakes; audiences were enthralled by the historical story that featured all kinds of people, from prostitutes and bandits to royalty, as well as exciting fictionalized accounts of historical occurrences such as the Great Plague and the Fire of London. When in 1947 the state of Massachusetts ruled that *Forever Amber* was not obscene, the ruling was anticlimactic, as the book had already become the best-selling novel of the decade and a blueprint for historical romances.

Europe (1948), and Winston Churchill's *Blood, Sweat, and Tears* (1941). But of all the war writers, among the most widely read stateside was Ernie Pyle, a nationally syndicated newspaper columnist for the *Washington Daily News*. Pyle was embedded with soldiers and recounted firsthand for the American people several of the major occurrences of World War II, including the D-Day invasion of Normandy in France. On April 18, 1945, he was killed by Japanese machine-gun fire on a small island near Okinawa. A posthumous collection of his works, *Last Chapter* (1946), joined his previous collections, *Brave Men* (1945) and *Here Is Your War* (1943), as a longtime best seller.

By the late 1940s, best-selling nonfiction lists became quite varied, including books on topics such as cooking and the card game Canasta, which spawned at least three best sellers in the late 1940s. Two books that proved immensely timely and popular were Dr. Benjamin Spock's *Common Sense Book of Baby and Child* (1946) and A. C. Kinsey's revolutionary *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948). As the baby boom was in full swing in the late 1940s, Dr. Spock's book became the child-rearing bible and a best seller for decades after. Another book that made a large and permanent impact was Kinsey's *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*. Kinsey's text was dry and scientific, but it contained shocking statistics, such as his finding that 37 percent of all men had reached orgasm at some point in their life with another man.[3] Kinsey's report was controversial and some of his research methods were suspect, but the more prurient factoids stirred the curiosity of American readers, and his book became an incredibly unlikely best seller, selling 200,000 copies in its first two months of release alone, and ultimately led to a 1953 sequel, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female,* which also became a best seller. (See Overview of the 1940s chapter.)

Because of the rise of mass-market paperbacks and book clubs in the 1940s, critically acclaimed books that in the past would have been well received by academics and students of literature found new and wider audiences. Book clubs began featuring literary titles such as John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939), Ernest Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940); *The Moon Is Down* (1942), and *Cannery Row*(1945); Betty Smith's *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn* (1943); Richard Wright's *Black Boy* (1945); and Robert Penn Warren's *All the King's Men* (1946).

1940: A YEAR OF TRANSITION

The advent of the 1940s ushered in an age of greater conservatism in American fiction; literary fiction just prior to 1940 had been characterized by a strong vein of protest, which perhaps culminated with the publication of John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* in 1939. With World War II looming, authors were acutely aware of the danger of being labeled as communists. As a result, writers previously considered to be on the fringes began to gain critical recognition.

While fiction had previously been the bastion of WASP, primarily male writers, a diverse group of authors began to gain literary headway, including a number of important Southern, Jewish, and African American authors. In many ways,

1940 was a transitional year in American fiction. Of the many "between the wars writers" who have since been critically admired, no American author has been more lauded than William Faulkner, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and Ernest Hemingway. In 1940 both Faulkner and Hemingway published what are widely considered their final novelistic masterpieces, *The Hamlet* and *For Whom the Bell Tolls,* respectively. On December 21, 1940, Fitzgerald died of a massive heart attack in Hollywood, California, and his final, unfinished novel, *The Last Tycoon,* was published posthumously in 1941.

Faulkner's first book of the 1940s was *The Hamlet* (1940), which was followed shortly thereafter by *Go Down Moses and Other Stories* (1942), a masterful collection of short stories featuring "The Bear," perhaps Faulkner's most lauded short work. Next was the anti-racist *Intruder in the Dust* (1948), a popular success that also played a large part in his winning the 1949 Nobel Prize in Literature. Although the critical and popular recognition of Faulkner's genius was belated, it benefited other Southern writers. Because of Faulkner's growing fame and the emergence of writers such as Eudora Welty, Katherine Anne Porter, Lillian Smith, Carson McCullers, and William Alexander Percy in the 1940s, Southern literature became for the first time its own area of study.

Hemingway's reputation also escalated in the 1940s, but Hemingway's rise was perhaps due to his personality as much as to his writing. While *For Whom the Bell Tolls,* published in 1940 was an amazing text about an American who enlists in the Spanish Civil War, Hemingway's output went into steep decline after its publication. He spent the war years partly in Europe as a fiercely anti-Nazi correspondent and partly at his home in Cuba, where he patrolled the coast in his fishing boat looking for German submarines. He didn't publish another novel until 1950, *Across the River and into the Trees. The Old Man and the Sea* (1952), the last novel published in his lifetime, won a Pulitzer Prize in 1953 and played a role in his 1954 Nobel Prize in Literature. After *For Whom the Bell Tolls* in 1940, however, Hemingway's work never again approached the level of success of such novels as *The Sun Also Rises* (1926) and *A Farewell to Arms* (1929).

NOTABLE BOOKS

The Heart Is a Lonely Hunter, Carson McCullers (1940)

Native Son, Richard Wright (1940)

How Green Was My Valley, Richard Llewellyn (1940)

For Whom the Bell Tolls, Ernest Hemingway (1940)

Curious George, H. A. Rey and Margret Rey (1941)

The Robe, Lloyd C. Douglas (1942)

They Were Expendable, W. L. White (1942)

The Fountainhead, Ayn Rand (1943)

The Little Prince, Antoine de Saint-Exupery (1943)

A Tree Grows in Brooklyn, Betty Smith (1943)

Brideshead Revisted, Evelyn Waugh (1945)

Cannery Row, John Steinbeck (1945)

Stuart Little, E. B. White (1945)

All the King's Men, Robert Penn Warren (1946)

Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care, Dr. Benjamin Spock (1946)

I, the Jury, Mickey Spillane (1947)

Tales of the South Pacific, James Michener (1947)

The Naked and the Dead, Norman Mailer (1948)

1984, George Orwell (1949)

FICTION: REGIONAL WRITERS

The year 1940 also saw the publication of two books that signaled coming changes in the American literary landscape, Carson McCullers's *The Heart Is a Lonely Hunter* and Richard Wright's *Native Son.* McCullers's work, alongside overdue recognition of Faulkner's genius, helped to legitimize the idea of Southern literature as the product of a unique place. The success of Southern writers led to increased attention for regional writers—writers whose work was shaped by the geographic area in which they lived. Likewise, Wright's novels paved the way for other African Americans to gain an audience with the reading public and began a move toward recognizing that much of African American literature was the product of a singular ethnic experience.

Carson McCullers (1917–1967) was among the most prolific American authors of the 1940s. She heightened the recognition of Southern literature and paved the way for other women writers, perhaps most notably Flannery O'Connor. In 1940, at age 23, McCullers published her first novel, *The Heart Is a Lonely Hunter.* Set in a small Southern town, *Hunter* tells the story of Mick Kelly, a strange young girl who looks for beauty against a background of loneliness, violence, and depravity. The book was a critical and popular success. In 1941 she published her second novel, *Reflections in a Golden Eye,* a book chronicling the lives of the inhabitants of a Southern army post. While it was critically fairly well-received, its grim depiction of humanity—including birth defects, a myriad of sexual escapades, horse torture, murder, and self-mutilation—turned off many readers. Despite this, in 1942 she proved that she was equally adept at writing short stories, as evidenced by "A Tree, A Rock, A Cloud," which was selected for inclusion in the 1942 edition of the annual O. Henry Memorial Prize Stories anthology. These were followed by a number of novels, short stories, essays, and plays.

While McCullers's works were deeply influenced by her experiences as a Southerner, Richard Wright (1908–1960) created a literary world out of his experiences as an African American. His novel, *Native Son* (1940), was about Bigger Thomas, a young African American man who responds to a violent world with violence, killing a white woman. It was among the first best-selling books by an African American writer. Whereas black authors had tried not to alienate white audiences, Wright forced readers to see the world through Bigger's eyes. Furthermore, in the 1930s, Wright was involved with the Communist Party, having worked as a reporter for the *Daily Worker;* accordingly, *Native Son* was characterized by a strong undercurrent of social protest, making the book's popular success all the more amazing.

By 1944, Wright formally broke with the Communist Party. Wright then turned to more autobiographical musings, which led to the publication of *Black Boy* in 1945. This book was a success with both the public and the critics, and served as an inspiration and a model for the work of James Baldwin and Ralph Ellison in the 1950s and 1960s. While Wright continued to publish after the 1940s, his work during this decade was his most important; *Native Son* and *Black Boy* were the first of their kind and made it clear for future black writers that they could write for themselves and about themselves without fear of how white America might perceive their work.



Portrait of Richard Wright, 1943, by Gordon Parks. Parks was a photographer then for the Farm Security Administration–Office of War Information Photograph Collection. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

While short-story writers as diverse as Katherine Anne Porter, William Faulkner, and John Cheever enjoyed success in the 1940s, perhaps the most successful short-story writer of this period was the Mississippi writer Eudora Welty (1909–2001). Her first short-story collection, *A Curtain of Green,* was published in 1941 and is still considered to contain some of the most interesting stories she ever wrote, including "The Petrified Man" and "Why I Live at the P.O." After publishing her first novel, *The Robber Bridegroom* (1942), Welty then published another collection of short stories, *The Wide Net,* in 1943. In 1942

and 1943, she won the O. Henry Memorial Prize for the best American short story, for "The Wide Net" and "Livvie is Back" respectively, the first of a lifetime of awards for her work.

Welty claimed to not like being labeled a regional writer, as she felt her writing was representative not of the Southern experience but of the human experience. Welty's best work did indeed rise above its setting to become universal. Nevertheless, today the fact remains that Welty is considered among the best of the Southern writers; her success in the 1940s, along with that of her Southern peers, led to Southern literature becoming institutionalized by decade's end.

Another author who first achieved success in the 1940s was Saul Bellow (1915–2005), a Jewish writer whose work tried to make sense of life in urban America, particularly in Chicago and New York. In 1944, Bellow published his first novel, *Dangling Man,* which was structured using the fictional device of journals, kept by a young man waiting to be drafted. In 1947, Bellow published *The Victim,* a book about a week in the life of Asa Leventhal, a man left alone in New York City when his wife visits a relative. Though it wasn't until the publication of *The Adventures of Augie March* (1953) that Bellow made his breakthrough, his books in the 1940s helped place him at the forefront of Jewish American writers.

Two of the more notable novels to come out of the later 1940s were *All the King's Men* (1946) and *The Naked and the Dead* (1948). Both came from equally unlikely sources: Robert Penn Warren (1905–1989), an academic also known for his being a founding editor of the *Southern Review,* which was for a time the most influential American literary quarterly; and Norman Mailer (1923–2007), a first-time novelist.

Warren was a professor at Louisiana State University, where he founded the *Southern Review.* While he published numerous poems and would eventually be recognized as a major American poet, he concentrated on his fiction in the 1940s, a decision that paid off when his novel *All the King's Men* won the Pulitzer Prize in 1946. Through the voice of narrator Jack Burden, *All the King's Men* deals with the redemption of Willie Stark, a character based on Louisiana's Huey Long, the corrupt but fascinating politician assassinated in 1935. Norman Mailer was born in Long Branch, New Jersey, raised in Brooklyn and educated at Harvard. After college, Mailer was drafted into the army, serving in the Philippines as a rifleman during World War II. His experiences in the war inspired him to write his first novel, *The Naked and the Dead,* published in 1948. The novel is widely thought by literary critics to be among the best to have come out of World War II. The novel focuses on 13 American soldiers stationed on a Japanese-held island in the Pacific. The book describes their lives on the island and uses flashbacks to describe their past. Although Mailer continued to write fiction, he has become best known for nonfiction.



Norman Mailer in 1948. Photo by Carl Van Vechten from the Library of Congress Carl Van Vechten Photograph Collection. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

POETRY

In poetry, the generation of artists who came of age during the period between the wars con-

tinued to write. For example, Marianne Moore published *What Are Years?* in 1941; Wallace Stevens published *Parts of a World* in 1942, which included "Notes Towards a Supreme Fiction," and *Transport to Summer* in 1947; T. S. Eliot published *Four Quartets* in 1943; H. D. (Hilda Doolittle) published *The Walls Do Not Fall* in 1944; Robert Frost published *A Masque of Reason* in 1945 and *A Masque of Mercy* in 1947; Robert Penn Warren published *Selected Poems 1923–1943* in 1944; and William Carlos Williams published *Paterson: Book I* in 1946. Despite the number of established poets producing quality works, the 1940s are especially notable as an era in which a new generation of poets, including Gwendolyn Brooks, Elizabeth Bishop, Robert Lowell, and Richard Wilbur, began to move to the literary forefront. While they certainly had read, admired, and been influenced by the poets from the generation immediately preceding theirs, the poets of the 1940s are notable for reaching farther back into the American past for inspiration: to Walt Whitman, for instance. While some of the new poets echoed the modernists' despair at the dehumanizing effects of technology on human life, even more embraced Whitman's message of unity and life.

If ever a poet was a living representative of the transitional nature of literature in the 1940s, it was the African American writer Gwendolyn Brooks (1917–2000), a poet who first followed in the tradition of the Harlem Renaissance artists of the 1920s and 1930s and then later became aligned with the militant black writers who came to prominence in the 1960s. Born in Topeka, Kansas, Brooks's family soon moved to Chicago, where Brooks was schooled, eventually graduating from Wilson Junior College. Even as a child, Brooks wrote poetry, going so far as to keep poetry notebooks. She published her first collection of poetry, *A Street in Bronzeville,* in 1945. Her early poetry was deeply rooted in her Chicago experiences, detailing the minutiae of everyday black life in the inner city ("Bronzeville" was the name Chicago newspapers gave to the city's ghettoes). Combining traditional lyric forms, alliterative, heavily rhymed lines, and black colloquial speech, Brooks's work depicted not only the ghetto's despair, but its joy as well.

In 1949, Brooks released her second collection of poems, *Annie Allen,* which continued her exploration of the day-to-day aspects of urban black life. It became the first book by an African American to win a Pulitzer Prize. She continued her work in the 1950s in collections such as *Bronzeville Boys and Girls* (1956), but in the late 1960s she underwent a transformation after meeting and working with younger black poets. She decided that she should write for specifically black audiences and dropped her New York publisher in favor of African American-owned presses. She became a leading black feminist as her work grew more explicitly political and less formally structured. Gwendolyn Brooks's constantly evolving poetry is unique in its having bridged differing eras in such a way as to have been equally important to both.

Robert Lowell (1917–1977) was raised in New England, perhaps the most history-steeped region in the nation, but he spent seemingly his whole career trying to revise his own and America's past. After studying at Harvard for two years in the 1930s, Lowell broke with family tradition and moved to Ohio to attend Kenyon College to study with the poet and critic John Crowe Ransom. His poetry was in some ways confessional and his politics, considering the time period, radically liberal.

Lowell vocally opposed U.S. policies during World War II. Although he did try to enlist in the navy, he refused to be drafted into the army and spoke out against the Allies' use of saturation bombing and their insistence on unconditional surrender, eventually declaring himself a conscientious objector; in the end, he spent a year in jail for his beliefs. His first major book of poetry, *Lord Weary's Castle* (1946), elucidates what Lowell saw as the differences between what America was and what it had become, which in his view was a corrupt, materialistic nation. Throughout his career and within his work Lowell revisited America's history as well as his own, constantly and obsessively revising his poems and themes.

MAGAZINES

The magazine market thrived in the 1940s, buoyed by a national wave of reading. Many of the national periodicals born in the late 1800s and

NEW MAGAZINES

Gourmet, 1941

Seventeen, 1944

Ebony, 1945

Highlights for Children, 1946

Road & Track, 1947

Modern Bride, 1949

Motor Trend, 1949

WORDS AND PHRASES

beanie

bonkers

Cold War

crud

geronimo! (as an interjection)

gizmo

gobbledygook

gung ho

hep

hipster

hokey

hubba-hubba (interjection to indicate an attractive member of the opposite sex)

itty-bitty

natch

nightclubbing

perfecto

pin-up girl

sad sack

smackeroo (for money)

snafu

super-duper

sweet talk

vibe

whammy

zillion

early 1900s continued to draw millions of readers, including *Ladies Home Journal* and the *Saturday Evening Post.* The formula for a successful title seemed firmly in place—a mix of articles geared toward families, advertising, and the lure of high profile writers who churned out essays and short stories.

By 1946, *Reader's Digest* (founded in 1922) stood as the nation's most popular magazine, with a circulation of nine million. The success of *Time* magazine, established in 1923 by Henry Luce and Britton Hadden, led to others attempting to imitate the general interest format, including *Newsweek* (1933) and *U.S. News & World Report* (1948). Though the nation increasingly looked to radio and television for news throughout the decade, magazines were still an important information source. For example, John Hersey's 1946 reporting on Hiroshima for the *New Yorker* was named the best piece of American journalism in the twentieth century by the New York University Department of Journalism in 1999.

African American entrepreneurs applied the formula in developing magazines specifically targeted at black audiences. In 1942, John H. Johnson created *Negro Digest,* which used the template established by mass media titles. His success enabled him to found other magazines, including *Ebony* (1945). Originally aimed at male readers, *Ebony* gained its footing and increased popularity when it expanded to include content directed at women.

NEWSPAPERS

Journalists struggled with the balance between partisan reporting and objectivity for as long as newspapers had been produced. As the twentieth century unfolded, a focus on fact-based reporting gave way to an interpretive mode, which featured the reporter as a witness/observer who explained events and issues as they unfolded. The trauma of World War I added to this transformation of American journalism. Context became a central tenet of reporting.

As journalists struggled to figure out the best way to reach audiences, the world grew in complexity. The nation needed its reporters to also serve as analysts, providing context for stories that they did not comprehend or understand.

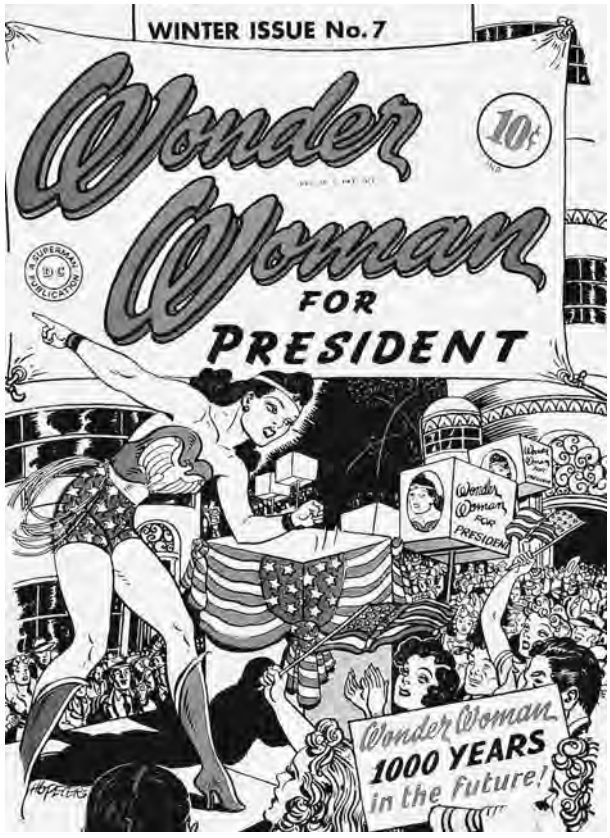
This kind of newsgathering helped newspapers achieve record circulation figures in the 1940s, as Americans turned to them for the latest news on efforts in World War II.

While the advent of radio in the 1930s weakened the appeal of newspapers, it did not lessen the role of journalism. The challenge for newspapers beginning in the 1940s, however, was that people were increasingly drawn away from print to radio and then, eventually, television. Citizens were hungry for content, but they turned away from newspapers in greater numbers as the decade progressed. Total weekday circulation figures increased from 41.1 million in 1940 to 53.8 million in 1950, while Sunday circulation jumped from 32.4 million to 46.6 million in the same span, but sales per household actually fell. Newspaper circulation rose with the population, but that did not translate into newspaper readership increasing as a whole.

COMICS

Gaining in popularity over the course of the twentieth century, comic books took off in the 1940s. In the previous decade, resourceful entrepreneurs realized that giving away comic books as premiums enticed consumers to purchase products. Large companies such as Procter & Gamble, Kinney Shoes, and others who produced kid-friendly merchandise gave away large runs of comics, usually from 100,000 to 250,000 copies. Some even approached 1 million.

Most of the original comic books simply reprinted characters from newspaper strips, such as *The Lone Ranger* and *Buck Rogers.* The success of these efforts gave a new generation of writers and editors the freedom to create new characters and features. Superheroes became more prevalent in the 1940s, partially in response to the early hero stories and the creation of Superman in 1938. Outside forces also helped comics gain a footing, including the rise of pulp magazines, film, and five-cent and dime novels. Radio programs aired programs directed at children. From 4:30 in the afternoon through 6:00 P.M., stations ran serials in 15-minute segments for children, sponsored by corporations that sold kids' products.



A Wonder Woman cover promoting "Wonder Woman for President—Wonder Woman 1000 years in the future!" H. G. Peters, 1943. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

The comic book explosion represented by the introduction of Superman led the entire industry to new heights. In 1942, *Business Week* estimated that comics drew revenues of $15 million annually. Batman debuted in 1939, allowing the company DC Comics to cash in on another superhero. Fawcett Publications introduced Captain Marvel in 1940, shouting "SHAZAM" and turning the mild-mannered Billy Batson into "the World's Mightiest Mortal." Within several years, Captain Marvel outsold Superman. Only a DC Comics lawsuit for copyright infringement against Fawcett could stop Captain Marvel. After fighting the lawsuit throughout the 1940s and early 1950s, Fawcett stopped publishing the comic. *Wonder Woman,* a DC comic book also beginning publication in the 1940s, was unusual for promoting a female superhero.

DARNA: FILIPINA SUPERHERO

The launch of Superman in 1938 led to the creation of a swarm of comic-book superhero variants: Captain Marvel, Batman, Green Lantern, Wonder Woman, and more. World War II brought the superhero to a wider audience as American soldiers carried these cheap, portable, diverting adventure tales into the European and Pacific theaters of war.

One eager new reader was Mars Ravelo, a Filipino artist. Inspired by Superman and Captain Marvel, Ravelo created "Darna," a Filipina heroine with otherworldly powers who became an enduring national phenomenon. Darna would star in six decades' worth of comics, a dozen feature films, several television series, and even a ballet.

In 1947, the Philippines had just gained independence from the United States after decades of American colonial dominance. The new nation, still struggling to recover from the war's devastation, was also grasping to establish its own cultural identity. Ravelo's superheroine (originally named "Varga") defended the weak and the dispossessed with her powers of flight, super-strength, super-speed, and indestructibility. Dressed in a red bikini with matching boots, her long black hair streaming from beneath a wing-adorned red cap, Darna was the forceful and compassionate defender of the weak, a role that Ravelo wished for his country as a player on the world stage. Her human alter-ego, a young girl named Narda, was as meek and powerless as Ravelo felt the nation was at the time, and she always remained a humble rural girl, loyal to her Pinoy roots and true to her peace-loving values. Ravelo and Darna's later adaptors were careful to emphasize the qualities that tied the character to local culture and mythology.

The Nazi peril overseas and American anxiety about entering the war led to comic book heroes taking up the fight. Captain America debuted in 1941. Creators Joe Simon and Jack Kirby claimed that they created the character because the era called for a super patriot. His costume featured red stripes and a large white star across his chest, a virtual embodiment of the American flag. Others attempted the same, with one company even turning Uncle Sam into a superhero, complete with chiseled abs and bulging biceps. Shield, Minute-Man, USA, Major Victory, Daredevil, The Eagle, and other comic book heroes rose to fight Hitler during the war.

The sales figures in the 1940s were unprecedented. In 1944, for example, DC Comics published 19 titles accounting for combined sales exceeding 8.5 million copies. Fawcett reported sales of 4.5 million a year later for its eight comic books. *Captain Marvel* alone brought in $936,000 a year, or $78,000 an issue.

Entertainment

of the 1940s

The performing arts in the 1940s were profoundly affected by the war, and the shifts only accelerated in postwar years. In addition to the continuing popularity of various dances, such as the swing dance and the Rhumba, modern dance was becoming more popular. Radio dominated American life during the decade, but by decade's end, its supremacy was being challenged by an upstart medium that would become the most culturally pervasive phenomenon of the twentieth century: television. What's more, the Hollywood film industry continued to control not just America's movie screens, but the world's as well. By the end of the decade the structure of the Hollywood studio system, some 40 years in the making, was beginning to crumble.

DANCE

Social or pleasure dancing was very popular throughout the 1940s. In the 1930s, swing dancing rose in popularity as the big bands became more and more influenced by swing jazz. Swing dancing, which included couple dances such as Jive, Jitterbug, Lindy Hop, Push, Whip, Shag, East Coast Swing, West Coast Swing, remained popular throughout the 1940s.

Especially popular in the 1940s were the Jitterbug, square dancing, and Latin dances such the Rhumba, Conga, and Samba. The popularity of the Rhumba was spurred by the Latin-inflected music of Xavier Cugat and his orchestra and the 1935 movie *Rhumba,* which starred George Raft as a dancer who wins the heart of an heiress with his dancing.

The 1940s would prove to be important transitional years with regard to the directions of ballet and other forms of dance. In 1940, Richard Pleasant and Lucia Chase founded a new dance company, the Ballet Theatre, which would later be renamed the American Ballet Theatre. Previously, American ballet companies had been heavily influenced by the traditions of European ballet, presenting classic works featuring Russian dancers or dancers with Russian pseudonyms. Conversely, the Ballet Theatre focused on American themes (although it did feature classical ballets), and its non-Russian dancers declined adopting Russian names. The company's repertoire was among the most varied in the world, and its tours packed houses across the nation. Anton Dolin, Antony Tudor, and Eugene Loring were its principal choreographers, but other troupe members contributed as well. Two of the most successful choreographers to do so were Agnes de Mille (1905–1993) and Jerome Robbins (1918–1998). De Mille was a dancer who performed around the world until 1940, when she began creating

ballets based on American themes. Her first, *Rodeo* (1942, music by Aaron Copland), was adapted by the company, and its success led to ballets such as *Fall River Legend* (1948). In 1943 she created and choreographed the dance sequences for the Broadway musical *Oklahoma!* This play was the first to actually integrate dancing into the plot resulting in dance playing a much larger role in musical plays and films.

Also emerging from the Ballet Theatre was Jerome Robbins, whose first ballet, *Fancy Free* (1944, score by Leonard Bernstein), was a smash hit. They adapted it for the Broadway stage as *On the Town.* Still later, the ballet was adapted for the movies by the legendary directing team of Gene Kelly and Stanley Donen; *On the Town* (1949), featuring Kelly, Frank Sinatra, and Ann Miller, is one of the all-time great Hollywood musicals. After leaving the Ballet Theatre in 1948, Robbins was involved with the New York City Ballet for most of the years between 1948 and 1990. Robbins also created for Broadway; he was the director and choreographer of some of the most financially successful and best-loved musicals ever, including *The King and I* (1951), *West Side Story* (1957), and *Fiddler on the Roof* (1964). Following de Mille's lead, Robbins's plays typically featured a seamless blend of acting, singing, and dancing.

Also rising to national import in the 1940s was George Balanchine (1904–1983), born Georgi Melitonovitch Balanchivadze in Saint Petersburg, Russia. In 1924, Balanchine fled to Paris, where he became the leading choreographer of Sergei Diaghilev's ballet company. After immigrating to America in 1933, Balanchine helped to found the School of American Ballet. In 1948, the school's dance troupe became the New York City Ballet (NYCB), which remains one of America's leading ballet companies. As the artistic director of the NYCB, Balanchine was one of the most important choreographers of the twentieth century, noted for his creativity and willingness to experiment.

By the start of the 1940s, modern dance, which was more free-flowing, interpretive, and abstract than ballet was, gained widespread critical acceptance. Among the most notable practitioners was Martha Graham (1894–1991), who produced some of her most important work in the 1940s, with *Appalachian Spring* (1944) the centerpiece. She was a pioneer and leading practitioner of modern dance, a movement in which dancers used the exterior physical motions to convey their interior emotional landscape. As not all emotions were "pretty," Graham sometimes surprised her audiences with abrupt moves and unconventional poses. In the 1940s she turned to women—such as Emily Dickinson, the Brontës, and various women from Greek mythology—for inspiration in her dances, trying to interpret women's feelings through motion.

Like her counterparts in the ballet of the 1940s, Graham also produced a great number of works that featured American themes. While her dances were sometimes tragic, she also produced works of great joy; *Appalachian Spring* (music by Aaron Copland) was just such a work. *Appalachian Spring,* which opened at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., to rave reviews, centers on two young newlyweds living on the wide Pennsylvania frontier, thus alluding to the power of landscape and place in the American imagination. Graham's performance in the piece is legendary and Copland's score won the Pulitzer Prize. Graham's overall influence on postwar American dance cannot be overstated; she is considered the mother of modern dance.

DRAMA

The 1940s marked the beginning of what has been called Broadway's golden age, fueled in large part by the rise of Method acting, the plays of Arthur Miller and Tennessee Williams, and the glory years of Broadway musicals. And while World War II affected nearly every aspect of American life, the American theatre was one of the few areas in which the war did not exert a huge impact.

No discussion of drama in the 1940s, especially concerning Miller and Williams, would be complete without mention of method acting and the Actors Studio. For years stage actors had utilized exterior actions to portray interior emotions. But beginning in the early 1900s, world-renowned Russian theatre director Konstantin Stanislavski began teaching his actors to adhere to what he called "the Method," a Freudian-influenced style of acting. Stanislavski rejected the traditional

acting style, instead encouraging his actors to try to literally become the characters they were playing. Through "emotional recall" actors found, in their own pasts, experiences similar to those of the characters they were playing, thus enabling them to play their roles as realistically as possible. Also important in the method was locating a script's subtext, the emotional internal story that occurs between the lines of dialogue. As a result, dialogue sometimes became secondary to performance, and method actors were occasionally criticized for mumbling rather than enunciating their lines.

The Actors Studio, which schooled actors in method acting, was founded in New York City in 1947. Some of the most important figures in American theatre (and cinema) of the late 1940s and the 1950s, including Elia Kazan, Marlon Brando, Karl Malden, Rod Steiger, and Montgomery Clift, were members. Kazan, an ardent proponent of the method, was perhaps the most influential stage director of the 1940s and 1950s. Beginning in 1942, when he directed Thornton Wilder's *The Skin of Our Teeth,* Kazan had a 20-year run of both theatre and film success, earning him a reputation as a "two-coast genius." In addition to winning the 1948 Oscar for Best Director for *Gentleman's Agreement,* Kazan directed the original Broadway runs of both Tennessee Williams's *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1947) and Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman* (1949), two of the best and most famous postwar American plays. In 1954, Kazan left the Actors Studio to further concentrate on film work and writing.

Arthur Miller (1915–2005), whose *Death of a Salesman* is perhaps the best-known postwar American play, was born in Manhattan, the son of German-Jewish American parents. After graduating from high school, Miller worked for a few years at an auto parts store to earn tuition money for college, before matriculating as a journalism major at the University of Michigan. At Michigan, Miller became aware of Marxism and began to write plays. After graduating he went to work writing radio plays for the Federal Theater Project. Although Miller's best-known works were in the immediate postwar period, it's important to remember that his artistic sensibilities, like those of Tennessee Williams, were shaped by the Depression years of the 1930s. Both wrote plays whose characters face loss of dignity in a world that is no longer secure.

In 1944, Arthur Miller made his Broadway debut with *The Man Who Had All the Luck,* a critical and financial failure. Undeterred, Miller pressed on, writing *All My Sons,* which premiered in 1947. The play, set during World War II, centers on a son's resistance to his father's insistence on running his business as though the war isn't happening, selling faulty airplane cylinder heads without consideration for the pilots who would die because of them. The play did well, but Miller's next play, *Death of a Salesman,* would be his most notable achievement.

Produced in 1949, *Death of a Salesman* was an immediate smash, critically lauded and a huge earner at the box office. The theme at the heart of the play is the failure of the American Dream as defined by the rags-to-riches myth of Horatio Alger. Willy Loman, the salesman of the title, is an American everyman, selling his wares to support his family. But after many years of trying, Loman ultimately falls short, getting fired after failing repeatedly to meet his sales quotas. As the American postwar economy was just beginning to boom, fueling an unprecedented level of consumerist materialism, Loman's story was particularly relevant. What happens to those who buy into the Dream and then can't achieve its essential promise? Is their failure the fault of the Dream, which promises what for some will be unattainable, or the dreamers who stake their measure of success on a myth? Miller's masterpiece deals with these questions, drawing attention not to the great American successes, but to the uncounted millions who fall between the cracks even after doing everything the Dream says is necessary to succeed. After the success of *Death of a Salesman,* Miller would continue writing plays (including 1953's *The Crucible*), essays, and screenplays. He would achieve fame not only as an author but as a personality, especially on account of his being convicted of contempt of Congress in 1957 for refusing to name suspected communists (a conviction overturned by the Supreme Court a year later) and his short-lived but highly publicized marriage to screen legend Marilyn Monroe.

Tennessee Williams (1911–1983), a Southerner whose work forever changed the American theatre, also came into fame in the 1940s. Williams was born Thomas Lanier Williams in Columbus, Mississippi. Williams enrolled in college at the University of Missouri, where he studied for two years before dropping out. He worked for a time in a shoe factory, writing all the while. It was while working at the shoe factory that he had his first nervous breakdown. After his recovery, he went back to school, eventually graduating at the age of 27. Williams subsequently moved to New Orleans to concentrate on his writing. Upon arrival he changed his name to "Tennessee" (in later life he gave so many reasons why he changed it that it's hard to know for sure) and actively embraced his homosexuality. After some modest successes, Williams had his breakthrough in 1945 with *The Glass Menagerie,* which he called a "memory play," since it was told in hindsight. *Menagerie* is a loosely autobiographical play about Amanda Wingfield, her crippled daughter Laura, her writer-son Tom (upon whose memories the tale is based), and a gentleman caller. The play was among his best and its financial success ensured him the opportunity to pursue his craft full time.



Arthur Miller, circa 1940s. Courtesy of Photofest.

Williams went to Mexico to write his next play, which he planned to call *The Poker Night.* Williams envisioned a play revolving around a series of poker games that would feature an attractive working-class young man named Stanley Kowalski, modeled after the real-life Stanley Kowalski, Williams's co-worker and friend during his job at the shoe factory. At the same time, Williams was working on a character named Blanche DuBois, whom he envisioned as a younger version of Amanda Wingfield. Williams quickly realized the play was far more about Blanche than Stanley, and this realization produced *A Streetcar Named Desire,* for which Williams won his first Pulitzer Prize in 1947.

Set in New Orleans, *Streetcar* is the story of Blanche DuBois, a faded Southern belle who hangs on to a long-gone past that can never be recovered. After a series of difficulties, Blanche goes to New Orleans to live with her sister Stella and Stella's husband, Stanley Kowalski. Kowalski is everything Blanche, who envisions herself a member of the Southern aristocracy, despises: a brawling, Polish laborer who drinks beer, plays poker, and bowls. (It was his electrifying performance as Stanley that thrust Marlon Brando into the national spotlight.) When the tension between the two comes to a violent head, the results are catastrophic for Blanche. Williams's use of violence and frank depictions of sexuality in many forms revolutionized the American theatre and enabled the playwrights who followed him to tackle their subjects with previously unheard-of levels of realism. Indeed, the subtext in Williams's work was especially rich and has long resulted in Method actors relishing playing his characters.

After *Streetcar,* Williams continued to compose plays, including *The Rose Tattoo* (1950) and *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* (1955), for which he won his second Pulitzer Prize. At the forefront of all Williams's plays was human loneliness and the search for happiness in its wake. While the circumstances of his characters' lives may have been extreme, there was nevertheless a sense of the universal in their experiences. And in the loneliest

and most desperately searching of his characters, *Streetcar*'s Blanche DuBois, Williams created what is by far the best-known female character in American drama. In fact, it can be argued that after Vivien Leigh's Scarlet O'Hara (*Gone with the Wind,* 1939), Blanche DuBois, also played by Leigh, is the most recognizable female character in American film. (The film version of *Streetcar,* which came out in 1951, was directed by Kazan and starred Brando as Stanley opposite Leigh. Jessica Tandy, who played Blanche on the stage, was passed over because she was thought to lack Leigh's screen presence.)

Broadway musicals also flourished in the 1940s, although many of them are not well-known today. Much of this had to do with the fact that the heyday of the Broadway musical coincided with the heyday of the Hollywood musical. While many dramas were adapted from the stage to the screen during this time, just as many couldn't make the transition because of what studios rightly assumed would be problems with the censors. Throughout the 1940s and into the 1950s and beyond, Hollywood would adapt successful plays—including plays such as *Oklahoma, On the Town, Carousel, Annie Get Your Gun, Brigadoon,* and *South Pacific*—for the silver screen.



A scene from the original Broadway production of Tennessee Williams's play *A Streetcar Named Desire,* 1947. The cast included Marlon Brando as Stanley Kowalski, Jessica Tandy as Blanche, and Kim Hunter as Stella. Courtesy of Photofest.

MUSICAL THEATER

The 1920s represented the first golden age of Broadway theatre, with dozens of shows opening at live theaters on a monthly basis. Producer Florenz Ziegfeld was one of the brightest figures in the genre, and his musical productions catapulted many of his stars to superstar status. Though the great depression contributed to reduced audiences for stage productions, some directors and writers produced works that were highly experimental and innovative. George and Ira Gershwin used musical theater as a vehicle for their songs which, after more than 70 years, still maintain their popular appeal. It was the 1943 production of *Oklahoma!* by the legendary composer/producer team of Richard Rogers and Oscar Hammerstein II that initiated a new age in musical theatre. The Broadway version ran continuously for years, making over 2,000 performances and inspiring a new generation of musicals. *Oklahoma!* achieved a more cohesive combination of story and music than any previous production, and other producers soon began imitating the formula. In addition, the transition to film promised record audiences, and musical films like *West Side Story* (1961) and *Guys and Dolls* (1955) were blockbuster hits, drawing thousands of viewers. Though interest declined during the 1960s, the genre endured and the rock musicals of the 1970s like *Hair* (1979) and *Grease* (1978) eventually gave way to modern musicals like *Moulin Rouge* (2001). While some trends eventually disappeared into obscurity, the musical film has maintained its appeal as both a unique and a highly adaptable form of entertainment, and continues to play an active role in American entertainment.

HOW OTHERS SEE US

American Musicals in London

The landmark Broadway musical *Oklahoma!* opened in London's West End in 1947, four years into the show's record-breaking American run. It proved to be just as much of a smash with British audiences, packing houses for 1,555 performances and whetting theater-goers' appetites for more American "book musicals," like *Annie Get Your Gun* (1946), *South Pacific* (1949), and *Call Me Madam* (1950).

Many English theater critics were not quite so welcoming toward these imported productions, however. The book musicals combined dramatic themes with musical numbers that were naturalistically integrated into the story. This was a major departure from European theater tradition, which reserved music and dance for light, artificial entertainments and kept dramas strictly music-free. Gaudy song-intrusions were frowned upon by England's theater purists.

Yet, as the brash young British critic Kenneth Tynan explained it in 1952, musical dramas (as well as dramatic musicals) might almost be expected from Americans, for whom "life appears almost as a department of choreography," and whose movements "are conducted to a filtered murmur of orchestral accompaniment." To Tynan, the sense of joyous abandon that pervaded the American productions authentically rooted them in their place of origin—making them more "realistic" than any staid drama and more alive than the fantasy musicals so prevalent on the English stage.

NOTABLE THEATER

Arsenic and Old Lace, 1941 (1,444 perfs.)
Angel Street, 1941 (1,295 perfs.)
Oklahoma!, 1943 (2,212 perfs.)
The Voice of the Turtle, 1943 (1,557 perfs.)
Harvey, 1944 (1,775 perfs.)
Carousel, 1945 (890 perfs.)
Annie Get Your Gun, 1946 (1,147 perfs.)
Born Yesterday, 1946 (1,642 perfs.)
A Streetcar Named Desire, 1947 (855 perfs.)
Mister Roberts, 1948 (1,157 perfs.)
Kiss Me, Kate, 1948 (1,077 perfs.)
Death of a Salesman, 1949 (742 perfs.)
South Pacific, 1949 (1,925 perfs.)

RADIO

Radio's apex was during the 1940s, when Americans relied on it for their entertainment as well as their information about World War II. Its advertising structure, which TV would initially copy, was typically single advertisers sponsoring whole shows. Furthermore, radio had established its programming: music, news, and entertainment shows. The fact that its infrastructure was firmly established, primarily by NBC and CBS and their many affiliates, resulted in local programming often being overshadowed by nationally syndicated shows. Americans listened to the radio for news and for entertainment from across the nation.

While radio was popular prior to the 1930s, the Great Depression ushered in its golden age. Programmers created new shows in genres such as detective mysteries, westerns, soap operas, dramas, comedies, and variety shows. Most shows were serialized so fans could follow the weekly adventures of their favorite characters on a long-term basis. For example, *The Lone Ranger* was on the air for 22 years and *The Jack Benny Program* enjoyed a remarkable 26-year run. By the 1940s, American radio shows were communally shared at the same time each week by millions of people.

Also contributing to radio's popularity was the widespread use of stars. In the 1930s, radio had been populated by many recognizable vaudevillians, who were now being displaced by the rise of radio. While vaudevillians, including the

Marx Brothers, Burns and Allen, Jack Benny, Fred Allen, and Paul Robeson, were quick to join radio's ranks, Hollywood movie stars were reluctant because they believed it would lessen their cinematic appeal. Nevertheless, radio ran movie reviews, and syndicated gossip columnists such as Louella Parsons and Walter Winchell often focused on Hollywood figures. Hollywood eventually realized that more exposure for its stars would result in increased revenues at the box office.

By the early 1940s, Hollywood actors, including luminaries such as Humphrey Bogart, Katharine Hepburn, Jimmy Stewart, James Cagney, and Clark Gable, routinely participated in radio reenactments of their films. Eventually, this crossover appeal began to work both ways, with actors such as Richard Widmark, Agnes Moorehead, Art Carney, and Don Ameche, who got their starts in radio, crossing over to movies. As the lines between the two mediums slowly blurred, America became more infatuated with its stars.

During the 1940s, virtually all radio shows seemed dominated by the war. For example, the sole purpose of shows such as *Millions for Defense* and *Treasury Star Parade* was the selling of government war bonds. Other official messages, ranging from the urgings to plant victory



Jack Benny, an exceedingly popular radio comedian in the 1930s and 1940s. Courtesy of Photofest.

RADIO DEBUTS OF THE 1940s

The Abbott and Costello Show (1940): comedy-variety program starring the comedic duo already famous for their "Who's On First?" routine.

The Great Gildersleeve (1941): situation comedy, one of the first spin-offs in broadcasting history, about Throckmorton P. Gildersleeve (a recurring character on the popular *Fibber McGee and Molly*) and his efforts to parent his orphaned niece and nephew.

The Life of Riley (1941): situation comedy focused on a blue-collar family's misadventures, remembered for its catchphrase: "What a revoltin' development!"

The Frank Sinatra Show (1943): musical variety broadcast, later known as *Songs by Sinatra,* featuring the popular crooner.

The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet (1944): family situation comedy starring Ozzie and Harriet Nelson and, eventually, their two real-life sons.

The Roy Rogers Show (1944): dramatic sketches and music with a western theme, starring movie cowboy Roy Rogers.

Queen for a Day (1945): audience-participation show in which women told their hard-luck stories, with the one judged most worthy crowned "Queen for a Day" and awarded prizes.

The Betty Crocker Magazine of the Air (1947): food and cooking show that offered recipes, household tips, and fashion hints for homemakers.

You Bet Your Life (1947): absurdist quiz show hosted by big-screen funnyman Groucho Marx.

Our Miss Brooks (1948): situation comedy starring Eve Arden as a wisecracking high school English teacher.

gardens to reminders of the importance of keeping secrets and not spreading rumors, were also regularly broadcast over the airwaves. Likewise, radio shows incorporated war themes into their scripts. It became commonplace for characters in virtually every genre to discuss the importance of volunteering to help the cause in whatever way possible. Furthermore, America's enemies were frequently depicted on radio as purely evil in order to raise passions against them on the home front. As J. Fred MacDonald notes, a particularly interesting example of the integration of war themes in radio programming could be found in shows aimed at children:

> [T]hroughout the war juvenile listeners were implored on these shows to fight the enemy by collecting scrap metal, used fats, tin, rubber, and newspapers; and by buying War Bonds, writing to servicemen once a month, and planting Victory gardens. Never had a war been so directly taken to American youngsters; never had a war been as total as radio made it. One of the most compelling examples of this attitude is found in the five-point pledge to fight waste that juvenile listeners to *Dick Tracy* swore in 1943:
>
> I Pledge
>
> 1 to save water, gas, and electricity
> 2 to save fuel oil and coal
> 3 to save my clothes
> 4 to save Mom's furniture
> 5 to save my playthings
>
> Compliance not only gave a child inner satisfaction, but by notifying the network of his pledge, a child had his or name announced on a Victory Honor Roll which—the program announcer assured listeners—was sure to be read by General Dwight D. Eisenhower when he received it at Allied Headquarters in North Africa.[1]

In addition to radio being America's dominant wartime entertainment medium, the rise of the broadcast journalist—who reported on breaking world events live instead of merely reading prewritten text—in the 1930s had unforeseen benefits to the American public in the 1940s, when news from around the world became more relevant to Americans' daily lives. During World War II radio broadcasts originating from various war zones were routinely broadcast during prime-time listening hours. These live broadcasts of important social and political events played an integral role in America's predominant national attitude of unity as it entered World War II. Illustrative of radio's importance as America moved toward entering the war was September 3, 1939, which J. Fred MacDonald calls "the biggest news day in the history of radio": in a mere 18-hour span, listeners heard live the British and French declarations of war against Germany, King George VI and Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain address the British people, speeches by President Roosevelt and Canadian Prime Minister Mackenzie King, and reports concerning the torpedoing of a transatlantic liner.[2] Whereas most Americans had been largely uninformed when the United States entered World War I, because of radio and its broadcast journalists Americans were aware of the events that led up to the United States entering World War II.

Perhaps nowhere is the power of radio's influence over its listeners in the late 1930s and 1940s more evident than in the field of politics. While politicians the world over utilized the medium's power, in America it was President Franklin D. Roosevelt who utilized it best. Beginning in 1933, Roosevelt's live *Fireside Chats* kept the country informed. His famous quotes such as "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself" (from his first inauguration) and "a day that will live in infamy" (from his speech to Congress after Pearl Harbor) were broadcast live, making an immediate impression on millions of Americans.

Roosevelt's masterful use of radio as a means to both soothe the public's fears and sell his party's ideas was the first instance of an American president using mass communications technology. Other politicians, particularly Republicans, who vehemently disliked Roosevelt's social policies, began using radio to convey opposing political messages, but they were too late; Roosevelt, with his regular broadcast schedule, soothing tone, and proclivity for positive spin no matter what the situation, had already established himself as the undisputed political master of the medium.

After the war, radio shows were forced to return to the music, news, and escapist entertainment formats that had been so successful in the prewar years. However, in some cases social commentary appeared where it had previously been absent. Comedians such as Fred Allen and Henry Morgan regularly satirized American politics and society, while reality-based shows such as *Dragnet, Treasury Agent,* and *The Big Story* gave radio a more realistic edge than it had in the prewar years. Also enjoying newfound popularity were radio documentaries, featuring stories on everything from the Cold War to alcoholism, and talking head discussion shows such as *Meet the Press* and *Capitol Cloakroom.* Kids' shows also reflected a new social awareness, as evidenced by Superman's frequently fighting bigotry and intolerance and the appearance of a new crop of shows featuring ethnically diverse heroes such as the Cisco Kid, the Indian Brave, and the Latino Avenger. Also enjoying a brief renaissance in the late 1940s were quiz shows such as *Truth or Consequences* and *Stop the Music!* Despite these minor exceptions, radio still largely followed the structure it had established before the war. Soldiers returning home wanted change, but radio was slow to respond. Accordingly, listening levels began to drop after the war just as television was beginning to crop up in urban markets across America.[3]

TELEVISION

At the 1939 New York World's Fair the theme was simply, "The Future." At the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) Pavilion, President David Sarnoff, was on hand to unveil his company's electronic television, which he believed would someday have a place in every American home. He also announced that the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), at that time owned by RCA, would begin airing regularly scheduled broadcasting for two hours a night. It was monopolistic vertical integration at its finest: RCA made radios and televisions and NBC, its subsidiary, produced the programming. Having introduced the first modern radio station in 1926 and the first television station in 1940, Sarnoff has been called the father of American broadcasting. Sarnoff's confidence belied the fact that there were only about 4,000 televisions in homes in New York City, that the medium was far from perfect, that there was no standard for broadcast format, distribution, or funding, and that the country was on the precipice of war. All of these factors would contribute to TV's failure to catch on until the late 1940s. Even though television didn't take off until the 1950s, much of the groundwork that contributed to its ascendancy took place in this decade.

NOTABLE TELEVISION

Kukla, Fran, and Ollie (1947–1957)

Puppet Playhouse (The Howdy Doody Show) (1947–1960)

Break the Bank (1948–1957)

Candid Microphone (later renamed *Candid Camera*) 1948–1950 (and later versions)

Texaco Star Theater (The Milton Berle Show) (1948–1956)

The Toast of the Town (The Ed Sullivan Show) (1948–1971)

The Lone Ranger (1949–1957)

Twenty Questions (1949)

In addition to questions over bandwidth, there was fighting over what the standard number of lines of resolution should be. As was its practice, the Federal Communications Commission refused to grant authorization for commercial broadcasting until there was industry unanimity on broadcast standards. In 1940, the National Television System Committee (NTSC) was organized, made up of industry representatives. Their task was to come up with industry standards for all areas of broadcasting, including transmitter power, transmitter characteristics, and picture resolution. Furthermore, while the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) had a mechanical method of color broadcasting, for which it lobbied hard, the rest of the industry had invested heavily in hardware and infrastructure for electronic, black-and-white monochrome transmission. In early 1941, the industry settled its differences and agreed on monochromatic black-and-white television broadcast. The NTSC presented its

findings to the FCC, which on April 30, 1941, approved the NTSC's proposals and authorized full commercial television to begin broadcasting on July 1, 1941.[4] Unfortunately, the industry's infighting cost it six years. Had it begun broadcasting in 1939, it's possible the industry would have grown during the war years. But in April 1942, all new radio and television production was banned so that communications technicians could contribute to the war effort. As radio already had its infrastructure in place, it remained America's dominant information, communication, and entertainment medium throughout the war. But in 1947, with America at peace and on the cusp of an unprecedented economic boom, TV began its long-anticipated rise, rapidly becoming America's dominant medium.

Also established in the 1940s was the distribution system that has come to be known as the network system. There were primarily three networks, NBC, CBS, and the American Broadcast System (ABC). The network system consisted of a parent company that funded and produced programs which it then licensed to local affiliated stations. As NBC and CBS were both established in radio long before the advent of TV, they had a distribution network advantage over ABC, which didn't come into being until 1943. NBC initially had two networks, the red and the blue. However, the FCC felt NBC was a monopoly and in 1943 ordered NBC to divest itself of one of its television networks. The less successful blue network was sold off to Lifesavers candy manufacturer Edward J. Noble for $8 million, who promptly changed its name to ABC.

In television's early years, there was also a fourth network, Allen B. DuMont's DuMont Network. In fact, aside from NBC, DuMont was the only network to regularly run programming during the war. Unfortunately, the postwar rush for television licenses caused the FCC to panic, instituting a ban on new TV station licenses in 1948. As DuMont had no radio base, the freeze crippled its growth. When the ban was lifted in 1952, the FCC decided that there could be no more than three stations in a market. Since ABC, NBC, and CBS already had networks of affiliates, the new stations enlisted with them rather than DuMont. Because they reached more people, advertisers flocked to the other three networks. By 1955, DuMont was forced to give up.

In the early 1940s, many entertainers considered television to be more of a novelty than a legitimate entertainment form. This belief was reinforced when those outside the industry saw that those who did work in TV—most of whom came from radio and vaudeville—were treated by management as secondary to the medium. Accordingly, while the bulk of early television entertainers worked for Sarnoff's NBC, he didn't treat them particularly well. Instead, he focused his energy on further developing the technology and business interests of RCA and NBC. Conversely, CBS's William S. Paley, Sarnoff's arch enemy, was not particularly interested in the technological side of the business. Instead, he loved the arts and had a knack for handling the big and often delicate egos of entertainers. While Sarnoff concentrated on his business, Paley concentrated on Sarnoff's talent pool, such as Jack Benny, Amos 'n Andy, Burns and Allen, Red Skelton, Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy, and Frank Sinatra. By the late 1940s, as a result of Paley's machinations, CBS had assumed its mantel as "the Tiffany of broadcasting" and would dominate the ratings for the next 25 years.

Two of the first two big TV series that started in the 1940s were NBC's *The Howdy Doody Show,* originally called *Puppet Playhouse,* and *Texaco Star Theater,* hosted by Milton Berle, whose popularity led to his being dubbed "Mr. Television." For those Americans who had televisions in the late 1940s, Tuesdays meant Tuesday night with "Uncle Miltie." Much of the early programming, *The Jack Benny Show, The Lone Ranger,* and *The Life of Riley,* for example, came from successful radio shows that made the jump to TV, but TV would soon develop its own stars. By the end of the 1940s, TV's formats, such as soap operas, half-hour sitcoms, hour dramas, and games shows, were firmly established.

Prior to TV's assuming its still-familiar format, educators and reformers had high hopes for television, thinking it had the potential to be a revolutionary educational tool. However, since its introduction into American society, TV had proven itself capable of mesmerizing its audience, providing advertisers with an unprecedented

means of effectively selling products. Most Americans, then, weren't interested in educational programming. If people didn't watch, advertisers didn't pay for airtime to sell their products, and there was no TV. Television executives, many of whom came from radio, followed the radio proven model: Single advertisers paid for whole shows, the most common of which were half-hour genre and variety shows. Advertising with short spots for single products, wouldn't become the norm until the early 1950s.

After World War II, television began a meteoric rise that wouldn't stop until it became the Western world's dominant medium. In 1946, only 7,000 TVs were sold, each costing over $500 apiece. In 1947, the World Series, a classic seven-game affair between the then Brooklyn Dodgers and the New York Yankees, was broadcast on television for the first time, in large part because Gillette paid $50,000 for the sponsorship rights.[5] In addition to featuring one of the more notable World Series in history, the telecast used several different cameras. All over the country people packed barrooms and storefront windows to watch the games. Also in 1947, Earle Muntz, a Los Angeles car salesman, grew interested in TVs. By taking apart RCA, DuMont, and Philco TV sets, mixing and matching parts from each of the makers, and then putting them back together, Muntz figured out how to make the cheapest possible TV set. The Muntz TV sold for $170 at $10 per inch—Muntz was the first to measure TVs corner-to-corner rather than by width.[6] The next year the number of televisions sold rose to 172,000. In 1950, more than five million sets were sold.

Early Television Shows

In 1947, when commercial television officially came into being, there were only 16 stations nationwide. By 1950 there would be 107.[7] Of all the early shows, among the most successful, influential, and rabidly watched were *The Howdy Doody Show* and *Milton Berle's Texaco Star Theater.*

The Howdy Doody Show debuted on NBC on December 27, 1947, and would run until September 24, 1960. Set in the fictional Doodyville, the show featured a colorful cast of characters led by Buffalo Bob Smith, a pioneer-clad man who took his name from his resemblance to Buffalo Bill. The cast also included the mute Clarabell the Clown (played by Bob Keeshan, who would go on to become Captain Kangaroo), Chief Thunderthud, Tim Tremble (Don Knotts, who played versions of the same character after that), and Phineas T. Bluster, who hated it when other people had fun. The show was well received, especially by parents who quickly realized that if they put their kids down in front of the TV while the show was on, they'd remain relatively quiet with their eyes glued to the screen.

The star of the show was Howdy Doody, a freckled boy puppet (voiced by Smith) with eyes that could roll, a flannel shirt, blue jeans, and a cowboy hat. Kids loved the irascible Howdy, and the show's catchphrase, "It's Howdy Doody Time!", is still part of the American lexicon. Perhaps the show's most important contribution to TV was its licensing Howdy for a fee. As Howdymania swept the country in 1948, NBC came up with the idea to give away free Howdy Doody buttons. Smith announced the promotion on-air and NBC had 5,000 buttons made to meet the anticipated demand. They received 100,000 requests for buttons. NBC informed sponsors of the furor and within a few months they sold advertising spots for the next year, including sponsorship by Colgate, M&M's, Wonder Bread, and Ovaltine. Doody himself was everywhere: dolls, wallpaper, sleeping bags, watches, and any number of toys. Even in its infancy, television's advertising potential was recognized en masse by Madison Avenue advertising execs.

Milton Berle's Texaco Star Theater debuted on NBC on June 8, 1948. Berle had been a vaudeville performer and had been trying unsuccessfully for years to break into radio. When Berle's show debuted, TV had no pattern on which to base a show, so everything Berle did seemed new, even if much of it had its roots in vaudeville stages. His show was a loose collection of jokes, improv, and sketch comedy bolstered by a group of regular characters. Berle became known as "Mr. Television" and is often credited with selling more TVs than anyone in history. Indeed, his popularity was unprecedented and has since been unequaled; it's estimated that as much as 80 percent of the people who owned TVs would watch

his show each Tuesday night. Berle became the highest-paid entertainer in the world, and restaurants across the country changed their closed day from Monday to Tuesday so as not to compete with "Uncle Miltie." Berle even had success with Milton Berle Makeup Kits, a product inspired by his show. For $3.98 people could get a kit that had a duplicate of Berle's trademark red wig, whiskers, a mustache, different noses, false teeth, and an eye patch.

MOVIES

In the late 1930s and early 1940s, American cinema was in a state of flux; numerous problems faced the industry, including cries for censorship and a variety of legal actions designed to break up the studios' stranglehold on worldwide distribution. However, America's entering the war in 1941 delayed the changes coming to Hollywood, at least for a few years.

Perhaps the most important issue in Hollywood in the prewar years was the Justice Department's 1938 antitrust suit against the studio system, which had a monopoly over filmmaking, distribution, and exhibition in America and, to some extent, abroad. In the early years of American cinema, dozens of film companies struggled for a market share. After a series of bankruptcies and consolidations, five main studios emerged: Paramount, Warner Brothers, 20th Century Fox, Metro Goldwyn Mayer (MGM), and Radio Keith Orpheum (RKO). The companies worked to consolidate vertically, with each eventually controlling its own production facilities, distribution networks, and exhibition outlets. In their 1940s heyday, the five majors made the majority of all American films and owned 50 percent of America's theatre capacity. Their monopoly did not go unchallenged. It appeared as though a government antitrust suit against the studios would break up their monopoly; however, on October 29, 1940, a settlement was reached and a consent decree signed, placing limited restrictions on the industry. Although the Justice Department was not satisfied with the decree and was initially set to go further, America soon entered the war and the government needed Hollywood's help to produce various kinds of public service films, military training films, documentaries and the like; thus were the studios allowed to operate largely unimpeded until after the war.

In 1940–1941, Hollywood continued the creative transformation it had begun in the late 1930s. Individual studios were still associated with genre films featuring name stars and churned out by contract directors: Warner Brothers made crime films, MGM made musicals, Universal made horror films, and so on. But the studio system was beginning to undergo changes; an emerging group of producer-directors were beginning to be identified for their own styles, which resulted in their becoming a marketable commodity. For example, *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936) and *You Can't Take It with You* (1938) weren't sold to the public as star-driven screwball comedies so much as "Frank Capra Films." Likewise, directors such as Preston Sturges and John Ford became well known for their skills and began to enjoy greater creative autonomy in the filmmaking process. Hollywood still relied heavily on house style and star-driven genre pictures, but the success of these early "auteurs" foreshadowed the drastic changes facing the Hollywood studios in the postwar years.

Perhaps no film or filmmaker was as illustrative of 1940s producer-directors' long-term effect on Hollywood as Orson Welles and his 1941 film *Citizen Kane,* which was a relative flop upon its release but has since been acknowledged as among the most influential films ever. After getting his start in the New York theatre and achieving widespread fame as the creative force behind the Mercury Theatre (whose 1938 Halloween night radio adaptation of H. G. Wells's *The War of the Worlds* caused nationwide panic among listeners who thought the newscast-style show they were hearing was real), Welles arrived in Hollywood in 1938 with no filmmaking experience. Despite his inexperience, his reputation earned him a contract with RKO, which allowed him unprecedented creative control.

After initially trying to adapt Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness,* Welles contracted screenwriter Herman J. Mankiewicz to write a script for a biopic of newspaper magnate William Randolph Hearst, as famous for his wealth as for the power his newspapers allowed him to wield. Welles

DEPICTION OF THE ENEMY DURING WORLD WAR II: JAPANESE

During World War II, the U.S. government not only fought Japanese soldiers in the Pacific arena, but also initiated a war of ideas at home. The War Department enlisted the help of writers, artists, and film producers to create a staggering variety of propaganda. Tempered by prevailing prejudices and common misconceptions about Japanese culture, propaganda posters often showed Japanese people as subhuman and savage. Frequently, Japanese were shown with ape-like faces, jaundiced skin, and front teeth protruding over their lower lip. Pamphlets and propaganda literature sometimes described the Japanese as "monkey men" or "savages" whose culture had failed to evolve.

In 1945, director Frank Capra contributed to the propaganda campaign with the short film *Know Your Enemy: Japan*. Capra's film portrayed the Japanese as a dangerous enemy with an insatiable desire for global domination. Behind images of Japanese soldiers in training, the narrative describes the Japanese people as brainwashed to follow orders from a young age. Though Capra's film occasionally expressed appreciation for the efficiency of Japanese culture, prejudice and racism colored much of the narrative, describing the Japanese, in one instance, as racially homogenous with each individual seeming as alike as "photographic prints off the same negative."

made extensive changes to Mankiewicz's script before beginning production. Welles then enlisted the help of cinematographer Gregg Toland, who had been experimenting with different camera techniques while shooting for John Ford. *Citizen Kane* starts with a mock newsreel, *News on the March,* which chronicles the recently deceased Charles Foster Kane's (played by Welles) life, ending with his last word, "Rosebud." The remainder of the film involves a series of flashbacks framed under the guise of a reporter asking Kane's former friends and family if they know what "Rosebud" means. The film's structure was new to the movies; it had multiple narratives, a technique in which individual characters recounted different versions of similar events, revolutionized the way cinematic stories could be told.

Released in 1941, Welles's masterpiece was well received critically but established studio directors bristled at the success of the "boy genius" and his open disdain for the conventions of Hollywood filmmaking. While *Kane* was nominated for nine Oscars, John Ford's *How Green Was My Valley* won the major awards. Welles never again approached the creative innovation of *Citizen Kane* (though *The Magnificent Ambersons* [1942] and *Touch of Evil* [1958] were masterpieces in their own right), but he did have the last laugh: *Citizen Kane* is widely regarded as the most influential film ever made.

When the war started, American filmmaking experienced a decided shift in content, from goal-oriented individuals and love stories to individuals yielding to the collective good (of nation, combat unit, etc.). Likely the film that started it all was Michael Curtiz's *Casablanca* (1942). In it Rick Blaine (Humphrey Bogart) is the expatriate American owner of Rick's Café Américain, a man whose mantra is "I stick my neck out for nobody" (echoing the sentiments of American isolationists). Over the course of the film, however, he learns the importance of working with others and of personal sacrifice for the greater good of humanity.

Hollywood studios were happy to work with the government to promote the war effort; their output was monitored, but their business methods weren't. Although Hollywood willingly complied with the government's request that they make propagandistic feature films, as well as newsreels, documentaries, and informational films, they were still asked to submit their products to the government's Office of War Information (OWI) for review. In the 1930s the studios had created the Production Code Administration (PCA) to review films' content as a means of avoiding government-legislated controls. President Roosevelt's June 1942 executive order creating the OWI resulted in films having to go through not one but *two* review processes before being approved for release. The formulas for virtually all film genres, from musicals to westerns to animated shorts, changed to positively reflect America's involvement in the war both abroad and at home,



Still considered one of the best film dramas ever made, *Casablanca* (1942) was directed by Michael Curtiz and starred Humphrey Bogart and Ingrid Bergman. Courtesy of Photofest.

resulting in many seemingly disparate films, falling under the general rubric of "war films."

Two genres specific to the wartime atmosphere were the World War II combat film and the woman's picture (also known as "weepies"). They enjoyed great success during the war years. These two types of movies targeted different audiences, but together they captured most of the viewing audience. The appeal of the combat film was obvious; Americans could watch reenactments of famous battles in which "our boys" performed heroically in their quest to help save the world. While these films were usually based on real events, some depictions were more fictionalized than others; virtually all of them were given a pro-American/Allies spin. Nearly all of the combat films used the wartime formula of a group of men working together as one to meet a common goal from which all would benefit. However, as the war dragged on, people, especially returning soldiers, grew disgruntled with the romanticization of the war in the early World War II combat films. Accordingly, later films were more realistic and some even focused on individuals in turmoil instead of the group. Among the more notable of the many combat films were *Bataan* (1943), *Destination Tokyo* (1943), *Guadalcanal Diary* (1944), *Sahara* (1944), *A Walk in the Sun* (1945), and *The Story of G. I. Joe* (1945).

The need for films targeted at women was made evident in the early years of the war when a sizable demographic of the movie-going audience, young men, were leaving to fight in the war. In addition, for the first time women were entering the workforce en masse, thus earning their own money to spend. Hollywood quickly realized that if it targeted films specifically at women it could reach a large and heretofore untapped market. The studios made films that were both amenable to PCA and OWI censors and appealing to women by creating a series of home front dramas, which chronicled the lives of women doing their part for the war effort at home. While these films were generally saccharine, several, such as *Tender Comrade* (1943) and *Since You Went Away* (1944) were huge box office successes.

TOP ACTORS

Bud Abbott, 1895–1974, and Lou Costello, 1906–1959

Gene Autry, 1907–1998

Lauren Bacall, 1924–

Ingrid Bergman, 1915–1982

Humphrey Bogart, 1899–1957

Gary Cooper, 1901–1961

Joan Crawford, 1908–1977

Bing Crosby, 1903–1977

Bette Davis, 1908–1989

Henry Fonda, 1905–1982

Clark Gable, 1901–1960

Judy Garland, 1922–1969

Betty Grable, 1916–1973

Cary Grant, 1904–1986

Katharine Hepburn, 1907–2003

Bob Hope, 1903–2003

Laurence Olivier, 1907–1989

Gregory Peck, 1916–2003

Mickey Rooney, 1920–

Rosalind Russell, 1911–1976

James Stewart, 1908–1997

Spencer Tracy, 1900–1967

Lana Turner, 1921–1995

John Wayne, 1907–1979

ACADEMY AWARD WINNERS

Year of release, not year of award.

1940 Picture: *Rebecca*

Director: John Ford, *The Grapes of Wrath*
Actor: James Stewart, *The Philadelphia Story*
Actress: Ginger Rogers, *Kitty Foyle*

1941 Picture: *How Green Was My Valley*

Director: John Ford, *How Green Was My Valley*
Actor: Gary Cooper, *Sergeant York*
Actress: Joan Fontaine, *Suspicion*

1942 Picture: *Mrs. Miniver*

Director: William Wyler, *Mrs. Miniver*
Actor: James Cagney, *Yankee Doodle Dandy*
Actress: Greer Garson, *Mrs. Miniver*

1943 Picture: *Casablanca*

Director: Michael Curtiz, *Casablanca*
Actor: Paul Lukas, *Watch on the Rhine*
Actress: Jennifer Jones, *The Song of Bernadette*

1944 Picture: *Going My Way*

Director: Leo McCarey, *Going My Way*
Actor: Bing Crosby, *Going My Way*
Actress: Ingrid Bergman, *Gaslight*

1945 Picture: *The Lost Weekend*

Director: Billy Wilder, *The Lost Weekend*
Actor: Ray Milland, *The Lost Weekend*
Actress: Joan Crawford, *Mildred Pierce*

1946 Picture: *The Best Years of Our Lives*

Director: William Wyler, *The Best Years of Our Lives*
Actor: Fredric March, *The Best Years of Our Lives*
Actress: Olivia de Havilland, *To Each His Own*

1947 Picture: *Gentleman's Agreement*

Director: Elia Kazan, *Gentleman's Agreement*
Actor: Ronald Colman, *A Double Life*
Actress: Loretta Young, *The Farmer's Daughter*

1948 Picture: *Hamlet*

Director: John Huston, *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*
Actor: Laurence Olivier, *Hamlet*
Actress: Jane Wyman, *Johnny Belinda*

1949 Picture: *All the King's Men*

Director: Joseph L. Mankiewicz, *A Letter to Three Wives*
Actor: Broderick Crawford, *All the King's Men*
Actress: Olivia de Havilland, *The Heiress*

NOTABLE MOVIES

Excluding Best Picture winners.

Fantasia (1940)*
The Grapes of Wrath (1940)
The Great Dictator (1940)
The Philadelphia Story (1940)
Pinocchio (1940)*
Citizen Kane (1941)
The Maltese Falcon (1941)
Bambi (1942)*
Yankee Doodle Dandy (1942)
Double Indemnity (1944)
Gaslight (1944)
Meet Me in St. Louis (1944)
National Velvet (1944)
Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo (1944)
Mildred Pierce (1945)
Spellbound (1945)
The Big Sleep (1946)
It's a Wonderful Life (1946)
Notorious (1946)
Miracle on 34th Street (1947)
The Road to Rio (1947)
The Treasure of the Sierra Madre (1948)
The Third Man (1949)

*Denotes animated feature.



Released during the war in 1944, *Meet Me in St. Louis,* starring Judy Garland, was a romantic and charming musical, set during the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis. The movie is still popular with audiences 60 years later. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

By 1945–1946, only 2 of the 36 top-grossing films were war-related, as opposed to 13 of 24 in 1942–1943. Americans were growing tired of the inundation with all things war-related.[8] Nevertheless, at the end of the war, American cinema was booming. America's was the only major national cinema still intact; American G.I.'s returned home with money burning holes in their pockets, and the economy was entering what would be the largest sustained period of growth and prosperity in American history to that time. Indeed, in 1946 American cinema enjoyed its greatest financial year to date, with an astounding 100 million people per week—nearly two-thirds of America's population—going to the movies. Yet despite all the reasons for optimism, dark days were on the horizon.

Immediately after the war's conclusion, Hollywood was hit with two major blows: an eight-month studio union strike and the Justice Department's renewal of its antitrust suit against the studios. The union strike came at a time when domestic inflation was skyrocketing and the British, Hollywood's primary overseas market, had just levied a 75 percent tax on all foreign film profits. Furthermore, wartime price controls ended, which resulted in the price of film stock jumping dramatically. By the time the

strike ended, the studios' overhead had risen dramatically. Compounding the situation was the Supreme Court's 1948 resolution of the Justice Department's antitrust suit, which was known as the "Paramount decree" (Paramount having been the most sought-after target); as a result of the Court ruling in favor of the Justice Department, Paramount Pictures was ordered to divest itself of its theatres by December 31, 1948, thus destroying the studio's vertically integrated business model and effectively marking the beginning of the end of the studio system in Hollywood.

The studios quickly cut back, limiting their output and reducing their production budgets by as much as half. Large-scale costume dramas, big-budget musicals, and sprawling epics quickly ceased being made at their prewar levels. Adding insult to injury was the fact that the formulas upon which Hollywood had relied on for years were, in the aftermath of 1946, not doing the business they once did.

In an effort to meet the changing persona and attitudes of its immediate postwar audience, Hollywood sought to make more realistic, socially relevant films. Traditional genres such as westerns underwent makeovers, emerging as more adult fare in such films as *Duel in the Sun* (1946) and *Red River* (1948). These "adult" westerns concentrated on the psychological and moral conflicts of the hero and his relationship to society. New types of films also began to be made. Of these new variations of films, perhaps film noir and social problem or "message" pictures were the most notable to emerge in the postwar 1940s.

In 1940, John Ford made one of the best message pictures ever, his adaptation of John Steinbeck's novel *The Grapes of Wrath*. However, America shortly entered the war, which brought production of films highlighting problems in American society to a grinding halt. But after the war, dissatisfaction with what some saw as the failed promise of an American dream led to the vogue of social problem pictures. Although problem pictures dealt with important issues such as racism and addiction, they frequently did so in a Hollywood manner, that is, societal error was recognized and dealt with in such a way that the protagonist lived happily ever after. Films such as *The Lost Weekend* (1945), a film about an alcoholic on a bender; *Gentleman's Agreement* (1947), a movie about unspoken but institutionalized anti-Semitism; and *Pinky* (1949), the tale of a black girl light enough to pass as white, all won critical accolades and enjoyed public success.

Dissatisfaction with American life also fueled the rise of film noir; but whereas problem pictures addressed social problems head on, the film noir was much more cynical and desperate (film noir literally means "black film"). Film noir was not so much a genre as a type of film; for example, crime films, police procedurals, and detective pictures could all be film noirs. Noir films, many of which were based on the hard-boiled fiction of writers like James M. Cain, Raymond Chandler, and Dashiell Hammett, had a particular feel to them that resulted in a stylized visual aesthetic combined with a nihilistic worldview reflective of America's postwar pessimism. They highlighted the dark underbelly of American society. Their sharp-tongued characters, often anti-heroes, lived on the fringes of society either by choice, circumstance, or both. They were normally set in contemporary urban settings, often started in medias res (in the middle of the action), and featured a voice-over that gave background but rarely gave away plot. Cinematically, they were shot in black and white to create shadows and weird angles to illustrate a world out of kilter. The darkest noirs focused on themes of obsession and alienation. Perhaps the one unifying theme pervasive in film noir was the idea that all of us, given the right circumstances and opportunities, are capable of terrible deeds. These films negated the human spirit. The best noirs from the 1940s and early 1950s, films such as *Double Indemnity* (1944), *Murder, My Sweet* (1945), *The Big Sleep* (1946), *The Postman Always Rings Twice* (1946), and *Sunset Boulevard* (1950), rank not only as among the best films of the 1940s, but among the finest American films ever made.

While in many ways the late 1940s were an incredibly fecund period in American cinema, the new developments happened against the backdrop of House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) hearings investigating possible Communist influences in Hollywood. The careers of a wide variety of Hollywood players

were destroyed by people who fingered others to avoid persecution themselves. Even though a few of those accused had dabbled in Communist politics, the fact was that there was ultimately no conspiracy to infiltrate Hollywood with red propaganda. Lives were thus ruined by hearsay. HUAC continued to have hearings on and off until the early 1950s, and Hollywood filmmaking took a decidedly conservative turn. By the end of the 1940s, the problem pictures and noirs that had proliferated just a short time earlier were being made with less and less frequency.

Fashion

of the 1940s

The greatest impact on American fashion in the early 1940s came from the U.S. government, which enacted various rationing measures that greatly curtailed stylistic innovation during the war, even while wartime rationing was much more severe in European countries. On March 8, 1942, the U.S. Government War Production Board enacted Regulation L-85, which regulated all aspects of clothing and also inhibited the use of natural fibers. Wool became scarce, silk hard to get and expensive, and rubber was unavailable for civilian use. The lack of traditional materials led to increased research toward the production of synthetics, which, with the exception of rayon, didn't really help civilians because they were diverted to military use.

Clothes were made simpler, from a shortening of sleeves and hemlines, to a reduction of the number of pockets and buttons, all to conserve fabric and other materials. For example, skirt hems couldn't be more than two inches, and there couldn't be ruffles. Skirts became somewhat boxy and hemlines rose to the knee. Belts couldn't be more than two inches wide, suit jackets were limited to no more than 25 inches in length, and pants couldn't be more than 19 inches in circumference at the hem (narrow for the time). Furthermore, clothes had to be bought and paid for with rationed coupons. For example, in 1941 a man's overcoat went for 16 coupons, a pair of pants went for 8, and shoes cost 7.[1] Despite the restrictions, American designers proved to be highly adept at working with what they had and getting around restrictions in a variety of ways.

WOMEN'S FASHIONS

Most people responded to rationing with a combination of creativity and innovation that permanently changed American fashion. One reaction was to make one's own clothes, which was becoming easier thanks to the newly created electric sewing machines, which could crank out 3,000 stitches per minute. Regulation L-85 cut civilians' supplies of wool almost in half to outfit the American military.[2] To get around the scarcity of wool, suits were made from gabardine, and women refashioned men's suits, which were often made of wool, into clothes they could wear. McCall's made patterns for transforming men's suits into ladies' suits. Ready-to-wear dressmakers soon followed, putting out "man-tailored" women's suits with narrow skirts and wide shoulders. Also contributing to the boxy look were women's blouses, with bigger, more squared shoulder pads, a style that has become forever associated with the 1940s.

Widespread acceptance of women in pants came about very quickly as women regularly started wearing slacks, or even coveralls, to work. The look was not just fashion but necessity, especially for the millions of women working in heavy industry and embodied by the image of "Rosie the Riveter." (See Advertising of the 1940s.)

While women's clothes were often fashioned after men's styles, there was still the desire for more traditionally feminine clothes. For those who had the opportunity and could afford to go out in the evening, long dresses were still the norm. Evening dresses were often adorned with sequins, which were not rationed and offered a simple way to sparkle.[3] For daytime color, women increasingly turned to dresses imported from Mexico, which were cheap, simple, and very colorful. American designers quickly incorporated Mexican and other colorful ethnic styles into their lines. Colorful plaids and Tartans were also immensely popular. Rayon—synthetic and not rationed—was the most common material used in dresses. Sweaters, especially cardigans, enjoyed tremendous popularity in the early 1940s, in part because of Jane Russell and Lana Turner. The well-endowed Russell had appeared in *The Outlaw* (1946) in a Howard Hughes-designed bra that greatly—and for the time quite scandalously—lifted her bosom, and Turner favored tight sweaters that emphasized her curves; the two became known as "Sweater Girls," as did the women who emulated their sweater-clad look.

FASHION TRENDS OF THE 1940s

War rationing led to simple, functional clothing. After the war, clothes used more fabric, and were more colorful and casual.

Women: Slim skirts just below the knee; suits, shorts and trousers acceptable; clean lines; hair was longer; pageboys were popular early in the decade; more swept up, then loose waves after the war; nylons were hugely popular; Christian Dior introduced what became the "New Look" in 1947—more feminine with a focus on curves, no shoulder pads, and cinched at the waist.

Men: Zoot suits for some; military uniforms and suits for others.

Teenage girls: Ankle socks and circle-cut skirts.



From the "Fashion Academy Awards," in 1941, the "Best Dressed Woman in Business" was Vivien Kellems, from the Cable-Grip manufacturer, 1941. Kellems wears the square-shouldered tailored suit typical of the era. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Women's Accessories

Hats in all styles and shapes, from pillbox hats to turbans, were popular in the 1940s. Rationing led to experimenting with hat decorations. A woman could radically change the look of a hat with a ribbon, a veil, or feathers. Women's hair underneath their hats was typically shoulder length or slightly longer and curled or rolled. Although Lauren Bacall popularized the long bob, Rita Hayworth was known for her long, wavy, flaming red hair. The most famous hair of the 1940s arguably belonged to Veronica Lake. Lake became popular not so much for her acting as for her hairstyle, which inspired a craze in the 1940s. In a 1941 film entitled *I Wanted Wings,* Lake sported a hairstyle that would inspire a fad that lasted until the late 1940s, at which time Lake's career began to wane. Her



Veronica Lake is shown when she was the "peek-a-boo look" movie star in the 1940s. Courtesy of Photofest.

signature hairstyle was a long page boy, in which the hair fell over one side of Lake's face, usually causing one of her eyes to be covered. After the war, women's hairstyles shortened somewhat.

Because steel and leather (traditional materials in shoes) were both rationed, soles were commonly made of cork or early plastics. Many shoes, especially the popular "wedgies," were big and more unwieldy than by today's standards. Leather gloves gave way to cotton as the rationing of leather kept it from being used for gloves. Women soon discovered that cotton gloves, because they could be had in virtually any color, made accessorizing much easier.

Women's undergarments underwent a fair amount of change in the 1940s. Slips and panties began to be tighter and more form fitting. Bras changed dramatically. The strapless bra evolved into the "merry widow" style, thus giving women much more support when wearing strapless and/or backless dresses. For women with larger busts, the first wired full-figured bras were produced, and by the late 1940s the first bullet bras—which were cut to lift and shape breasts to make them look pointy—began to appear. While underwear had traditionally been made of silk, lack of supplies and exorbitant costs during the war led to its being made out of rayon, acetate, or cotton instead. Lastly, underwear began to be more decorative; previously plain garments started to feature laces and trims.

Men's Fashions

In general, the outbreak of World War II caused a pause in innovation in men's fashions. For the elite, this put an end to the practice of wearing different clothes at different times of the day. Much of this had to do with fabric shortages and the fact that many men enlisted in the military. In the past, military uniforms had differed according to the rank of the wearer. But in World War II the military made its uniforms more similar, regardless of rank of person wearing the uniform. Part of this was due to fabric shortages, but it was also prudent because enemies were less likely to shoot officers if they couldn't tell who was who based on the appearance of the uniforms.

The end of the war brought about a minor revolution in men's fashion: men were tired of uniforms and wanted to wear their own things. Suits began to feature long coats and full-cut slacks in part as a reaction to rationing: Long, full-cut clothing symbolized success. Suits could be bought in a spectrum of garish colors. By 1949, *Esquire* had begun to promote these louder, more loosely fitting clothes as part of the new "bold look." Also, wildly patterned and hand-painted ties became all the rage, featuring anything from rodeos and plants to pin-up girls and skyscrapers. Most shocking to those used to the previously staid and dignified look of the well-dressed American man was the rise of the casual shirt. Hawaiian shirts, featuring loud, highly colorful prints and specifically designed *not* to be tucked in, had earlier made their way to the beaches of California and Florida, but in the immediate postwar years they began to catch on nationwide. Men began to walk around without jackets and untucked shirttails. This casual look, dubbed by some as "the new sportswear," caught the eyes of European designers, who for the first time began looking to

America for inspiration for their sportswear lines. The main men's hairstyles were either crew cuts or longish on top and neatly shorn on the sides. Men frequently wore wide-brimmed hats.

Many men also adapted military garb into their peacetime wardrobes. Ray Ban's Aviator glasses, chinos, T-shirts, trench coats, pea coats, and bomber jackets all made the jump to everyday life. In particular, Humphrey Bogart became associated with the trench coat, which he wore in a number of films, none more famously than *Casablanca* (1942). Bogart was Hollywood's leading symbol of masculine cool and his being identified with trench coats went a long way toward popularizing them. The trench coat has since become a standard item in any well-dressed man's wardrobe.[4]

Teen Fashion and the Bobby Soxers

During the war American fashion for teenagers was subdued, in large part because of the rationing of various materials. Girls wore plain sweaters and skirts and loafers and socks, with the occasional scarf for flourish, while boys wore cuffed pants, shirts with open necks, and jackets with broad lapels. Like their adult counterparts, girls' hair was either medium or shoulder length, while boys' hair was often long on top and cropped close on the sides or in a crew cut. However, just as the end of the war and rationing changed fashion for adults, so did it change for youths, especially teenage girls. While boys continued to wear slacks and open-collared shirts, they increasingly began wearing blue jeans and white T-shirts, which had originated in the navy. For girls, the end of the war meant greater accessibility to different styles made of a wider variety of fabrics. However, in conjunction with the rise of the American ready-to-wear look that came into prominence during the war, when American women had no access to what was happening in the Paris fashion houses, teenage girls dressed increasingly comfortably, a style that came to be defined as the "American Look."

Instead of elegant evening wear and chic suits and dresses, American girls wore casual clothes: sweaters, plaid skirts with pleats, and tailored jackets, and for really casual occasions, jeans rolled up to the knees. As *Life* magazine saw it in 1945, the American Look included a slim waist, long legs, and a friendly smile revealing well-cared-for white teeth. The American girl was healthy and well-nourished; she bathed often, her nails were well manicured, her posture was excellent. She had a natural poise and enthusiasm that did not require or enjoy constricting artificial clothes. She enjoyed athletics more than evenings at expensive restaurants. Above all, she was young, white, and upper middle class.

In addition to the advent of the American Look, in the late 1940s a subculture called "bobby soxers," made up primarily of 15-to-18-year-old girls, arose in America. The bobby soxers got their name from the bobby socks that they normally wore with loafers or saddle shoes. The bobby soxers were generally thought to represent youthful exuberance, as evidenced in the 1947 film *The Bachelor and the Bobby Soxer,* in which a teenage Shirley Temple falls hard for the much older Cary Grant, who ends up with the more age-appropriate Myrna Loy, Temple's older sister in the film. Despite being considered wholesome, bobby soxers nevertheless enjoyed a certain notoriety in the popular imagination, partly as a result of the incidents that occurred at a series of Frank Sinatra concerts in New York in October 1944. The girls' over-the-top, carnal reaction to Sinatra, which included responses ranging from fainting and crying to ripping his clothes off his body and trying to sneak into his bedroom, was considered dangerous, an omen of the loosening morality of this younger generation.

AMERICAN-MADE READY-TO-WEAR

Prior to the war, Europe, specifically France, led the way in international "couture" fashion, which signified high style, upscale, and very expensive clothes. American magazines such as *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* fastidiously chronicled French high fashion for American sophisticates. Information about fashion wasn't easily accessible during the war, resulting in the end of France's dominance of American high fashion. At first the glossy fashion magazines speculated about the death of high fashion, but they soon realized that fashion was not only surviving, but

thriving in the United States. New York became the new international fashion center.

For years American fashions had been predominantly based on Parisian fashion trends, but the war forced American designers to create clothes on their own. What immediately separated their work from the French was the stress on functional practicality over romantic frivolity. In addition, the sheer variety of clothes available in American shops was astounding to Europeans; in London a woman would be lucky to find 10 different sizes, while in America many stores carried more than 30.

For the first time in the nation's history, American designers were beginning to be known by name. The efforts of New York-based publicist Eleanor Lambert and others, including fashion writers Lois Long of the *New Yorker* and Virginia Pope of the *New York Times* and fashion editors of *Vogue, Harper's Bazaar,* and *Life,* helped ensure the acceptance of American designers by both the fashion world elite and the general public.

American designers came from a variety of places and backgrounds, but one of the most interesting places from which they came was Hollywood. Restrictions imposed by Regulation L-85 resulted in Hollywood moving away from opulent costume dramas to more realistic costumes, thus making film more true to life. Hollywood designers set an example for the mainstream, making do with having to modify preexisting costumes.[5] Some costume designers left Hollywood and started their own collections, including Adrian (born Adrian Adolph Greenberg), Howard Greer, and Irene (born Irene Lentz).

A number of stateside couturiers enjoyed tremendous success in the 1940s, including Norman Norell, Pauline Trigére, Mainbocher, Ceil Chapman, and Hattie Carnegie. But the most influential American designer during the 1940s was ready-to-wear designer Claire McCardell. McCardell trained at New York's prestigious Parsons School of Design and worked under Richard Turk at Townley Frocks and then for Hattie Carnegie, before returning to Townley Frocks in 1940 to design under her own name. McCardell had radically new ideas about clothes, particularly sportswear. Clothes had traditionally been sold as complete ensembles, thus assuring easy shopping and coordinated outfits. But McCardell designed separate items of clothing—"separates"—that could be mixed and matched however a consumer chose. Initially, stores thought separates were hard to display and sell, but McCardell's idea proved so popular that it wasn't a problem.



Carmen Miranda in full "Tutti Frutti" style, ca. 1940. Courtesy of Photofest.

McCardell's more notable contribution was making clothes for the average woman, not the wealthy. She felt it essential that her clothes be affordable, practical, and feminine. For example, she designed evening clothes that came with matching aprons, thus acknowledging the reality that most women did their own cooking. McCardell also

CARMEN MIRANDA AND HER TUTTI-FRUTTI WAYS

Among the number of Hollywood actors who influenced American fashion in the 1940s was Carmen Miranda (1909–1955). Born Maria do Carmo Miranda da Cunha, she became best known for the fruit she wore on her head and elsewhere on her body. The Brazilian bombshell started as a singer and appeared in a number of Brazilian movies before getting her break in America, a stint at New York City's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. Shortly thereafter, she appeared in a series of musical films, including *Down Argentine Way* (1940), *That Night in Rio* (1941), and *Weekend in Havana* (1941). In each of these films she wore plastic fruit, especially on her head: bananas, raspberries, cherries, and strawberries. Miranda had a reputation as an exotic, sexy, sultry Latina, and her garb inspired a craze that became known as "tutti-frutti." This fad consisted of artificial fruit, some pieces worn as earrings, bracelets or hats and other pieces used in home décor. Tutti-frutti was a fad until well after World War II, and Carmen Miranda herself remained a much-loved entertainer until her death, which occurred the morning after she performed on the *Jimmy Durante Show* on TV in 1955.

For more information see Andrew Marum and Frank Parise, *Follies and Foibles: A View of 20th Century Fads* (New York: Facts on File, 1984), 70–72.

took rationing in stride, seeing it as an impetus for innovation. When zippers were rationed she began using brass tabs and hooks instead. In response to restrictions on wool and silk, she began to incorporate denim, cotton, and jersey into her designs. While she never made tight, form-fitting clothes, her designs predated Christian Dior's "New Look" in that the shoulders of her clothes were soft and rounded. Her clothes also broke with the norm in that she left metal fastenings exposed and highlighted her trademark double seaming with contrasting colored thread. McCardell's most successful design was her "popover" dress, which came out in 1942. *Harper's Bazaar* had requested an all-purpose housework outfit. McCardell responded with the popover, made of topstitched denim and featuring a wraparound front and an attached oven mitt. In 1942 the dress retailed for $6.95 and sold in the tens of thousands.[6] Ultimately, Claire McCardell's functional, comfortable, and well-made clothes proved to be influential in the 1940s rise of uniquely American style clothing.

CHRISTIAN DIOR'S NEW LOOK

By 1947, France had recovered enough from the war to respond to the upstart fashions of America. In February, Christian Dior, who had gotten his start selling fashion sketches to newspapers, came out with his first collection, which he called the "Corolle line." Whereas American fashions were all lines and angles, Dior's new designs featured curves, and lots of them. Dior's designs featured elastic corsets worn over a shaping girdle to cinch waists, push-up bras, and various forms of padding around the hips. Shoulder pads went by the wayside as shoulders in clothes sloped. Hemlines, which because of rationing had hovered around the knee, dropped to the mid-calf or even to the ankles. Dior's Corelle line was so revolutionary, and in many quarters so desired, that it was quickly dubbed the New Look, the name by which it is still known.

For many women, Dior's ultra-feminine, luxurious look was a welcome change from the severe fashions of the war years. However, women had grown accustomed to showing their legs, and many of them didn't want to cover them up. Furthermore, for a country just coming out of several years of fabric rationing, the New Look seemed needlessly wasteful. Many women protested, but the uproar was short lived. Women were more than ready for a different look, and Dior's New Look was embraced in the late 1940s and into the 1950s. Dior's New Look is widely considered the most influential fashion collection ever created, and Dior constantly continued to modify the look, issuing new lines every year until his death in 1957.

By the end of the decade, American fashion magazines, in large part because of the rise of Dior's New Look, had returned to covering French and other European couturiers at length. While France regained its place as the seat of international fashion, the war years gave Americans and the rest



A fashion model wears a New Look dress introduced in Paris by Christian Dior in 1947. AP Photo.

of the world the chance to see that American designers could innovate and create in their own right. After the war, stateside glossies covered Europe, but they *also* covered American styles and designers, as did European magazines. Most important was the fact that the line between ready-to-wear clothes a person could buy off the rack (or from a catalogue) at Sears and the clothes of the couturiers began to blur somewhat. Clothes made by Americans for Americans could be well made, mass produced, *and* stylish.

ZOOT SUITS AND THE ZOOT SUIT RIOTS

While most people adhered to certain styles that made them part of the mainstream, there were people participating in subcultures beyond the norm. One of the ways these subcultures were recognized was by their dress. For example, in the late 1940s a group that would later become known as "Beatniks" came into being. Influenced by jazz, existentialism, and avant-garde ideas, the Beatniks wore workmen's clothes, berets, and goatees and tried to live an intellectual existence. Their forerunners (and to some extent their main influence and inspiration) were the hipsters, the largely African American innovators of bebop jazz. (See Music of the 1940s.)

But the most visible and controversial subculture of the 1940s was the "zoot suits." The origin of the word "zoot" as applied to suits is unknown, although it's thought to have come out of the urban culture associated with the clubs of New York City's Harlem in the mid-1930s. The zoot suit's jacket was long and single-breasted, with extra-wide shoulders and lapels and numerous buttons on the sleeve. This exaggerated jacket was worn over loose, pleated, and high-waisted trousers that tapered to the ankle. A watch on a chain worn hanging from the jacket and a wide-brimmed hat completed the outfit. The brightly colored, easily identifiable zoot suits were favored by some jazz musicians (including Dizzy Gillespie and Louis Armstrong), urban African Americans (primarily in New York City), and Los Angeles's primarily Mexican/Latino population. To some extent, general men's fashions of the late 1940s owed something to the zoot suit in that men's suit jackets became more roomy and their pants more high-waisted. Unfortunately, the zoot suit, seemingly innocuous, led directly to the Zoot Suit Riots in June 1943.

Critics found the zoot suits' ostentatious use of fabric as a deliberate disregarding of wartime fabric rationing and identified their wearers as draft dodgers. The fact that their wearers were mostly young African and Mexican American men, groups traditionally subjected to ethnic stereotyping, only exacerbated matters. Many people concluded that all "zoot suiters" were criminals and draft dodgers. At the same time, zoot suiters came to see their clothes as a social statement pertaining to their ethnicity and defiance of white authority. In California, nationalism ran high, and the ethnic communities must have felt under siege. In March and April 1942, the majority of the Japanese (nationals) and Japanese American population on the West Coast was rounded up and put in internment camps. In Los Angeles, with Japanese people removed, the Mexican American population repeatedly found itself featured in an unflattering light in local newspapers. The press,

much of which centered on a "Mexican crime wave," was so negative and the white public's demand for action so high that a special grand jury was appointed to investigate the "problem."

On August 1, 1942, a zoot suiter named Henry Leyvas and some of his friends got into an altercation with another group of Latinos. The next morning a man named José Diaz was found bleeding on a nearby road. He died from his wounds, but an autopsy revealed that he was drunk at the time. A medical examiner posited that his injuries were consistent with being hit by a car. Despite this, Henry Leyvas and 24 other members of his gang were arrested and charged with José Diaz's murder. The public outcry against zoot suiters led Los Angeles police to respond. On the nights of August 10 and 11, they arrested some 600 individuals (all of whom had Spanish surnames) on charges ranging from suspicion of robbery to assault. The ensuing trial of Leyvas and his fellow detainees lasted five racially charged months. Finally, on January 15, 1943, Leyvas and eight other men were found guilty of second-degree murder. Each received a sentence of five years to life and was sent to California's infamous San Quentin prison.[7]

The Zoot Suit Riots occurred during this contentious, racially charged time. On June 3, 1943, a group of sailors on shore leave claimed they had been attacked by a group of Mexicans. In response, an estimated 200 sailors descended on Los Angeles's Mexican American community, picking out zoot suiters, beating and stripping them of their clothes. This went on for five nights, with each night bringing out more sailors and eventually soldiers who joined the fray. The police arrested primarily Latinos, and in the press the military men were said to be stemming the tide of a "Mexican crime wave." Finally, at midnight on June 7, the military command, fearing a mutiny, took the action the police wouldn't: they declared the city of Los Angeles off limits to military personnel. Some Mexican Americans faced charges, but no military man was ever convicted of anything. While there was a limited amount of protest, for the most part the silence surrounding the incident sent a deafening message to California's Mexican American community. Some historians refer to the incident as the "Sailor Riots," which they say is a more accurate description than "Zoot Suit Riots." Nevertheless, the zoot suit will undeservedly be linked forever in history to this ugly event.

NYLON: THE KING OF SYNTHETIC FABRICS

Although synthetic fibers had been around for a long time, it wasn't until the war and forced rationing that the importance of synthetics began to be realized. With Regulation L-85 prohibiting the use of natural fibers, synthetic fibers became essential, especially in the making of women's clothes, which were widely manufactured with rayon.

Though nylon hosiery was announced in 1938, it didn't become available to the public until May 15, 1940, a day designated by marketers as "N" (for nylon) Day. DuPont had whetted the public's appetite over the months preceding "N" Day with an advertising blitz that culminated the night before, when DuPont bought a segment on the national radio show *Cavalcade of America.* In a rigged set-up, DuPont selected a "typical" housewife to ask Dr. G. P. Hoff, Director of Research for DuPont's Nylon Division, a series of questions about the magic of nylon. Predictably, Dr. Hoff had dazzling things to say about nylon. The next morning, thousands of women nationwide started lining up hours before stores opened to get their hands on a pair of nylons. Even though customers were limited to one pair each, many women had their kids and husbands or boyfriends stand in line to buy additional pairs for them. The nation's 750,000-pair supply sold out on the first day.[8]

Initially, nylons were priced the same as silk stockings, but by 1942 things had swung heavily in favor of nylons, when they sold for anywhere from $1.25 to as much as $2.50 a pair, while silk languished at around $1.00. The success of nylons had great psychological ramifications concerning the nation's psyche. Prior to the arrival of nylon, people had been wary of synthetics, but nylon changed all that. In large part because DuPont ingeniously marketed nylon as a kind of magical product, people accepted it, and it quickly began to be used for other items, including lingerie and men's socks and ties. Women's hosiery has since

become known as "nylons," stockings made from nylon fibers woven together to provide an extremely lightweight, elastic, comparatively durable and shape-forming fit.

Unfortunately for the general public, nylon was such a useful product that the War Production Board designated nylon as a product that they would take over for the military's use during the war. Beginning on February 11, 1942, all of DuPont's nylon went to the U.S. Military. The material proved useful for all purposes and was used for parachutes (which had previously used silk), tire casings, shoelaces, ropes, and even bomber noses. Women patriotically parted with their nylons, 4,000 pairs of which were needed to make two bomber tires. In 1943 alone, women turned in 7,443,160 pairs of nylon and silk stockings.[9] Betty Grable, the possessor of the most famous pair of legs in America (due to the popularity of her famous pin-up), sold a single pair of her stockings at a war bond auction for $40,000!

During the war, nylons became, for those more worried about appearances than supporting the war effort, a black market commodity, selling for as much as $12 a pair. Most women did without, although all kinds of things were tried to make naked legs look as though they were encased in nylon. Women tried various dyes to color their legs and even resorted to drawing lines up the backs of their legs to make it look as if seams were there. When Japan surrendered on August 22, 1945, DuPont immediately announced that nylons would be available to the public again in September. But DuPont had technical difficulties and had also greatly underestimated public demand for its product that when the time came it didn't even come close to meeting the demand. A crush of customers appeared at department stores nationwide every day, resulting in what was dubbed "nylon riots." They lasted for at least a year.[10] In the years after the war, nylon's use expanded to include the whole gamut of clothes and even things like curtains, carpets, and upholstery. Additionally, the number of synthetic fibers quickly multiplied with the creation of fibers such as orlon, lycra, metallic, modacrylic, and olefin. Though none of these created a stir, Americans readily accepted new synthetic fibers since nylon had already paved the way. There's no doubt synthetic fibers would have eventually become a part of everyday life, but it's unlikely that its acceptance would have happened so completely and so quickly had the war not intervened in the early years of its production.

Food of the 1940s

As with most other areas of American culture in the 1940s, American eating habits were greatly affected by World War II. Prior to the war, malnutrition was a major concern in America, with various reports estimating that as many as one-third of all Americans were underfed and undernourished. The advent of war effectively ended the Depression as employment rates skyrocketed. But American eating habits and customs, long tied to regional and ethnic roots, became irrevocably affected by the changes brought by war.

The war changed America demographically. Southern blacks and farmers were suffering as a result of the Depression and the end of the South's long dependence on an agricultural economy based on small individual farms. As displaced rural Americans flooded into urban areas to take jobs in the seemingly endless number of industries supporting the war effort, farming (food especially) was overtaken by massive agribusinesses. As a result, when the war ended, few farmers and farm hands returned to farming. In addition, the geographical shifts of millions of Americans during the war moved the country toward a more homogeneous diet.

RECOMMENDED DAILY ALLOWANCES

By 1940 scientists had identified and characterized many of the essential nutrients people needed to live healthily. These efforts lay the groundwork for President Roosevelt's establishment of the Food and Nutrition Board (FNB) of the National Research Council (NRC) in 1940. In order to combat malnutrition, the president requested that the FNB devise a set of dietary standards that Americans could use as a guideline for health.

In 1943 the Board came out with a set of Recommended Daily Allowances (RDAs) that reflected scientific discoveries up to that time. The recommendations advised levels for human intake of various vitamins and minerals necessary to sustain health and vitality. They were broken down into what were called the seven basic groups: green and yellow vegetables; citrus fruits, tomatoes, and raw cabbage; potatoes, other vegetables, and non-citrus fruits; milk and milk products; meat, poultry, fish, eggs, dried legumes; bread, flour, cereals; and butter and fortified margarine.[1]

During the war, RDAs began to be listed on the labels of products so consumers could keep track of their daily intakes of various nutrients. Several products underwent changes because of the RDAs. For instance, bread became "enriched," with added calcium, iron, niacin, riboflavin, and thiamin. Likewise, margarine became enriched with vitamin A and milk with vitamin D. RDAs are still in effect in America and are periodically revised.

Despite the efforts of various government agencies, postwar studies revealed that many school-aged children were still undernourished. In 1946 the School Lunch Act was passed and programs were greatly expanded to accommodate the establishment of guidelines for school lunches to adhere to RDAs. In the 1940s, most people weren't concerned about the nutritional value of school lunches; they were just happy their kids were getting a chance to eat what they assumed were healthy meals; there were few, if any, concerns about caloric intake, fat or cholesterol.

The RDAs publicized during the war made people more aware of what and how much they ate, but there were unforeseen repercussions. Many Americans decided that if the recommended daily allowance was a good thing, then exceeding it would be even better. While this was true concerning fruits and vegetables, it became quite problematic when one thought of fats and cheeses. The percentage of calories made up of saturated fats began rising in the 1940s and has been climbing ever since.

WARTIME FOOD RATIONING

When America entered World War II in 1941, it was thought that the civilian population would have to willingly participate in food rationing in order for there to be enough food for soldiers at home and abroad. In January 1942, the government instituted mandatory rationing of anything deemed "essential" to the war effort, including food. Just as in World War I, sugar, fats, meats, and canned vegetables and fruits were rationed. Mottoes for the rationing effort in World War II included "Vitamins Will Win the War" and "Vitamins for Victory," fueled in part by numerous studies that deemed more than one-third of Americans as malnourished. Likewise, out of the first million draftees, 40 percent were rejected for service on medical grounds, many of which could be directly traced to insufficient nutrition.[2] To combat the problem, the rationing effort would not only encourage moderation in the consumption of certain foods and products, but also make Americans more aware of the necessity of consuming proper amounts of vitamins and minerals to ensure mental and physical health.

There was some controversy as to whether or not Americans were even undernourished, however. The relatively high standards of the seven basic food groups may have been a stretch for most people. The "allowances" part of the RDAs connoted a *maximum* allowable intake of something. If people routinely failed to meet the maximum allowances in any one of the seven categories, then they were deemed malnourished, even though they may have been getting enough of a particular category. The numbers of people malnourished in America were likely greatly exaggerated as a result of initially unrealistic RDAs.[3] Nevertheless, scientists fought to defend their findings, despite the fact that there weren't widespread, noticeably visible manifestations of malnutrition in most of American society.

The supposed existence of malnutrition was used as a means of championing the adding of certain vitamins and minerals to Americans' food, which ultimately resulted in things like thiamin being added to bread and vitamin D to milk. Furthermore, advertisers were brought on board by the government to encourage Americans to eat certain foods. But, rather than promoting the general nutrition requirements, the big food producers emphasized the importance of eating their products over others. The idea of the seven basic food groups was essentially avoided because if companies acknowledged their existence they indirectly promoted the consumption of products of other companies.

Also, rationing was not as happily participated in as is often thought in contemporary America. Many Americans *did* willingly and fully participate in the effort, but others turned to the country's thriving black market—dubbed "Mr. Black"—for goods and services. In other countries, particularly in European countries under siege, rationing was a more obvious and immediate necessity that often ended up bringing out the best in the human spirit. For example, the British rallied together and made do, sharing as best they could what comparatively meager food stocks they had. That era of sharing and unity is still widely thought of in Britain as one of its best moments.[4] Conversely, in America, where the threat of attack wasn't a reality in citizens' everyday lives, some were resentful that their food and countless other items were rationed.

RATIONING POINTS AND STAMPS

As food rationing escalated in the early years of the war, it became increasingly complicated. Initially, people were given food stamps with which to purchase a certain allocation of a particular product. While the system worked moderately well, it was messy. Nationwide, grocers had to process 14 billion points a month, which meant that they physically handled 3.5 billion stamps on a monthly basis. By 1943 food had been divided into two categories: canned goods and fresh food. Stamps were given point values and were also color-coded, with red stamps usable for canned goods and blue stamps usable for fresh food. The more in demand a product was, the more points it cost.

Item	Weight	Point Value
Porterhouse Steak	1 lb.	12
Hamburger	1 lb.	7
Lamb Chops	1 lb.	9
Ham	1 lb.	7
Butter	1 lb.	16
Margarine	1 lb.	4
Canned Sardines	1 lb.	12
Canned Milk	1 lb.	1
American Cheddar Cheese	1 lb.	8
Dried Beef Slices	1 lb.	16
Peaches	16 oz. can	18
Carrots	16 oz. can	6
Pineapple Juice	46 oz. can	22
Baby Food	4.5 oz. jar	1
Frozen Fruit Juices	6 oz. can	1
Tomato Catsup	14 oz. bottle	15

Source: Time-Life Books, eds., *1940–1950,* vol. 5, *This Fabulous Century* (New York: Time-Life Books, 1969), 166.

Often, rationing unintentionally led to rushes on products, leading to shortages caused by people panicking. Examples of this occurred with products such as coffee, and even more so, meat.

Prior to 1943 meat wasn't rationed. Instead, a voluntary "Share the Meat" campaign was launched by the government. It was a failure: consumers stockpiled meats in freezers and a real shortage soon came into being. Consequently, when the new rationing standards came into effect in 1943, meat was added to the list.[5] Americans panicked and stockpiled meat even more. A black market flourished and legitimate sellers of meat had problems getting supplies, even though the average American still consumed the same two and a half pounds of meat per week. This was due in part to the exemption from ration stamps enjoyed by restaurants and workplace cafeterias and the fact that poultry products weren't subject to strict rationing. While the rest of the Western world, especially occupied Europe and Russia, legitimately suffered from a scarcity of *any* meat, let alone decent meat, Americans continued to eat quality meat.[6]

Just as the American public's diet suffered comparatively little, so, too, did America's armed services. By virtually any standard, the American military during World War II was the best-fed wartime army in history to that point. The populaces of other countries were amazed at how much food Americans had at their disposal, as were enemies who overran their positions or were taken prisoner. At the time, some suggested that the occurrence of food shortages was due perhaps to the relative luxury to which America's military was treated when it came to food. Indeed, the average American soldier typically consumed upwards of 5,000 calories a day, an astonishing number.[7] But when the war finally ended, Americans insisted that rationing end as well, which led to the elimination of the Lend-Lease program (see Overview of the 1940s) in spite of war-ravaged Europe's suffering and need for help.

VICTORY GARDENS

One positive result of food rationing was the reinstitution of wartime victory gardens, which had first appeared in World War I. To make up for lack of fresh vegetables, in December 1941, Claude R. Wickard, secretary of agriculture, encouraged people to plant their own gardens, which were known as "victory gardens."[8] Even though fresh vegetables weren't rationed, for whatever reason, the growing of victory gardens was probably the most successful home front program during the war. People planted gardens everywhere—in backyards, vacant lots, and local

parks. Americans were also encouraged to do their own preserving, which was almost as impressively successful as the campaign to plant victory gardens. At the height of the war, 75 percent of American families produced a phenomenal average of 165 jars of preserves a year.[9] As a result, when Americans were asked what they missed most during wartime, they didn't cite fruits or vegetables; instead, they often cited butter, meat, and sugar. Still, because of meat rationing and the popularity of victory gardens, during the war the consumption of eggs, milk products, and fresh fruits and vegetables rose precipitously. In 1945, Americans' per capita intake of vegetables hit its all-time high.[10]

PROCESSED FOODS

Americans may have had more money to spend on food, but they were working long hours and had far less time to cook. Instead, Americans went out to eat much more than they had in the past, but on occasions when they chose to stay home, they increasingly turned to eating processed, prepackaged foods. These were foods sold by the same giant American food companies commissioned by the government to devise quick and easy food for soldiers to eat. As a result of efforts to process food for distribution to soldiers oversees and on the frontlines, more and more food underwent some degree of processing prior to consumption. Unprecedented levels of research and production led to massive innovation in food processing. For instance, in 1941 M&M's Plain Chocolate Candies debuted in six colors: brown, green, orange, red, yellow, and violet; that year also, Cheerios cereal was first sold. In 1942, La Choy introduced canned Chinese food. In 1946, Minute Maid came out with frozen orange juice concentrate and Maxwell House with instant coffee, alongside Ragú spaghetti sauce and French's instant mashed potatoes. In 1948, the processed food trend continued when Cheetos, Nestlé's Quik, and V8 Juice all emerged in the marketplace. By 1949, both General Mills and Pillsbury had started selling instant cake mixes. Ice cream, cheese and yogurt consumption rose as their production became large scale.[11] By the end of the decade, frozen and canned foods were being consumed in ever-increasing amounts, often at the cost of the fresh food and vegetable intake that had been at an all-time high during the war years.

FROZEN FOOD

Frozen foods existed before the 1940s, but they weren't particularly popular because while most Americans had iceboxes, they didn't keep frozen foods cold enough, causing them to turn soggy and mushy. The war changed the role of frozen foods in American life. First, refrigerators improved in the early 1940s, and more and more families, enjoying the wartime boom, could afford to buy them. Second, rationing played a role in the rise of frozen foods. Because the metal used to make cans was rationed, canned foods became scarcer. Consequently, more Americans began freezing their own food, growing more accustomed to frozen edibles in the process. Frozen food manufacturers talked the government into declaring frozen food products essential to the war effort. Lastly, with a quarter of American housewives working for the war effort, the convenience of frozen foods, especially frozen dinners, was welcome. By the end of the war, Americans were accustomed to frozen foods.

MODERNIZED KITCHENS

An increase in the number of supermarkets and labor-saving devices invented for the kitchen dramatically reduced the time cooks had to spend shopping and in the kitchen. By 1940, spacious countertop kitchens began to be standard in homes, which meant that all parts of food preparation could be done on the same continuous surface. Electric blenders, carving knives, and mixers began to be much more common, as did electric can openers, coffee grinders, and garbage disposals. KitchenAid introduced dishwashers in 1949. Most people had electric refrigerators, which meant food could be stored longer. Tupperware was introduced in 1946, and Reynolds Wrap aluminum foil followed the next year. Stores themselves were also becoming less individualized. For example, in the 1940s, markets began selling both mass-produced, precut and prepackaged meats wrapped in cellophane and bread mass-produced

FOOD HIGHLIGHTS OF THE 1940s

1941 In Anaheim, California, Carl Karcher and his wife borrow $311 to buy a hot dog cart and take in $14.75 on their first day in the fast-food business. Within five years, Karcher further trades on Los Angeles's booming car culture when he opens Carl's Drive-In Barbecue and starts selling hamburgers. (At the time of Karcher's death in 2008, more than 3,000 Carl's Jr. restaurants and associated food establishments are operating in 43 states and 14 countries.)

1941 M&M'S Chocolate Candies are introduced and soon become a favorite among American G.I.'s.

1941 General Mills launches Cheerioats cold cereal, which four years later is renamed Cheerios.

1942 Daniel Carasso, who in 1919 founded a yogurt company called *Danone* ("Little Daniel," in honor of his son) in Spain, founds America's first yogurt company. He changes the name from Danone to Dannon, to make it friendlier to American ears.

1942 Lay's Potato Chips are first sold under that name. (Before that, beginning in 1932, H. W. Lay had sold them under the Barrett Food Products brand.)

1945 A patent is filed for the process of cooking food with microwaves.

1949 The first Pillsbury Bakeoff, called the "Grand National Recipe and Baking Contest," is staged at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City. Theodora Smafield beats out 99 other finalists with her innovative "No Knead Water-Rising Twists" and pockets the $50,000 first prize. The contest becomes an annual event that continues to this day.

by corporate bakeries. Instead of going to the bakery, the butcher and the market, shoppers could just go to the new "super" markets to get everything they needed. By the end of the 1940s, however, the kitchen began to be usurped in overall usage by the family room, which routinely housed the TV.

FAST FOOD

Perhaps the single most far-reaching development in food in the 1940s was the advent of the American fast-food industry. In the early days, fast-food restaurants were welcomed exactly for what "fast food" implied: places where people could get a meal cheaply and quickly. In 1940, two now-ubiquitous fast-food chains, Dairy Queen and McDonald's, opened their doors for the first time.

Dairy Queen

In the late 1930s, the Homemade Ice Cream Company of Green River, Illinois, began to make changes to its product that would help change the food industry dramatically. The father-and-son owners, J. F. and H. A. McCullough, made traditional ice cream that had a finished temperature of around 5 degrees, which made it hard. However, the men discovered that they liked the ice cream "soft," that is, just out of the mixer but prior to being frozen. The McCulloughs began to explore ways to sell this ice cream, served at about 20 degrees. The problem, they soon discovered, was finding a machine from which to dispense the ice cream because normally ice cream was kept in freezers. They came across a hamburger stand owner in Hammond, Indiana, named Harry M. Oltz, who had a machine that they thought could work. The McCulloughs obtained the rights to the machine and its use in Wisconsin, Illinois, and all states west of the Mississippi. Oltz received a percentage of the profits from ice cream sales, as well as rights in the rest of the states. The men settled on "Dairy Queen" as a name for the restaurant.[12]

The first Dairy Queen was opened in Joliet, Illinois, in 1940 by the McCulloughs' business partner, Sherb Noble, who owned a number of ice cream stores. A year later, the McCulloughs opened their own store in Moline, Illinois.[13] While other stores soon began to open, it was the look of the Moline store, specifically the ice-cream-cone-shaped sign mounted above it, that became the visual prototype for Dairy Queens in the years to come. In the late 1940s, the McCulloughs, clueless about the gold mine they were sitting on, became weary of the restaurant industry and decided to sell out. A salesman named Harry Axene, who in his travels had seen Dairy Queens popping up all

over the Midwest, bought out the McCulloughs. Axene brought with him a better understanding of business and immediately began to actively franchise Dairy Queens, selling regional licenses ranging in size from single towns to whole states.[14] The number of Dairy Queens soared from 17 locations in 1947 to over 800 in 1950, and eventually to some 2,100 in 1952.[15] Soft-serve ice cream became a national favorite, and imitators sprang up all over the country. By 1956 there were approximately 12,000 soft-serve ice cream places in the United States. Virtually all of them also served burgers, but it was the soft-serve ice cream that made them unique.[16]

McDonald's

By the 1930s the automobile had become a permanent fixture everywhere in the American landscape, perhaps nowhere more than in southern California. To meet the needs of hungry drivers, a new phenomenon evolved: drive-in restaurants. Cars could pull into a roadside restaurant where they'd be met by a carhop—typically a short-skirt-clad young woman—who would take their orders and money and bring them their food. Eventually, carhops gave way first to two-way radio receivers through which customers could place orders and then to drive-through windows, which featured a single two-way radio and a window at which customers pay and pick up their orders. In 1940, brothers Richard and Maurice "Mac" McDonald opened the first McDonald's, a drive-in in San Bernardino, California. Business was slow at first, but by the mid-1940s the restaurant had caught on.[17]

Even so, they soon determined that the drive-in business wasn't being run efficiently. In 1948 they eliminated carhops and installed a drive-through. This had the twofold result of eliminating the carhops and their wages, in addition to the teenage crowd—often unjustly associated with criminality in the 1940s and 1950s—which came to the restaurant for the carhops as much as the food. In fact, in the late 1940s and early 1950s the McDonald brothers refused to hire women, whom they thought would attract teenage boys.[18] Eliminating carhops was only the beginning. While other restaurants sought to diversify their offerings, the McDonald brothers rigidly stuck to a simple menu: burgers, drinks, and fries. They did for restaurant food production what Henry Ford did for the automobile; they introduced mass production to fast food. They got rid of anything that had to be eaten with a knife, fork, or a spoon. They introduced paper plates, cups, and bags. Burgers came with ketchup, onions, pickles, and mustard—and that's it. No substitutions. And, most important of all, they divided up the labor into simple singular tasks, just like the assembly lines traditionally associated with industry. They called their creation the "Speedee Service System." Afterward, their meals were cheap and fast and whole families could afford to go out to dinner.[19] Their business model caught the eye of other restaurant owners and by 1952 the pair owned eight McDonald's, all in California.



Customers line up outside the first McDonald's hamburger stand in San Bernadino, California, 1948. AP Photo.

Changing Tastes in American Food

It was thought that because of the great number of Americans who spent time abroad and enjoyed foreign food during the war years, after the war American tastes would diversify. While many

HOW OTHERS SEE US

Brazil: Life during Wartime

The upheaval and displacement caused by World War II had curious ripple effects in far-flung corners of the world. Brazil was far from the immediate horrors of the fighting in Europe and the Pacific, but the war still had an impact on its people and culture.

Brazil's strategic geography, long and lightly defended coastline, and substantial German population made it an area of concern for American war planners who feared that northeastern Brazil would be a prime spot for a future Nazi invasion. When German U-boats began prowling the Atlantic, threatening Brazilian ports and shipping, the government of Brazil allowed several battalions of American troops to be stationed around the country. The soldiers helped to train Brazil's own forces and manned defensive garrisons.

As a creole society, Brazil was historically very accepting of outside influences and new ideas. States like Rio Grande do Norte in northeastern Brazil were especially prone to wartime "Americanization." Wherever the American troops were stationed, news accounts reported that hamburger stands had popped up, and Brazilians in the surrounding areas began to favor local variations of the jitterbug over their own dance style, the samba. Many young women struck up relationships with the newcomers, so much so that English-language classes boomed. (Since women far outnumbered men in this part of the country, this caused less tension than might have been supposed.) Some Brazilians even began to drink their coffee American-style, with cream and sugar—a significant change in this proud coffee-producing culture, where tiny cups of strong espresso had been the norm. While a Nazi invasion never happened in Brazil, an American one—cultural, at least—did.

Americans were abroad during the war, the places in which they were stationed were often ravaged and its peoples were starving; because of this, most Americans ate the food provided to them by their employer (i.e., the military), so little diversification within the American diet occurred. Still, over the course of the decade, there was a change in attitude toward eating among those with the leisure and income to pursue culinary experimentation. *Gourmet* magazine, founded in 1941 by publisher Earl MacAusland, cultivated the idea of food as not just a necessity, but also an art, something that could and should be a sensually pleasurable experience.[20] In 1940, James Beard's first cookbook, *Hors d'Oeuvres and Canapés,* was published. It was the first book devoted entirely to cocktail food.[21] Beard, who eventually became known as the "Father of American Cooking," published a variety of books, and in 1946 he hosted the first American cooking show—*I Love to Eat,* which appeared on WNBC-TV.[22] Also in 1946, America's first bona fide cooking school opened in New Haven, Connecticut. It would later change its name to the Culinary Institute of America and move to Hyde Park, New York, where it became America's preeminent cooking school.[23] By 1949, when Beard became the restaurant critic for *Gourmet,* there existed what could be called a gourmet movement in America, although it wouldn't take full root until the 1950s.

While regional diets persisted—such as Tex-Mex in the Southwest, Asian-influenced seafood and vegetable dishes in the Northwest, and Italian food in New York City—it was in the 1940s that the American diet moved toward a shared center. There were a variety of reasons for this, including the rise of canned foods, the revolutionary introduction of prepackaged and frozen foods, and perhaps most importantly, the eating habits of millions of Americans who served in the military. Despite their exposure to foods in foreign countries, they grew accustomed to the army's "square meals" of Midwestern, All-American cooking: roast beef, potatoes, and peas and carrots.

Music

of the 1940s

As the 1940s began, people were still dancing to the enormously popular sounds of the swing bands, including Benny Goodman, Duke Ellington, Glenn Miller's orchestras, and many other famous performers. But when America entered the war things began to change; wartime travel restrictions made it tough for big groups to travel freely. Furthermore, it became more difficult to make enough money to pay a dozen or more members. The popularity of the big bands began to slowly wane. In their place came the singers, many of whom had earlier been singers with big bands. Over the course of the decade, swing played by giant bands slowly evolved into bop jazz and cool jazz, often played by smaller combos. Country music broke big nationally, and the blues began to come into its own.

YOUR HIT PARADE

On April 20, 1935, the radio program *Your Hit Parade* debuted on CBS radio. The Saturday night show was sponsored by Lucky Strike cigarettes and would run nearly continuously for 24 years, the last ten being on TV, from 1950–1959. The show played in reverse order the top songs of the week, basing the order on a combination of airplay, record and sheet music sales, and jukebox traffic. How exactly the songs were chosen remains somewhat of a mystery. Price, Waterhouse, and Company tallied the selections and each Friday would deliver, via a Brinks armored truck, the list of that week's selections to the show's producers. While the choices were typically fairly obvious, the goal was to build hype and suspense around the songs of a given week. People across the nation tuned in on Saturday nights to find out what songs would top that week's charts. Over the years, the show featured from 7 to 15 songs, although 10 was the standard. The top three songs would each be introduced by a drum roll and a sonorous introduction by the announcer, with the final song being introduced as the "top song in the country, number 1 on your Lucky Strike hit parade." The show enjoyed huge popularity, especially in the 1940s, during which it served as a barometer for American tastes.

TECHNOLOGY AND BUSINESS

In the 1940s technology would change the nature of how music was recorded and how Americans bought and listened to records. Records prior to 1948 were 78 rpm's, which meant that a record had to turn 78 times a minute on a turntable to sound right. Hence, records required fairly big grooves, and this, in turn, meant that very few songs could fit on a single album. On June 21, 1948,

CBS unveiled the 33⅓ rpm microgroove record, which allowed 23 minutes of music to be recorded on one side. The tighter grooves also made the record (typically a 10- or 12-inch platter) more physically durable and less likely to break; even better, the tighter-grooved records sounded superior to their predecessors. To hear them people simply had to buy a cheap adapter and fit it onto the existing turntables of their record players. The move to 33⅓ rpm brought into being the idea of a "record" as a single disc on which an artist could record a series of songs as a movement rather than just single tunes. Likewise, many classical music pieces could fit in their entirety on a single record, as could the music from Broadway shows. For example, whereas before the original cast recording of *Oklahoma!* required six 10-inch 78 rpm records, it now fit on a single 33⅓. A further innovation was the 45 rpm seven-inch disc, on which approximately four minutes of music could fit on each side, an "A" side and a "B" side.[1]

Previously, records were much larger, but the switch to microgroove recordings meant that people could store more music in far less space. The comparative convenience of the newer records, in combination with the rise in "disposable" income in the middle class of the postwar era resulted in a marked rise in record sales. In 1946, twice as many records were sold as in 1945. For the rest of the decade, Americans bought approximately 10 million records a month.

In 1945, *Billboard,* a record industry trade journal, began publishing its "Honor Roll of Hits." As record sales began to move to new heights, record sales began to acquire much greater importance in the gauging of a song's success. Prior to the mid-1940s, songs were usually introduced via Broadway or the movies, and they would then be put out on a record. But after the war, and especially once records moved to 33⅓ rpms, songs more frequently became popular via records. This shift was reflected in the nature of songs on *Your Hit Parade* from 1945 to 1949, many of which climbed their way to the top via records rather than from stage or screen. Perhaps the most famous of them all, Gene Autry's 1949 version of "Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer" (Johnny Marks). Autry's "Rudolph" alone would go on

WAR SONGS POPULAR DURING WORLD WAR II

"I'll Be Back in a Year Little Darling" (Red Foley, among other performers)—1940

"The Boogie Woogie Bugle Boy of Company B" (The Andrews Sisters)—1941

"The White Cliffs of Dover" (Vera Lynn, among other performers)—1941

"Remember Pearl Harbor!" (various performers)—1941

"Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition" (Kay Kyser and his orchestra)—1942

"Blitzkreig Baby" (Lisa Stansfield)—1942

"This is the Army Mr. Jones" (Bing Crosby)—1942

"Coming in on a Wing and a Prayer" (various performers)—1943

"No Love, No Nothin' (Until My Baby Comes Home)" (Rosemary Clooney among other performers)—1944

"It's Been a Long, Long Time" (Kitty Kallen with Harry James Orchestra)—1945

"Waitin' for the Train to Come In (Waitin' for My man to Come Home) (Peggy Lee)—1945

HIT SONGS OF THE 1940s

Songs and performers.

"In The Mood" (Glenn Miller)—1940

"Green Eyes" (Jimmy Dorsey Orchestra)—1941

"White Christmas" (Bing Crosby)—1942

"Paper Doll" (The Mills Brothers)—1943

"Don't Fence Me In" (Bing Crosby and the Andrews Sisters)—1944

"Sentimental Journey" (Les Brown and the Band of Renown with Doris Day)—1945

"Nancy (With the Laughing Face)" (Frank Sinatra)—1946

"Near You" (Francis Craig)—1947

"Buttons & Bows" (Dinah Shore)—1948

"Lovesick Blues" (Hank Williams)—1949

"Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer" (Gene Autry)—1949

to sell over 6 million copies, while cumulatively all versions of the song have sold mo than 110 million worldwide, second only to Irving Berlin's "White Christmas."[2]

POPULAR SONGS AND SONGWRITERS

The war heavily affected the music of the 1940s. Literally conceived on the day Pearl Harbor was bombed in 1941, "We Did It Before" (Charles Tobias and Cliff Friend) was the first original American World War II song. Only two days after Pearl Harbor, Tobias's brother-in-law, Eddie Cantor, incorporated the song into *Banjo Eyes* (1941), a Broadway musical in which he was starring. Another song written just after the attack on Pearl Harbor was "Remember Pearl Harbor" (Don Reid and Sammy Kaye), which became a hit when it was recorded a few months later by Sammy Kaye's orchestra.[3]

The first hit to actually be inspired by American participation in World War II was "Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition" by Frank Loesser (1910–1969). Loesser had tried and failed to write for Tin Pan Alley (an area around 28th Street in New York City where the American music publishing industry was centered) and Broadway, though he had moderate success writing music for the movies. Loesser heard of a remark supposedly made by Navy Chaplain William Maguire during an attack—"Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition"—which inspired him to write his song, which he published in 1942. Ultimately, several artists would record versions of the song, and it would sell millions of copies in the early 1940s. At the height of its popularity, the song was played so often that the Office of War Information (OWI) requested that radio stations refrain from playing it more than once every four hours. Loesser became a Private First Class in Special Services, for which he wrote shows for American soldiers worldwide; he wrote many more songs of note, including, "What Do You Do in the Infantry" and "Rodger Young." After the war, Loesser returned to Hollywood, where he became a highly successful lyricist.[4]

Prior to the war, Irving Berlin (1888–1989) had already established himself through his work writing for Broadway and Hollywood as one of America's foremost lyricists. Indeed, two songs he wrote prior to Pearl Harbor, "God Bless America" and "Any Bonds Today," would both become unofficial American anthems during the war. Furthermore, Berlin donated all the profits from these songs, as well as a number of others, to various war charities. But perhaps Berlin's greatest contribution to the war effort was *This Is the Army,* an all-soldier show he wrote and produced in 1942. He wanted to cast the show with actual soldiers, an idea army officials didn't like. However, he eventually convinced them that it would be a good idea; they agreed so long as the soldiers involved were first and foremost soldiers—rehearsals would have to happen after the soldiers finished their daily military duties. The show featured a cast of approximately 300 people, including Berlin himself. The show opened on Broadway on July 4, 1942, and was an immediate smash hit. It played on Broadway for 12 weeks before touring the nation and then played for soldiers throughout Europe



Irving Berlin, 1948. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

and Asia. Warner Brothers even made it into a film. Cumulatively, the show made more than $10 million for the Army Relief Fund and earned Berlin the Medal of Merit, presented by General George C. Marshall himself.

The most commercially successful song of Berlin's entire illustrious career, "White Christmas," was penned in 1942 for the film *Holiday Inn* and therein sung by Bing Crosby. It struck a chord with Americans fighting abroad, in whom it stirred a sense of nostalgia for home and family. In its first year alone, the song was recorded by several different artists, most notably Bing Crosby and Frank Sinatra, and sold several million records. The song would quickly become the most popular song in the history of *Your Hit Parade* to that time, appearing on the show 18 consecutive weeks, 10 of them in first place.[5] In addition to selling over 25 million copies in over 30 languages abroad, the song's North American record sales would ultimately exceed 110 million, with Crosby's version alone selling over 25 million copies, making it the biggest-selling single in music history.

Another highly popular song during the war was Sammy Cahn's and Jule Styne's "I'll Walk Alone." The song debuted in the film *Follow the Boys* (1944), in which Dinah Shore sang it. Her rendition was nominated for an Academy Award and sold over a million copies for Columbia Records. Likewise, Frank Sinatra soon recorded his own version of the tune for Capitol, and it sold over a million copies as well.[6] Cahn's and Styne's first success was actually their first song, "I've Heard that Song Before," which debuted in the film *Youth in Parade* (1942), in which it was sung by Frank Sinatra. It was nominated for an Academy Award and went on to be a million-selling record by Harry James and his orchestra.

IRVING BERLIN (1888–1989)

In Irving Berlin, America has one of the more quintessential and peculiarly *American* stories of the century. The son of Russian immigrants who escaped persecution for being Jewish, Israel Baline grew up on the lower east side of New York City. Like many immigrants the Baline family was poor, and Israel grew up a rascal, running with a gang and making money for his family by singing with another, older singing beggar. After showing promise, Israel got a gig as a singing waiter at Pelham's Restaurant, where he serenaded diners with popular songs of the early 1900s. After a rival restaurant's pianist published a song with success, Baline and Pelham's piano player came up with a song of their own, the pianist providing the music and Baline the lyrics. The song became popular and by a supposed misprint of the publisher, Israel Baline's name became Irving Berlin. Berlin went on to write American anthems such as "There's No Business Like Show Business," "White Christmas," and "God Bless America." Berlin never learned to play the piano very well and had help from other musicians, who were often not credited. Nonetheless, he is considered one of the greatest American songwriters, and a year before he died at the age of 101 in 1989, an all-star celebration of his works was held at Carnegie Hall.

Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II

Before the advent of the 33 1/3 rpm record, movies and stage musicals were leading ways to introduce songs to the American public. The musical comedy, with its roots in the vaudeville tradition, had long had a place on Broadway, but Broadway musicals increasingly moved toward integrated narratives, in which the music, dancing, and story were all of a piece. It was in the evolving musical play genre that Richard Rodgers (1902–1979) and Oscar Hammerstein II (1895–1960) had their most stunning achievement, *Oklahoma!,* the play widely considered to have brought the musical into the modern era. (See Entertainment of the 1940s.)

Though they had never worked together for Broadway, composer Rodgers and lyricist Hammerstein had only written a few songs together for an amateur production. Finally, in 1943 the Theatre Guild suggested that Hammerstein collaborate with Rodgers on an adaptation of a play by Lynn Riggs called *Green Grow the Lilacs.* Rodgers

agreed and thus began one of the most fruitful collaborations in the history of musical theatre. The play initially generated little enthusiasm from both financial backers and preview audiences, and the duo revised it, adding more humor and changing the name to *Oklahoma!* The show then ran briefly in Boston, where reviewers praised the play. By the time it opened on Broadway on March 31, 1943, the show had gathered critical momentum and quickly received overwhelming audience response. In 1944, Rodgers and Hammerstein were awarded a Pulitzer Prize. The show would run on Broadway for nearly six years, during which it grossed $7 million, the highest box office earnings to that time. The traveling show toured America for 10 years, appearing in more than 250 cities. *Oklahoma!* also played in cities all over the world, grossing over $40 million worldwide. The *Oklahoma!* record, which marked the first time a play's score was recorded in its entirety by its original cast, sold more than a million records, while copies of sheet music also topped out over a million. Many of the songs from the play have become American classics, including "Oklahoma!", "Oh, What a Beautiful Morning," and "People Will Say We're in Love," which was featured on *Your Hit Parade* for 30 weeks.[7]

After *Oklahoma!,* Rodgers and Hammerstein went to Hollywood, where they wrote the score (the only one on which they ever collaborated for the screen) for the popular *State Fair* (1945). Again, the duo struck gold. Their song "It Might As Well Be Spring" won the Academy Award for best song. The two then returned to Broadway with their next musical, *Carousel* (1945), which was also a big hit. In November 1945, *Your Hit Parade* played "If I Loved You" from *Carousel,* and "It Might as Well Be Spring" and "That's for Me" from *State Fair,* thus making Rodgers and Hammerstein the first composer and lyricist to have three songs on the show on the same night. After *Carousel,* the team went on to write seven more musicals together, including *South Pacific* (1949), *The King and I* (1951), and *The Sound of Music* (1959).

Another hit musical of the 1940s that marked the arrival of a major talent to Broadway was Leonard Bernstein's *On the Town* (1944). But Bernstein (1918–1990) was not just a composer. After graduating from Harvard and studying conducting under Serge Koussevitzky and Fritz Reiner, Bernstein landed a job as an assistant conductor of the New York Philharmonic. In August 1943, conductor Bruno Walter fell ill the day of a concert that was to be broadcast nationally. Bernstein stepped in and performed magnificently, thus igniting his career. In 1944, Bernstein composed the *Jeremiah Symphony,* a serious work that placed him at the forefront of young American composers. He followed with *Fancy Free* (choreographed by Jerome Robbins), a ballet about three young soldiers on leave prowling for women. While the ballet was considered important, it didn't have the same cultural impact as a hit play. All the same, lyricists Betty Comden and Adolph Green thought it could be translated into a play. Bernstein loved the idea, and together they transformed the ballet into *On the Town,* a smash hit musical comedy in 1943. This, in turn, was made into the 1949 MGM movie of the same name, starring Frank Sinatra and Gene Kelly. For the remainder of his life, Bernstein was incredibly prolific—he wrote operas, he wrote symphonies, he wrote for movies (such as the score for *On the Waterfront* [1954]), he wrote more plays (most notably *West Side Story* in 1957), he served as the musical director of the New York Philharmonic (the first American to do so) for over a decade, and he became an author as well as a mainstay on television.

TEEN-IDOL CROONERS

Prior to the 1940s, the most popular kind of music in America was big band, or swing music. However, during the war years the bands slowly began to fall out of favor, in part because of war-era travel restrictions that hurt their ability to tour (essential to the success of a big band), and in part because of a series of musicians' strikes that led record companies to turn toward singers instead of bands to make records. In the 1940s, the previously monumental popularity of the big bands would be challenged by singers, many of whom had previously been vocalists for big bands, including Peggy Lee, Ella Fitzgerald, Sarah Vaughan, Rosemary Clooney, Doris Day, and Dinah Shore. But of all the singers of the 1940s, it was Frank

Sinatra who arguably had the greatest and most lasting impact on popular culture.

Frank Sinatra

Francis Albert Sinatra (1915–1998) was born in Hoboken, New Jersey. He had no formal training in music, but he knew he wanted to be a singer, especially after March 1932, when he saw his idol Bing Crosby sing live at the Jersey City Loews Theatre. Sinatra cut a few records during the 1930s, but he went unnoticed nationally. However, bandleader Tommy Dorsey heard Sinatra's version of "All or Nothing At All," and he signed Sinatra. Sinatra quickly learned to emulate the sounds of the band's music with his voice. He also began to learn how to phrase lyrics in his own inimitable way, which would ultimately become his vocal trademark and earn the nickname, "The Voice."

In 1940, Sinatra had his first best-selling record, "I'll Never Smile Again" (Ruth Lowe), which was followed by a number of other hits. In early 1942, in an annual national poll conducted by the magazine *Down Beat,* Sinatra was declared the top vocalist of 1941, beating out his boyhood idol Crosby, who had held the spot the previous four years.[8] Sinatra was convinced that he would be better off as a solo artist and eventually gained Dorsey's consent to go out on his own.

Sinatra soon had a devoted following, mostly made up of young women who screamed, swooned, cried, and fainted during his shows. Perhaps the most famous, or infamous, of Sinatra performances of the 1940s was a brief stint at New York's Paramount Theatre in October 1944. Though the theatre only had 3,400 seats, more than 10,000 people lined up at the box office and an estimated 20,000 more hung out in the streets surrounding the theatre. When the box office opened, a minor riot ensued, with windows being broken, people being trampled (though no one was seriously hurt), and young women fainting in the streets. The foot traffic forced the closure of Times Square and hundreds of New York police were brought in to restore order. Inside, young women went crazy every time Sinatra appeared on stage, some throwing their bras and panties at him, others crying, and many simply fainting at the sight of him. Afterwards, as he tried to make his way from the theatre, Sinatra's clothes were torn to shreds by souvenir seekers. Sinatra's songs appeared on *Your Hit Parade* throughout the decade; he had his own radio shows, and he also enjoyed success in numerous movies. After a brief lapse of fame in the early 1950s, Sinatra regained his touch with a non-singing, Academy Award-winning turn as Maggio in *From Here to Eternity* (1954). After that, Sinatra's star never waned. The unprecedented, overtly sexual teen idolatry Sinatra inspired in the 1940s anticipated the fervor that surrounded future performers, from Elvis and the Beatles to N'Sync and the Backstreet Boys.

Perry Como

Another former band singer who first made it big in the 1940s was Perry Como (1912–2001). Como was born Pierino Como in Canonsburg, Pennsylvania. Beginning at the age of 12, Como was a barber. By the time he finished high school at the age of 16, Como had procured his own shop. Como toured with Freddie Carlone's band from 1934 to 1937, at which time he signed with Ted Weems's band, with whom he sang for years. In 1943, Weems got drafted and the band broke up. Como returned to Pennsylvania, intending to reopen his barbershop. Instead, he landed a gig on the local CBS station, which led to performances in various New York nightclubs, including the Copacabana. His success brought him to the attention of Victor Records, which signed him to a contract. He released a number of modest hits, until 1946, when he exploded nationwide with "If I Loved You," a Rogers and Hammerstein number from *Carousel* and "Till the End of Time" (Buddy Kaye and Ted Mossman). The two songs sold phenomenally well; in fact, they made Como the first singer to ever sell 2 million copies of simultaneously released songs. Como went on to record many more hits, including "A Hubba-Hubba-Hubba" (Harold Adamson and Jimmy McHugh) which he sang in the 1945 film *Doll Face*. In all, Como had eight songs in the 1940s that sold over a million copies each, making him one of the most popular singers of the era.[9]

Bing Crosby

Songs from the movies often became big hits in the 1940s, but no other movie star of the era had as much crossover success as Bing Crosby (1903–1977), who by 1940 was already arguably the most popular singer in America; his popularity stemmed in large part from the songs he sang in his movies, most of which were musicals and romantic comedies. Crosby was born Harry Lillis Crosby in Tacoma, Washington. He had a relaxed, easygoing way about him in his acting and his singing, which was dubbed "crooning." In 1940, Crosby, along with Bob Hope and Dorothy Lamour, starred in the musical road film *The Road to Singapore*. This was the first of seven highly successful "Road to…" pictures. In addition to introducing his signature song, "White Christmas," in the 1942 film *Holiday Inn,* Crosby sang the Oscar-nominated "Ac-cent-tchu-ate the Positive [*sic*]" (Johnny Mercer and Harold Arlen) in *Here Come the Waves* (1944). Crosby also won an Academy Award for his role as a singing priest in *Going My Way* (1944); in this film he sang "Swinging on a Star," which that year won the Academy Award for best song. Overall, Crosby had 16 records in the 1940s that sold more than a million copies each.



Bing Crosby. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Nat King Cole

In terms of popularity, Nat King Cole (1919–1965) would ultimately be on par with Sinatra and Crosby, though his success was based almost entirely on recordings. The son of a minister, he was born Nathaniel Adams Cole in Montgomery, Alabama. From an early age he played in a variety of different groups. In the late 1930s, he worked as a small-time nightclub pianist until a manager of a club encouraged him to form his own group, which he did, calling it the King Cole Trio. The Trio was strictly instrumental, but legend has it that one night an audience member begged him to sing "Sweet Loraine" (Mitchell Parish and Cliff Burwell). The audience loved it, and Cole then began singing on occasion. Capitol Records signed the Trio, and in 1944 they recorded their first best-selling record, "Straighten Up and Fly Right" (Irving Mills and Cole). The group followed this with "The Christmas Song" (Mel Torme and Robert Wells) in 1946, shortly after which Cole went solo. His first solo smash was "Mona Lisa" (Jay Livingston and Ray Evans) in 1949, which sold 3 million records.[10] Cole's singing made him arguably the best-known and most financially successful African American singer of the 1940s. He would go on to sell in excess of 50 million records in his lifetime.

POPULAR MUSICAL STYLES

Blues

The migration of southern African Americans to northern cities during the war years changed the course of the blues. Different forms of the blues had been popular in America since the early 1900s. In the late 1930s and early 1940s the influence of blues music was present in boogie-woogie and, most obviously, in the music of the swing bands. In the late 1940s in urban areas across America, these transplanted musicians developed a new variance of blues with roots in regional blues and

gospel music that would come to be known as rhythm and blues (R&B).

Unlike traditional blues, which was played acoustically, rhythm and blues often used electrically amplified instruments. The introduction of the electric guitar by blues musicians such as T-Bone Walker and Muddy Waters brought new energy to the form and increased its commercial appeal. This new electric blues was at first primarily popular with African American audiences, but the music was just too different, too new, and too amazing to be segmented for long. Furthermore, because blues musicians were playing in urban centers, their music was eminently more accessible than it had previously been. Soon, white kids began to be increasingly attracted to the appealing carnality of rhythm and blues, especially in the early 1950s, with artists such as Muddy Waters, Howlin' Wolf, and John Lee Hooker. The electric blues of the late 1940s and early 1950s was a primary influence of the rock and roll revolution taken to the white mainstream in the 1950s by Elvis Presley.

Classical

In the 1940s, American classical music for the most part suffered the same fate as classical music all over the world. Because of the war European and, to a lesser extent, American composers were unable to compose as prolifically as they previously had. Furthermore, many Americans felt unpatriotic listening to music by Germans and Italians.[11] Still Leonard Bernstein's *Jeremiah Symphony* (1944) was well received and put him at the forefront of young American composers. In addition to other American composers such as Aaron Copland and John Cage, European composers such as Béla Bartók, Arnold Schoenburg, and Igor Stravinsky moved to the United States, where their works were performed throughout the 1940s. By the end of the 1940s, more Americans than ever were being exposed to classical music through radio, television, and national tours by orchestras such as the New York Philharmonic and the San Francisco Symphony. Perhaps the most famous radio (and later TV) show featuring classical music was NBC's *National Broadcasting Company Symphony Orchestra,* which the company formed especially for Italian émigré Arturo Toscanini, who directed the orchestra's broadcast performances from 1937 to 1954.

Country

Different forms of country music had enjoyed varying degrees of popularity for many years leading up to World War II. For example, Milton Brown and Bob Wills led popular western swing bands in the 1930s and 1940s. Bluegrass got its start in the early 1940s with the music of Bill Monroe and his group the Blue Grass Boys. In the movies, singing cowboys such as Roy Rogers and Gene Autry were on-screen figures who also had successful off-screen recording careers.

The demographic shift in the white rural south as southern farmers packed up their belongings and either joined the military or moved to urban areas to work in the factories led to country music's popularity growing beyond its traditional southern boundaries. People who had no connection to the lifestyle depicted in country and western music nevertheless were enthralled with what for them was a new sound.

During the early 1940s, Roy Acuff (1903–1992) moved to capitalize on the commercial possibilities. Acuff, a singer and a fiddler, was born in Maynardville, Tennessee. In the 1930s, he cut some now classic songs (such as "The Wabash Cannonball" in 1936) with his band, the Smoky Mountain Boys. Then, in 1938 he joined the *Grand Ole Opry* radio show that originated from the Grand Ole Opry in Nashville, Tennessee. The *Grand Ole Opry,* broadcast by WSM in Nashville, had been a show since 1925. The station, though not national, was powerful enough that people from Florida to southern Canada could listen in. Acuff joined the show just as country music was starting to hit big nationwide. The show went national in 1939, and Acuff quickly became a staple, becoming the *Grand Ole Opry*'s most popular performer in the 1940s and 1950s.

The recording capital for popular music was New York City, which didn't sit well with country musicians, who were often from the South and felt that New York producers didn't understand their musical sensibility. Roy Acuff was among the first to recognize the need for country music to have its

own capital, separate in geography as well as philosophy and sound from New York. In 1943, Acuff teamed with songwriter Fred Rose to form Acuff-Rose Publishing in Nashville, just one of many companies that formed in Nashville, leading to Nashville becoming known as "Music City, U.S.A.," the international capital of country music.

Not long after Acuff formed Acuff-Rose Publishing, a new subgenre of country began to emerge: honky-tonk, which took its name from "honky-tonks," the small nightclubs in which its performers practiced their trade. Previously, country music had frequently dealt with rural American farm life. Conversely, honky-tonk songs, stronger and more amplified than their predecessors, became the lament of displaced southerners, telling sad and often brutal tales of alcoholism, broken marriages, and shattered homes.

Singer/songwriter Hiram "Hank" Williams (1923–1953) was born in Georgiana, Alabama. When he was only 8 years old, he began to teach himself to play the guitar, which he would do for the remainder of his life. At the age of 14 he formed a band, the Drifting Cowboys, which was playing on local radio shows within a year. In the 1940s, Williams landed in Nashville, where he scored a contract with Acuff-Rose. Williams was the first of the honky-tonk singers to hit it big nationally, in part because of his recordings and in part because of his appearances on the *Grand Ole Opry.* With his distinctive voice and great lyrics, Williams wrote and sang songs that moved people. Many of Williams's songs became hits, either for himself, as in the case of "Long Gone Lonesome Blues," or for other performers, as when Tony Bennett sold a million records with his version of "Cold, Cold Heart."



Hank Williams, 1949. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Folk Music

The popularity of folk music, festivals, and singers continued to grow throughout the 1940s, gaining fans across the political and social spectrum. At a folk music festival in Seattle in 1941 the term "hootenanny" was coined. While it's not known for sure who coined the phrase, ads for the festival appeared in Seattle's *New Dealer* reading, "The New Dealer's Midsummer Hootenanny. You Might Even Be Surprised!" The term became identified with folk music shows at which bands and individuals performed. Throughout the decade, hootenannies were held on college campuses, in clubs frequented by intellectuals and hipsters, and at labor functions nationwide. Pete Seeger (1919–) was one of the most influential folk singers who first rose to fame in the 1940s. Seeger was born in New York City to a family of musicians. In 1935 he was taken to a folk music festival in Asheville, North Carolina, an experience that would change the course of his life. He entered Harvard in 1936 but dropped out in 1938 to live the life of a musical vagabond, traveling the country by hitchhiking or hopping rail cars, learning folk tunes, and playing in migrant camps and other places. In 1940, Seeger and Woody Guthrie formed the group the Almanac Singers, and then toured the country singing socially conscious songs. After serving in the military from 1942 to 1945, during which he entertained American troops at home and abroad, Seeger returned to civilian life, helping to form and direct People's Song, Inc., a union of songwriters and a clearing house for folk music.[12]

Seeger would go on to have his greatest popular fame in the 1950s as the leader of the folk band, The Weavers. He gained notoriety as an

unabashed member of the left-wing movement, which resulted in his being called to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1955. He courageously refused to tell the committee about any communist connections any of his friends and associates may have had, which led to his being indicted on 10 counts of contempt of Congress. The charges were later dismissed.

Jazz: From Swing to Bop

The era leading up to the 1940s was characterized by the popularity of the big bands, whose music was also known as jazz. But as the bands began to be replaced by the singers, the popularity of jazz waned. While the major labels began shying away from jazz, small companies such as Dial, Savoy, and Bluenote still put out jazz records, and serious jazz musicians were revolutionizing the form. The most fertile ground for jazz in the 1940s was in the clubs of New York City, especially those on and around 52nd Street between Fifth and Sixth Avenues, a place known as "the street of swing."[13] Clubs such as the Famous Door, the Onyx, Three Deuces, and Kelly's Stables routinely featured future legends such as Dizzy Gillespie, Charlie Parker, Lester Young, and Miles Davis, artists whose work influenced the major jazz movement of the 1940s: bop.

Dizzy Gillespie

While many artists contributed to the idea of "bop," trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie's work was at the forefront. Gillespie (1917–1993) was born John Birks Gillespie in Cheraw, South Carolina. As a teen he first studied the trombone, before taking up the trumpet. He bounced around from band to band until 1937, at which time he got a steady gig playing with the Cab Calloway orchestra. In 1943 he joined the Earl Hines ban, where he and his bandmates—Charlie Parker on alto sax, Little Benny Harris on trumpet, and Billy Eckstine on vocals—began experimenting with the new musical ideas that would evolve into bop. In 1944, Eckstine broke from the Hines band to form his own group, bringing Gillespie and Parker as well. This group furthered the development of bop with their newly emerging style.

The name "bop" comes from the terms "bebop" and "rebop," which Gillespie would sometimes utter as the closing of a triplet: "Bu-re-bop." The phrase stuck in people's minds, and they started calling Gillespie's music rebop, which was ultimately shortened to bop.[14]

This new kind of jazz was different because it didn't always carry a sustaining melody throughout a given song. Instead, a tune would begin with a recognizable melody, then the individual band members would depart from the melody to embark on wild solo-flights of improvisation. Only at tune's end would the musicians collectively

HOW OTHERS SEE US

Django Reinhardt, Europe's Jazz Giant

Jazz came to Europe with the American doughboys of World War I, and the music—particularly in its syncopated, New Orleans-based form—was tremendously popular throughout the Continent and in Britain. It took nearly two decades, however, for a truly original European jazz artist to emerge.

Guitarist Django Reinhardt (1910–1953) married the music of his Romani heritage to the rhythms of American hot jazz to create a new form known today as Gypsy jazz or *jazz manouche*. Born in Belgium into a nomadic community, Reinhardt grew up near Paris playing violin, banjo, and guitar. At the age of 24, he formed a jazz group called the Quintette du Hot Club de France. The ensemble included no drums; the syncopated beat was supplied by a stand-up bass and two rhythm guitars, strummed with a percussive technique, while the lead melody lines came from Reinhardt's guitar and the violin of Stéphane Grappelli. Their fluid improvisations, as well as Reinhardt's use of diminished and augmented chords, created a sensational and distinctly European sound.

One of the best-known jazz guitarists of all time, Reinhardt went on to play and record with such legendary American artists as Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, and Coleman Hawkins. His influence extended into the rock era, having essentially invented the concepts of rhythm and lead guitar.



Dizzy Gillespie, 1949. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

return to the theme that had been established at the beginning. Bop songs were characterized by long, intricate phrases, unusual breaks, and complicated intervals that required exceptional technique, which was what all the innovators of bop, including Gillespie, Parker, Thelonious Monk, Bud Powell, Max Roach, and others, became revered for. Bop didn't come easily to the ear at first; it took some getting used to and required an appreciation for musicality in order to enjoy it. This resulted in its initially being unappreciated in the larger context of American popular culture. But for savvy New York City music critics and intellectuals, bop was the thing in music of the 1940s: new, complex, and invigorating.

After playing with Hines and Eckstine, Gillespie formed his own sextet, which played bop exclusively, including Gillespie's compositions, such as "Groovin' High" and "Dizzy Atmosphere." Gillespie developed a kind of cult following that adored his music and adopted his style of dress, characterized by berets, goatees, and dark sunglasses. Furthermore, jazz musicians popularized much of the slang of the 1940s, including words such as "hip," "chick," "hepcat," "smooth," "square," "groovy," and the addition of "-reeny," "-rooney," or "-o-rooney" at the end of words. Gillespie's devotees were an early incarnation of the subset that would eventually become identified in popular culture as hipsters or Beatniks. (See Fashion of the 1940s.) But of all his many followers, none would be more important in the history of jazz than Charlie "Bird" Parker, who would become one of the most influential musicians in American history.

Charlie Parker

Charlie Parker (1920–1955) was born in Kansas City, Kansas. His father had abandoned his mother, who worked as a cleaning woman to support the family. When Parker was 13, she bought him a used saxophone. He was a prodigy, learning the instrument so well and so quickly that he was playing in local bands less than two years later. In Kansas City, Parker was able to see many jazz greats, including Count Basie and Lester Young. In fact, he acquired the original long form of his nickname, "yardbird," because he would spend his nights in the yards outside clubs listening to his idols and waiting for them to come out. In 1937, Jay McShann and his orchestra swung through Kansas City. Parker was given the opportunity to join the band, and he did. His playing quickly attracted the attention of other players, who were amazed at his ability to endlessly improvise without repetition. His improvisations, which according to him resulted from his experimenting with new sounds because he was bored with stereotypical swing changes, played no small part in the development of bop. For those who understood his genius, hearing Parker play was a revelatory experience. His playing could mesmerize even other musicians.

With Gillespie, Parker also played with Earl Hines and Billy Eckstine. Like Gillespie, Parker formed his own sextet and developed a strong following in New York City. In 1946, for Dial Records, Parker recorded "Ornithology" and his famous "Yardbird Suite." Despite his instrumental prowess, his music was so different from what others were

playing that he had a hard time getting accepted by other musicians and many critics, some of whom questioned the validity of what he was doing. For a time his genius was forgotten by all save a few of the most avid jazz aficionados, but in the early 1970s his music began to be collected and reissued, which resulted in a "rediscovery" of his talents and his being recognized as a vital innovator of bop jazz, a quintessentially American art form.

Miles Davis

Following the bop movement was cool jazz, virtually synonymous with trumpeter Miles Davis (1926–1991), even though in his later career he moved toward fusion. Davis was born in Alton, Illinois. In 1945, he moved to New York City to study music at Juilliard. However, he spent more time playing in jazz bands, including Charlie Parker's quintet, than he did going to school. While in New York City, he heard the pioneering work of tenor saxophonist Lester Young a well-known practitioner of the hot jazz style of the 1930s. In the early 1940s, Young's music went off in a different direction. While they still improvised in an often sophisticated fashion, their music had a more discernable beat and a dreamier, softer quality. This new, relaxed sound became known as cool jazz. Davis was influenced by Young's work, and he began to move away from bop. In fact, the rise of cool can at least in part be seen as a reaction to the freneticism of bop. In 1949 and 1950, Davis gathered a group of musicians together to record several new compositions in the cool style. The best of the recordings were later released as *The Birth of the Cool* (1957) and would prove to be hugely influential for succeeding generations of jazz musicians.

Sports

and Leisure of the 1940s

SPORTS

Major League Baseball

World War II initially threatened the prosperity of Major League Baseball, but by the end of the decade, baseball was the country's most popular sport. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, baseball commissioner Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis wrote a letter to FDR asking for guidance as to whether or not it would be appropriate to continue playing the game. Roosevelt responded with his "Green Light" letter, in which he asserted that it would be good for the country if baseball were to keep going. Despite its continuance, baseball suffered a serious talent dearth during the war, as many of its players joined or were drafted into the armed services. Even though men over 28 were exempt from the draft, the furor over Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor led many established, over-28 stars, such as Hank Greenberg, to enlist.

For nearly four years, Major League Baseball put a comparatively inferior product on the field, comprising mostly young and underdeveloped players, players well past their prime, and "4-Fers" (those who were classified as unfit for military service). Of the major leaguers present in 1941, only 18 percent remained on their teams in the spring of 1945, during which time no team had more than four of its 1941 starters.[1]

The Negro leagues, however, enjoyed their greatest levels of popularity during World War II, with a cumulative attendance of 2 million fans.[2] After integration in 1947, the Negro leagues slowly began to die out; not long after Jackie Robinson was allowed to join the major leagues, blacks who wanted to play professional baseball began coming up through the big league clubs' traditional minor league affiliates. Women's professional baseball became popular in the 1940s with the formation of the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League. Initially featuring four teams the League featured a 108-game schedule and was immensely popular during the war. Its popularity continued after the war, peaking in 1948 when its 10 teams drew almost 1 million fans. But once major league baseball was able to put a quality product on the field again, the popularity of women's baseball declined. The All-American Girls Professional Baseball League dissolved in 1954.[3]

Another consequence of the war was the institutionalization of singing "The Star-Spangled Banner" before sporting events. In 1918 the song had been sung at the World Series, where it proved popular. The song continued to be played on opening day and during the Series, and in 1931 Congress officially made it the national anthem. During the war the song began to be played more



Jackie Robinson of the Brooklyn Dodgers, poised and ready to swing. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

frequently at games; by the end of the war, it was played before every game.[4]

When on November 25, 1944, Commissioner Landis died, Major League Baseball's very survival fell into question in some quarters. After contentious debate, A. B. Happy Chandler was elected commissioner of baseball. Under Chandler's watch, the game rebounded beyond anyone's expectations in the years following the war. Established players returned, and some of the youngsters who played during the war blossomed, so the quality of the game on the field skyrocketed. Also, with the rise of television and the continued prevalence of radio broadcasts, the game became more popular than it had ever been.

In 1941, the New York Yankees' Joe DiMaggio (1914–1999), "The Yankee Clipper," hit in an unprecedented 56 straight games, a feat considered to be among the most unreachable and unbreakable records in sports. In fact, the closest anyone has come was Pete Rose's 44-game hitting streak in 1978. DiMaggio's streak began on May 15, 1941.

JACKIE ROBINSON (1919–1972)

Born to a family of sharecroppers living in Cairo, Georgia, Jackie Robinson emerged from relative poverty to gain national fame as the first African American to be drafted into a Major League Baseball team. The historic event occurred in the 1947 season when the Brooklyn Dodgers ended decades of segregation, known unofficially as the "color line," and initiated a new and more egalitarian age for professional sports. Robinson's contribution to the growing civil rights movement may have been muted if not for his diplomacy and talent. Robinson's performance during his debut season earned him the first ever Rookie of the Year Award, and two years later he was named Most Valuable Player by the Major League Baseball Association. Despite his skill, prejudice and racism were major obstacles, and some MLB teams refused to play the Dodgers in protest over Robinson's recruitment. Robinson also played a direct role in the development of the civil rights movement, and throughout his career he traveled the country speaking to groups of whites and blacks about segregation and racial equality. In 1962, Robinson achieved another major milestone when he became the first African American to be inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame. Robinson died of complications from a heart condition in 1972, and that same year the Brooklyn Dodgers officially retired his uniform number, "42," in recognition of his contributions to the franchise and his historic role in professional baseball history.

As it went on, people who didn't even have an interest in baseball started paying attention. It was a nice distraction amidst the country's move toward war. On June 29, DiMaggio's Yankees played a doubleheader in Washington, D.C., against the Senators. In the first game DiMaggio hit a double to tie the major league record of 41 games, set by the Saint Louis Browns' George Sisler in 1922. In the next game DiMaggio smashed a single to surpass Sisler. On July 2, he hit a home run against the hated Red Sox, breaking the Baltimore Orioles' Wee Willie Keeler's all-time record of 44 straight



Joe DiMaggio, of the New York Yankees, about to kiss his signature baseball bat, 1941. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

games. The streak ended on July 17 against the Cleveland Indians in Cleveland. His first three times up DiMaggio faced left-hander Al Smith. DiMaggio walked his second at bat, but in his first and third at bats DiMaggio crushed balls to third baseman Ken Keitner, who both times made great stops and throws to get the out. In his last at bat, at the top of the eighth, DiMaggio came up against reliever Jim Bagby with the bases loaded. DiMaggio grounded into an inning-ending double play, and with that the streak was over, despite his having smoked the ball twice during the game. Still, as the years go on, no one even comes close to approaching DiMaggio's record. The enormity of his accomplishment merely grows in the eyes of baseball fans everywhere.

Ted Williams

In 1942, Ted Williams (1918–2002) quietly had one of the greatest all-around seasons in baseball history. It was "quiet" because Williams played for the Boston Red Sox, a team long overshadowed by the New York Yankees, who finished the 1941

A MAN OF HIS TIME: JOE DIMAGGIO

Giuseppe Paolo (Joe) DiMaggio was born November 25, 1914, in Martinez, California. The son of immigrants, he was the eighth child of Giuseppe and Rosalie DiMaggio. He often played baseball with his brother, Dominic, who went on to play for the Boston Red Sox.

DiMaggio made his Major League Baseball debut on May 3, 1936, as a player for the New York Yankees. He then led the team to four consecutive World Championship titles. He is the only athlete in North American history to be on four World Championship teams in his first four full seasons.

During World War II, DiMaggio put his baseball career on hold, serving four years in the army, though he never saw combat. He returned from the army, and in his 13 years with the Yankees, he won nine World Championships. DiMaggio was inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1955. During baseball's centennial celebration, he was named the game's greatest living player.

He retired in 1952, and after a failed marriage he dated and married Marilyn Monroe. It was a marriage that captivated the media, called "the Marriage of the Century." Though it lasted less than a year, they remained close friends. Monroe died in 1962, and for 20 years after her death, he had a dozen roses delivered three times a week to her grave. DiMaggio never married again.

His fame after retirement led DiMaggio to be the television spokesperson for Bowery Bank of New York and Mr. Coffee coffee makers. DiMaggio was also given tribute when Paul Simon mentioned him in his song, "Mrs. Robinson," written for the movie *The Graduate* (1967).

Later in life, DiMaggio donated $4 million to help create the Joe DiMaggio Children's Hospital, which opened in 1992. He also helped to open the Conine Clubhouse, a free-of-charge home for families of sick children at the hospital.

Due to complications from lung cancer, DiMaggio died in his home in Hollywood, Florida, on March 8, 1999.

season 17 games ahead of the Red Sox. More specifically, in 1941 the Yankees won the American League pennant, finishing 17 games ahead of the Red Sox. Also, Joe DiMaggio had his 56-game hitting streak in 1941. The New York media juggernaut catapulted Joe DiMaggio's 56-game hitting streak status into near mythical standing, even before the streak was over. Conversely, Williams just played consistently great ball, out of the limelight, day in and day out. While DiMaggio's streak remains one of sports' greatest achievements, Williams had a statistically superior season, hitting .406 with 37 home runs, 120 Runs Batted In or RBIs, 135 runs, and a .735 slugging percentage to DiMaggio's .357 average, 30 home runs, 125 RBIs, 122 runs, and .643 slugging percentage. Still, the Red Sox finished far behind the Yankees, and DiMaggio won the American League MVP going away. Williams was one of the first professional athletes to enlist; he was a pilot for the U.S. Marines. He would miss three prime years during the 1940s (from 1943 to 1945) and two in the 1950s (from 1952 to 1953) to fight in the Korean conflict. Statistically, he ended up as one of the greatest hitters ever to play the game—the last man in baseball history to hit over .400. As good as he was, however, baseball historians often wonder where he would have ended up had he not missed those five years in the prime of his career. Barring injuries, it's likely his numbers would have been equal to players such as Babe Ruth, Willie Mays, Hank Aaron, and Barry Bonds. And his signature season was 1941, the year he became the last man in baseball history to hit over .400.

WORLD SERIES

1940 Cincinnati Reds (NL), 4 games; Detroit Tigers (AL), 3 games

1941 New York Yankees (AL), 4 games; Brooklyn Dodgers (NL), 1 game

1942 St. Louis Cardinals (NL), 4 games; New York Yankees (AL), 1 game

1943 New York Yankees (AL), 4 games; St. Louis Cardinals (NL), 1 game

1944 St. Louis Cardinals (NL), 4 games; St. Louis Browns (AL) 2 games

1945 Detroit Tigers (AL), 4 games; Chicago Cubs (NL), 3 games

1946 St. Louis Cardinals (NL), 4 games; Boston Red Sox (AL), 3 games

1947 New York Yankees (AL), 4 games; Brooklyn Dodgers (NL), 3 games

1948 Cleveland Indians (AL), 4 games; Boston Braves (NL), 2 games

1949 New York Yankees (AL), 4 games; Brooklyn Dodgers (NL), 1 game

Professional Football

In the 1920s, it was routinely thought that college players were better than their professional counterparts. In 1934 professional football began a tradition of having all-star college seniors play the previous NFL season's champion. After tying the first game, the NFL players went 5-3-1 over the next nine years. By 1940, the professional games had a loyal following, which became even larger after the national radio broadcast of the 1940 National Football League (NFL) championship game, in which the Chicago Bears blew out the Washington Redskins 73 to 0. The introduction of pro football to a national audience helped launch the game toward becoming America's most popular sport (at least with regard to TV ratings). In addition, the 1940 game included Dick Plasman, who became the last player to not wear a helmet in a pro game (the NFL didn't formalize the mandatory helmet rule until 1943). Also notable in that championship game was the Chicago Bears' offense, executed just as their legendary coach, George Halas, imagined it could be. At the time, other pro teams predominantly ran the football using a version of a wing formation. Only the Chicago Bears featured the "T" formation, two running backs lined up behind the quarterback. A play almost as old as the game itself, it was originally meant to be a power running formation.

The past notwithstanding, Halas and his assistant coach Ralph Jones put a man in motion and increased the width between linemen, thus opening up the game and making it much faster and more dynamic than before. The T could be

used not only as a running formation, but as a passing formation as well, which led to stardom for quarterbacks like Washington's Sammy Baugh and Chicago's Sid Luckman. It changed the game so much that by 1950, only the Pittsburgh Steelers still used the wing formation.[5]

The transition toward unlimited substitutions, which began in 1941, dramatically changed the game. Prior to the rule change, players played both offense and defense. However, as unlimited substitutions became the norm, coaches realized that they could have specific players play in specific situations to maximize their abilities. A lack of players during the war led to the league's rosters being cut from 33 to 25, and unlimited substitutions became legal. Though the rule was temporarily abolished after the war, by the end of the decade pressure from coaches and players led to its reinstatement, and the game's players became much more specialized.[6]

In 1946 the NFL integrated, or more accurately, reintegrated. Until 1933, blacks were allowed to play pro football. However, by way of a "gentlemen's agreement," after the 1933 season blacks were no longer allowed to play.[7] A new league sprung up in 1946, the All-America Football Conference (AAFC). The AAFC paid players more, and many college players went into the AAFC instead of the NFL. In addition to driving up player salaries and competition for the best players, the AAFC teams had a handful of blacks on their rosters. In order to compete, the NFL had no choice but to let black players play. After the 1949 season, the AAFC folded and the NFL absorbed three of its franchises: the San Francisco 49ers, the Baltimore Colts, and the Cleveland Browns.[8] For many reasons, including the fact that for much of the decade the best players were in the armed services, the popularity of the NFL still lagged behind that of college football.

College Football

As its players generally did not have to serve in the armed forces until after graduation, college football continued to be immensely popular during the 1940s. Prior to 1940, the college game was much like the pro game: reliant on running and variations of the wing formation. But in 1940, just as Halas had done to the pro game, Stanford coach Clark Shaughnessey introduced his own wide-open version of the T offense. The college game changed in accordance with the pro game, becoming much more wide open and pass-friendly. Fans loved it at both levels, and players such as the army's Felix "Doc" Blanchard, Notre Dame's John Lujack, and Southern Methodist's Doak Walker became nationally recognized gridiron heroes.

Professional Basketball

The National Basketball Association (NBA) has its roots in an amalgam of pro and semi-pro teams. In 1937, the league changed its name to the National Basketball League (NBL).[9] When the war broke out, the NBL was devastated as the bulk of its players became active in the military. During the 1942–1943 season the operator of the Toledo Jim Whites (so named because they were sponsored by the Jim White Chevrolet dealership), Sid Goldberg, solved the player shortage by signing four black players to his team. While Toledo disbanded due to financial reasons, other teams integrated as well. For whatever reason, perhaps because individual black players had occasionally played professionally in the past, or maybe because basketball was out of the national spotlight, integration in pro basketball went largely unnoticed. Still, after the 1942–1943 season African Americans would not play again in the NBL for four years, after which their presence slowly became more common and accepted. While there were problems with racism for some players, pro basketball's racial integration was the least contentious of the major sports, especially when compared to the turmoil that surrounded Jackie Robinson in baseball. In 1946, a new league sprang up, the Basketball Association of America (BAA), which consisted of 11 teams. The new league was highly successful, in no small part because its teams were located in big cities such as New York, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and Boston. In 1949 the financially overmatched remnants of the NBL merged with the BAA to form the National Basketball Association.[10] The first official NBA championship was won in the 1949–1950 season by the Minneapolis Lakers, who featured

future hall-of-famer George Mikan, the league's first seven footer.

Boxing

In the era leading up to the 1940s, boxing's popularity had declined somewhat, amidst various scandals (which have perpetually plagued the sport) and outcries against its violent nature. But in the late 1930s boxing began to experience increasing popularity as a result of the ascendancy of one man: Joe Louis, "the Brown Bomber," heavyweight champion of the world. Louis was born in Lafayette, Alabama, on May 13, 1914, the son of tenant farmers. In 1926, not long after Louis's father died, his mother moved the family to Detroit, Michigan. Louis was behind academically and put in class with younger, smaller children. In addition to this ignominy, Louis suffered from a speech impediment. He dropped out of school in the sixth grade. In 1932 he began boxing, and in 1934 he turned pro.

As Jeffery T. Sammons recounts, Louis easily beat all challengers, including former heavyweight champion Max Baer in 1935. In 1936 Louis suffered his first professional loss at the hands of the German Max Schmeling, a defeat made all the more stinging by the fact that, in addition to knowing he could have easily beaten Schmeling had he taken him more seriously and trained harder, Louis had to endure Hitler's vitriol. Hitler saw Schmeling's victory as proof of Caucasian superiority. For the rematch, Louis took no chances. He trained incessantly, and when the rematch finally came on June 22, 1938, in New York City, Louis, feeling he was not only fighting for all blacks everywhere, but for America itself, annihilated Schmeling, knocking him out at 2:04 of the first round.[11] Vindicated after defeating Schmeling, Louis went on to defend his title 15 times between 1939 and the start of World War II.

Most of these title defenses were relatively easy, all save one: his June 18, 1941, defense against Billy Conn. Even though Conn was outweighed by 30 pounds, he fought a superior fight, and by the thirteenth round it was clear that Conn was so far ahead in points that all he had to do was stay away from Louis, and he'd win the fight. But Conn was convinced he could knock out Louis, so he went after him. The two men traded blows furiously, until Louis finally got the better of Conn, knocking him out with two seconds remaining in the round and winning a classic come-from-behind victory.[12]

In February 1942, Louis enlisted in the U.S. Army. Louis was intent on avoiding special treatment, but in some ways he got it anyway. For example, he was allowed to defend his title while in the service so as long as the purses went to a wartime cause.[13] While most African Americans were treated as second-class (or worse) citizens at home, there were still a number of government advertising campaigns designed to get African Americans to fight for their country, the hypocrisy of which was noted by many, black and white alike. Nonetheless, perhaps the most successful person in encouraging black enlistment was Joe Louis, who was likely the most visible and recognizable noncommissioned officer in America, as well as the person most successful in encouraging black enlistment. He appeared in a U.S. War Department film directed by none other than Frank Capra. In the film, *The Negro Soldier* (1943), Louis appeared with a black preacher. The preacher did most of the talking, connecting Louis's earlier bout with Schmeling to the current world war, the idea being that if Joe stood up to Hitler and the Nazis, then so, too, should all African Americans. The film, which by means of omission disregarded the mistreatment and inequality of blacks in America at the time, was nevertheless successful (although some felt the film subtly endorsed the military's longstanding segregation). It was released in over 3,500 commercial theaters and was required viewing for army soldiers.[14]

After the war Louis ran into financial problems caused both by his free-spending ways and high taxes. Still, he managed to beat Billy Conn on June 19, 1946, in a long-overdue rematch, and he beat Jersey Joe Walcott twice before retiring in 1949. He came out of retirement for financial reasons several times, but he never did regain his title. In his two highest-profile fights, the first a September 27, 1950, title fight against heavyweight champ Ezzard Charles and the second his final fight, an October 26, 1951, bout against young Rocky Marciano (who would go on to be the only undefeated champion in heavyweight history), he

was decisioned by Charles and knocked out by Marciano in the eighth round. Louis re-retired for good, ending his career with a 68–3 record, including 54 knockouts.

As important a boxer as Louis was (he almost single-handedly resuscitated boxing's national image), he was also important for his impact as an African American icon. Prior to World War II, Louis fought 43 men, only one of which was black.[15]

During the war he was revered by blacks and whites alike for his patriotism. In fact, though there's no way to verify it statistically, many social historians feel that Louis's high profile, while distasteful to those who deemed it hypocritical, nevertheless helped to break down color barriers in American culture. Some whites were more prone to look favorably on African Americans, and he was adored by blacks in good measure. It's hard not to notice that on the heels of Louis's prewar fights against Schmeling and his dedicated and highly visible service during World War II, the acceptance of integration in the big three American professional sports (football, baseball, and basketball) became much more prevalent.[16] Louis helped pave the way.

Hockey

Professional hockey was already an established sport at the advent of the 1940s, although it was primarily popular in the upper Midwest and Northeast. The league's structure did not change dramatically during the decade, although there was a stabilization in that the financially tenuous New York Americans disbanded before the 1942–1943 season, leaving six teams (all of which are still extant) for the remainder of the decade: the Detroit Red Wings, the Boston Bruins, the Toronto Maple Leafs, the Montreal Canadiens, the Chicago Black Hawks, and the New York Rangers. While many hockey players did join the military, it didn't affect the sport much since many of the league's players were Canadian. The league never missed a game, although during the war overtime periods were done away with so players could make increasingly tight wartime train schedules.[17] As concerns the rules, the center red line was introduced in 1943. Prior to its introduction, players couldn't pass the puck out of their own end; they had to skate it up, which made it difficult to ever get flow, let alone shots on goal. But the new rule stated that a player could pass the puck out of his own end, so long as he didn't go over the red line. This sped the game up considerably, and a new breed of scorers took advantage of the quicker game.[18] Also introduced was the All-Star Game, which debuted in 1947.

Tennis and Golf

In the 1940s, tennis didn't have widespread popularity. It was a "tween" sport: not quite pro and not quite amateur. Amateur associations controlled the world's major tournaments, thus preventing pros from playing in them. Conversely, amateurs good enough to win the tournaments often couldn't make enough money to play tennis competitively.

During the Depression and World War II, there was little public interest in golf, even though great players such as Ben Hogan and Byron Nelson played in the 1940s. In 1944, there were only 409 golf courses in the whole country.[19]

The Olympics

The Berlin Olympics of 1936, "the Nazi Olympics," were quite controversial. Strangely, rather than sidestepping controversy in choosing the site of the next games, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) chose Japan to host the 1940 Olympics. Japan diffused the controversy by withdrawing its offer to host, choosing instead to concentrate on war. Finland offered to host the games, but the IOC, shockingly, returned them to Germany. However, Germany continued to invade other European countries, and momentum to hold the games there waned until they were cancelled entirely. There were no Olympics in 1940 and 1944. The games resumed in 1948, with London hosting the summer games and St. Moritz, Switzerland, hosting the winter games.[20]

LEISURE PASTIMES

During much of the 1940s, the consumer production of leisure items was severely limited due

to the rationing of many of the materials traditionally used to make them. Toys also had a rough go of it in the forties as materials like lead (used to make lead soldiers), tin (used to make wind-up toys), steel (used to make things like replica trucks), rubber, and zinc and cast iron (used to make cap-guns and other toys) were severely restricted, resulting in many toy companies going out of business. Those companies that didn't go out of business began making things for the war effort instead of games and toys. For example, during the war, toy maker Fisher-Price made first-aid kits, bomb crates, and ship fenders. During the war the production of bicycles, wagons, ice skates, sleds with metal blades, roller skates, and balloons was severely curbed. The few toys that were produced were made most often of either cardboard or wood. It wasn't until the late 1940s that toy makers began to make a comeback in America.

Despite the realities of a wartime existence, Americans found ways to entertain themselves. They devised cheap and easy games to play; they read, listened to the radio, played games like Monopoly and card games like Canasta; and they passionately played and followed sports. When pro sports faltered during the war, they turned to college games for pleasure. And when the war and rationing finally ended, the production of items for entertainment and the popularity of professional sports, especially baseball, skyrocketed.

A TOY THAT HAS LIVED ON

Naval engineer Richard James created the Slinky while conducting an experiment with tension springs in 1943. The idea struck James when the springs fell to the floor and began to "walk." He took this idea and changed it into a children's toy. A word meaning stealthy and sleek, "the Slinky" was named by James's wife, Betty.

The Slinky debuted at Gimbel's Department Store in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1945, and within 90 minutes James sold all 400 toys. Currently, more than 300 million Slinkys have been sold worldwide. The only modification to the toy has been a crimp at the ends of the wire for safety. The toy is still made at its original site in Hollidaysburg, Pennsylvania.

The Slinky became a ubiquitous feature of pop culture throughout the years. The toy has made many appearances in movies. It has been attributed to uses beyond that of a toy, with NASA using variations of it in experiments aboard the Space Shuttle. In 2001, the Slinky was named the Official State Toy of Pennsylvania. The U.S. Postal Service even introduced a commemorative Slinky stamp in 1999.

PASTIMES AND FADS

Book Clubs

One way soldiers liked to pass the time was reading. In fact, they read so much that their wartime reading habits helped contribute to the book club craze, which reached its peak in the 1940s. (See Books, Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics of the 1940s.) The advent of mass-market paperbacks and the boredom of American soldiers led to the rise of book clubs. In the 1940s publishers first began to print paperback versions of books that had previously been best sellers in hardcover. The paperbacks would sell for a quarter each and book clubs would print as much as half a million copies at a time. Concurrently, soldiers stationed at home and abroad often had time to kill and began reading books that they checked out of well-stocked United Service Organizations and other military libraries. Many soldiers acquired the habit of voracious reading, a habit they continued upon their return to civilian life. The soldiers' reading habits helped spark a national craze that would peak during the 1940s, when some 50 American book clubs were in full swing, including the Nonfiction Book Club, the Negro Book Club, the Catholic Children's Book Club, and the Surprise Package Book Club.[21]

Drive-In Theaters

Another leisure activity that grew immensely in popularity in the immediate postwar era was going to the drive-in theater to watch a movie. The first drive-in was opened in Camden, New Jersey, in 1933. The theater was successful, but the drive-in really didn't take root in America until just after World War II, growing from 100 or so drive-ins prewar to more than 2,200 by

1950. Part of this had to do with the rise of car culture and the increase in vehicle ownership in America. The ease of going to the drive-in made it appealing. One could just hop in the car and go to a show, no getting dressed up, no hassle, and no major dent in the pocketbook required. The theaters were ideal for middle-income families and blue-collar workers and also proved to be popular with teens looking for a place to make out.

Lawns

Of the new pastimes to emerge after the war, perhaps none has become more visibly omnipresent than Americans' obsession with their lawns, which prior to the war wasn't as widespread in mainstream culture. In American consciousness, the lawn had come to represent the joy of suburban prosperity, as evinced by home ownership. Why lawns came into being in American suburbs is unclear, but in Levittown suburbs in particular, lawns were immediately a part of the suburban cultural landscape. Indeed, homeowners were required to keep their lawns green and trimmed. (See Architecture of the 1940s.)

Pin-Up Girls

One way the soldiers in the 1940s liked to while away their leisure time—of which they sometimes had a lot—was to look at pictures of pretty, scantily clad women. The term "pin-up girl" originated in the April 30, 1943, issue of *Yank,* an armed forces newspaper. Soldiers far from home missed women. To fill the void, soldiers posted pictures of women everywhere, from the insides of their helmets to the walls of their Quonset huts. Some women became popular strictly as pin-up girls. For example, Diana Dors gained notoriety wearing a diamond-studded mink bikini (the bikini, named after the Pacific Bikini Atoll, a nuclear test site, was designed in the 1940s by French designer Louis Reard). But by far the most famous pin-ups were Hollywood movie stars such as Lana Turner and Ava Gardner. It's been said that a photo of Rita Hayworth was attached to the nuclear bomb dropped on Hiroshima. The most popular pin-up of them all was Betty Grable in a tight, white swimsuit, looking over her shoulder with her back to the camera. For that one shot, Grable earned over $300,000 in a single year. Popular magazines, such as *Time* and *Life,* occasionally featured pin-ups on their covers; the popularity of pin-ups, which had started



Betty Grable in one of her famous pinup poses, a favorite of American soldiers. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.



As American Marines on a landing barge approach the Japanese-held island of Tarawa, Gilbert Islands, in the Pacific, one of the Marines looks at a picture of a pin-up girl. Tarawa burns in the background, 1943. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

with soldiers, became a national phenomenon. The magazine images most beloved by soldiers were the paintings of scantily clad women drawn by Alberto Vargas—called "Vargas Girls"—that appeared in the monthly *Esquire*. They were so provocative that in 1944 the postmaster general banned them from the mail, which ultimately led to the magazine's cancellation of the popular feature.[22]

The Shmoos Craze

The 1948 introduction of Shmoos in Al Capp's comic strip *L'il Abner* started one of the last big crazes of the 1940s. Shmoos—white blobs—were a hit in L'il Abner's world, Dogpatch, which led to a brief but intense fad in the real world. Shmoos could lay eggs and produce butter or milk on demand. If they were broiled, which they loved, they would turn into steak. When they were boiled, which they also loved, they turned into chicken. Their likenesses were emblazoned on just about anything imaginable—clocks, ashtrays, pencil sharpeners, piggy banks, socks, umbrellas, ties—and sold in department stores nationwide. In 1948, Capp even had a nonfiction best seller, *The Life and Times of the Shmoo*. By 1950, Shmoo products had grossed an astounding $25 million. However, Capp was upset with the effect their popularity had on the narrative direction of his strip, so he introduced a storyline to kill them off. Dogpatch's resident tycoon, J. Roaringham Fatback, saw the Shmoos as a threat to his fortune and had them all killed by a Shmooicide squad. With their apparent extinction from Dogpatch, the Shmoo craze ended. Though the characters reappeared later in the 1950s, the excitement about them did not.[23]

Travel

of the 1940s

For most of the 1930s, many people couldn't afford to go on vacation. Then, once the wartime economy began to take off in the early 1940s, people had the disposable income needed to travel, but wartime rationing led to roads remaining unimproved and consumer automobile and tire production coming to a standstill. For most of the 1940s, then, people traveled for their jobs, not for leisure. Despite this, many events during the 1940s affected the ways people traveled in the postwar era.

THE AMERICAN AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY

In 1940, companies faced with increasing shortages went to great lengths to ensure that what they were able to make went to paying civilian customers. In May 1940, America's industrial mobilization effort was put under the control of an advisory committee called the Council of National Defense (CND), which was headed by William S. Knudsen, president of General Motors (GM). At the CND's inception, Knudsen had no power to dictate what companies could do; he could only try to persuade them to participate. As a result, automobile companies continued to make cars for consumers. But when on February 22, 1942, the government decreed the cessation of the production of consumer automobiles, the industry had no choice but to bear down and join the mobilization effort. The automobile industry, with its massive factories, proven mode of mass production, and huge standing work force, was the industry best suited to carry the bulk of the load. Indeed, the industry, led by General Motors, proved to be remarkably successful at producing a huge variety of products for the Allied effort.

General Motors had been filling military contracts since the early 1930s, and by the time the war broke out, GM had already assumed $5 billion worth of Allied contracts. For example, GM produced 854,000 trucks for the military during World War II for only a 10 percent profit margin, half of its peacetime profit margin. Nevertheless, the task of converting to wartime production was a monumental one, made even more difficult by the fact that two-thirds of what it was producing (i.e., 75 mm explosive shells) had nothing to do with cars. GM's patriotism paid off; $911 million was spent for equipment and new facilities, of which $809 million came from the public coffer. In addition to netting a cool $673 million in after-tax profits, GM's production capacity had increased 50 percent by the conclusion of the war. Cumulatively, GM's expansion for the war effort was second only to that of DuPont.[1]

By the time the war ended, the American automobile industry, led by the big three of GM,

Ford, and Chrysler, had produced at least 75 essential items for the effort, including 27,000 aircraft, 170,000 boat engines, and 5,947,000 guns.[2] Chrysler became the world's leading manufacturer of tanks.

Also, in response to a U.S. Army-sponsored competition, Willys Overland developed a car called the GPV, short for "General Purpose Vehicle." The name was quickly shortened to "jeep." These cars became the most essential vehicle in the Allied forces' military transport. Afterwards, surplus jeeps were sold to civilians, many of whom were returning soldiers. Jeeps quickly became popular and were the forerunners for the all-wheel-drive sport utility vehicle.

The automobile industry was instrumental in winning the war for the Allies, and not only because of the cars it produced. The industry applied its mass production techniques to other goods other than automobiles with astonishing results. For example, the industry made 100 percent of the nation's armored cars, 85 percent of army helmets, and 87 percent of aircraft bombs.

As soon as the war ended, the clamor for new cars began. On the day Japan surrendered Americans joyously littered the streets with their gasoline ration books. Gas rationing ended the next day. People were ready to travel, and they wanted to do so in new cars, not their jalopies with rebuilt engines and re-treaded tires.

Astonishingly, in 1945, only 700 cars were made for consumer sale. Factories had to retool its factories for car production. Likewise, there were still severe supply shortages, and the government didn't lift restrictions until 1946 and price controls until 1947.[3] By the time shortages subsided and restrictions were lifted, the industry was ready to meet the demand of an unprecedented sellers' market. Prices for cars in the late 1940s were double that of 10 years earlier. But people could afford to buy them, and buy them they did. By 1949 industry output had risen to five million;



A beautiful new 1946 Cadillac model 62. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

in 1950 it had skyrocketed to eight million.[4] By 1950, the average American automobile cost $1,800 and typically featured an eight-cylinder, 100-horsepower engine. Radios and air conditioners were options, but few people bought cars without them. Manual gearshifts were standard, but most models offered an automatic version.[5]

The biggest technological innovation in cars in the immediate postwar era was the 1947 "Kettering engine." This V-8, overhead-valve engine wasn't so much a new invention as it was a combination of two much older designs, the V-8 and overhead valves. By combining the two, the new engine could produce much more power than its predecessors, starting what would become the horsepower wars of the 1950s and early 1960s. The 1949 Cadillac had featured a V-8 engine with 160 horsepower. Its popularity led to other carmakers trying to emulate it, and in the succeeding years cars quickly grew bigger, faster, and much more powerful.

WARTIME RATIONING

While the automobile industry's output doubled during the war, the cars produced were for the government and the military. Japan's invasion of the Dutch Indies and Malaya cut off almost the entire natural supply of rubber, resulting in the severe rationing of tires. In fact, the 35 million tires on civilian vehicles were considered the nation's greatest rubber reserve, so people were asked to turn their tires in. Similarly, gas and other petroleum went to the military first. A nationwide 35 mph speed limit was imposed for the duration of the war.[6] Accordingly, by 1944 only 213 billion miles of domestic car travel occurred, down from 334 billion in 1941. Likewise, government highway expenditures, which had peaked at $2.659 million in 1938, had by 1944 dropped to $1.649 million.[7]

Innumerable cars had been nursed through the Depression; people just couldn't afford to buy new cars. Ironically, just as people began to be able to afford a new car, they stopped being made, and people were again forced to further elongate the lives of their cars, many of which had been built in the 1920s. Indeed, as the military was being provided with an impressive brand new fleet of autos, the domestic fleet was literally falling apart. Despite this, the civilian fleet remained essential to the war effort: industrial workers had to get to work in order for things to get made. As a Detroit billboard read, "There's a Ford in your future, but the Ford from your past is the Ford you've got now, so you'd better make it last."[8] To ensure that there was enough gas, the allotment for leisure travel was restricted to a mere two gallons a week, and car pools were encouraged. One famous government poster of the time warned people that, "When you ride alone, you ride with Hitler!" While there was some abuse of the ration system, including a black market for gasoline ration books, the system worked well enough to keep essential traffic on the road and moving during the war.

NATIONAL PARKS

The family camping trips to national parks that were popular in the years prior to the war declined so drastically during the war that the parks may as well have been closed to public use; even though they remained open, most people couldn't get to them. The National Park Service (NPS) road-building projects that had been buoyed by Depression-era work projects peaked in 1940 when the NPS budget was $21 million. That year 17 million people visited the various national parks. One year later, the budget was chopped to $5 million, barely enough to run the parks, let alone build new roads. Once the war ended, people headed for the parks. A then record 22 million people visited national parks in 1946. The parks did have importance during the war. For example, in July 1940, the future of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was uncertain. CCC Director James McEntee redirected the program to train young men specifically for the military work that most assumed would needed shortly. CCC camps had been used by the Army Reserve as a field training ground for its leaders and for future military recruits, who learned a variety of skills, ranging from first aid and safety to heavy machinery operation. The government saw the possibilities and mobilized the CCC to train young men in land clearing, road building, and the construction of sewer systems. Although the CCC program was

dismantled in 1941, 12,000 CCC-trained recruits had been directly assigned to a variety of military installations, where they proved invaluable in the construction of infrastructure.[9]

Adequate space to house the millions of new war workers was at a premium throughout the war. The Washington Monument and Potomac Park grounds were used to erect temporary office buildings in Washington, D.C. The big park hotels at places like Yosemite were used to house troops undergoing rehabilitation. Mount McKinley was used to test equipment under cold weather conditions; Joshua Tree National Monument was used for training in desert conditions; and Mount Rainier was used for mountain warfare training.

By 1942, recreational planning nationwide had ground to a halt. Landscape architects and other park employees were moved into defense occupations, where they had a great impact, especially in the design of military installations. Park designers' skills in planning buildings that blended into the surrounding natural landscapes proved useful in camouflage. This new field of design emerged because of advancements in airplanes and optics, which made it easier to target specific buildings from the air.[10]

Public Transportation

By the early 1940s, the American railroads had fallen behind cars and planes in the American landscape. However, the war bought the railroads some time. America wasn't yet linked coast-to-coast by roads, but it was linked by rail. When Ralph Budd, president of the Burlington Northern Railroad, asked FDR to let the railroads privately mobilize for the war effort, FDR agreed and put Budd in charge. The railroad companies had too many cars and too little business, but the war changed all that as rails were used to move soldiers and supplies all across the nation. Trains would move 97 percent of wartime passengers and 90 percent of its freight.[11] The railroads used the wartime boom to pay off debts and streamline their business, but when the war ended, so, too, did the railroad's prosperity. The automobile and the airplane quickly ascended to take the train's place.

Because of the various ship blockades abroad, international boat travel ground to a halt, and most domestic ships that weren't ferry traffic were used to move freight. After the war, ships would still be used for freight, but planes ultimately became the preferred mode of travel. U.S. public transportation systems thrived during the war; people walked and formed car pools. Bus and trolley use was at full capacity throughout the war. Similarly, rail cars, which were ostensibly only for those with essential need, were jammed full over the course of the war. With gasoline rationing, comparatively poor roadways, and cars that were falling apart, Americans had little choice but to turn to public modes of transportation. However, as soon as the war was over, Americans began to rely on automobiles more than any other form of transportation.

THE AIRPLANE INDUSTRY

Initially, airplane manufacturers were uncertain that the production line process that proved so useful for cars would work with planes, which were much more intricate in their design. Furthermore, they feared that the wartime entry of carmakers into what had previously always been a feast-or-famine industry would hurt their chances of postwar success. They preferred that automobile manufacturers remain subcontractors only. Fortunately for the aeronautics industry, its fears would be unfounded: Production lines proved remarkably adaptable to airplane manufacture, and after the war, car manufacturers had their hands full just making cars.

Two important innovations in the aeronautical industry during World War II were helicopter technology and jet engines. The U.S. military wanted an aircraft that could move quickly but could also hover in place. The helicopter, the development of which was spurred by America's entry into the war, proved to be just such an aircraft. In 1942, the United States was the first country to use helicopters in its armed services. The helicopter quickly became a standard military item for every country that could afford to maintain a fleet. Likewise, the necessities of war stimulated aeronautical companies to develop stronger, faster, and more reliable jet engines. The research

and development of the jet engine during the war years led to its quickly becoming the standard for both fighter and passenger planes.[12]

The airline industry exploded during the war. In 1939, the value of the industry's output was $225 million; by 1944 it had risen to $16 billion. Before the war, the industry had been largely confined to the coasts, but demand led it to expand production facilities to places such as Ohio, Texas, and Kansas. Furthermore, the industry experienced few material shortages, as rationing ensured all available supplies were funneled directly to the manufacturers of wartime industrial equipment.

There was tremendous optimism about financial opportunities that would come with a commercial fleet, but the industry first endured a postwar employment contraction. In 1946, industry employment had shrunk to 192,000, down from the wartime of 2,080,000. But by 1948, air travel was becoming more common and more affordable, and the industry took off. Domestic service was largely carried out by reconfigured military transports, but the rising demand for air travel led to the development of new designs. Manufacturers were soon swamped with orders from domestic as well as international companies, many of whose own industries had been destroyed during the war.[13]

While the reality of plane travel didn't become de rigueur during the 1940s, the *idea* of plane travel, widely celebrated by optimistic scientists, futurists, and industry heads, captivated the American imagination. During the war years, popular magazines, newspapers, and government publications all speculated on the kinds of "aircars" people would be flying after the war. More often than not, experts pointed to the helicopter as the most likely consumer vehicle, as evidenced



Passengers boarding a Trans World Airline Constellation, 1946. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

by the popular 1943 Airways for Peace exhibit at New York City's Museum of Modern Art. The exhibit featured a Sikorsky Helicopter Company film that showed a man taking off in a helicopter from a New York City rooftop, apparently on his way to work. Shortly afterwards, he returns, hovering just off the ground as his wife hands him his forgotten lunch.[14] Such images made an indelible mark in the American imagination. Some educators at Columbia University and the University of Nebraska were so confident that the personal airplane would soon dominate American life, they created an *Air-Age Education* series of some 20 textbooks, aimed at preparing students for life in the coming global air age.[15]

In 1945 the *Saturday Evening Post* ran a poll that showed that 32 percent of American adults wanted to own their own plane after the war and that 7 percent felt they would definitely buy one. Many prognosticators thought the aeronautics industry would experience a consumer boom similar to that which the automobile had experienced earlier in the century.[16] Americans felt they would be entitled to the spoils of victory at war's end. They wanted their own homes and televisions, all-electric kitchens, new cars, and an airplane as well. All their other wants were attainable, so why not think a plane would be as well? In 1946, Americans did order 33,254 planes, five times more than they had ever before ordered in a single year. But in the next two years sales fell off by half, and then by half again.[17] Economic hard times were not responsible; in fact, virtually every other sector of the economy that was predicted to take off—from housing and hosiery to cars and electronic-age kitchen appliances—did so. For most people, especially those living in highly congested urban or suburban areas, owning a plane was just too expensive, impractical, and inconvenient. But despite the fact that plane ownership for the masses never took place, the dream of personal aircraft did make Americans more comfortable with the idea of flying, which prior to the war had widely been thought of as unnecessarily dangerous.

ROADWAYS

In October 1940, the Pennsylvania Turnpike, America's first superhighway, opened. It was an engineering marvel. A 160-mile, 4-lane, concrete-paved highway stretching from Harrisburg on the western side of the state to Pittsburgh in the east, it cut 5 hours off the trip's previous distance.[18] Furthermore, the wide, smooth lanes of the turnpike proved to be much safer than the earlier smaller, rougher roads. The tolls collected provided funds to maintain the original turnpike and build new roads. The Pennsylvania Turnpike was considered to be just the start of what surely would come: an interstate highway system that linked the nation from coast to coast. Other states, including Maine, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, announced plans to build their own turnpikes, but roadway funding dried up as the nation turned its attention to mobilizing for war.

In 1938, prewar highway expenditures peaked at $2.65 million, whereas in 1944 they bottomed out at $1.36 million. Some roads were built during the war, most notably Michigan's Willow Run and Davison expressways—which provided employees easy access to plants in and around Detroit—but for the most part road building stopped during the war. However, things were forever changed as a result of what Jane Holtz Kay calls "The Asphalt Exodus," which refers to the profound spatial shift that began in American culture in the postwar years. During the war, the U.S. government felt that to discourage German bomb attacks it was necessary to spread out wartime industries. So, in addition to pumping money into older manufacturing centers on the East Coast (New York, Boston, Philadelphia, etc.), the government awarded contracts to the Pacific Coast, the South, and the Southwest. Prior to the war, America's urban areas were beginning to shrink, but the war effort resulted in 4 million workers moving to the cities to work, thus stabilizing the population of older cities and skyrocketing the populations of comparatively smaller cities like Los Angeles (which gained 500,000 new residents) and Portland, Oregon (which experienced a 150% growth).[19] The war helped stem the exodus from America's big cities, but the conclusion of the war saw a radical reversion of the trend.

The end of the war signaled the start of an unparalleled era of consumerism. Americans felt they had done without for long enough; the war was over, and they felt entitled to what they wanted.

They wanted space, and they couldn't get it in the cities. They moved out to the suburbs, and they bought cars to ferry them back and forth from their urban jobs to their comparatively rural homes. The car became king, as evidenced by the fact that in 1948 Los Angeles voters turned down a public transit system, and Pittsburgh, Baltimore, and Detroit opened their first city parking garages.[20]

In 1944, anxious to address the obvious coming needs for peacetime drivers, Congress passed the Federal Highway Act, which was meant to create an interlinking National System of Interstate Highways that ran through cities. The program was underfunded, but its purpose was not forgotten.[21] In the ensuing years, as the suburbs sprang up, a clamor rose for something to be done about the "unsightly" and ill-equipped slums that characterized parts of larger American cities. In response, Congress passed the Housing Act of 1949, which was designed to fix big-city housing difficulties by instituting a poorly defined policy of urban renewal. Rather than renewing urban housing areas, the law often had the opposite effect. Money was provided to tear down slums, but not to build public housing in their place. Money was doled out to business owners and builders, but not to the working poor who were living in the buildings that were torn down. What the Housing Act did, more than anything, was displace the poor and clear space for freeways. Prior to the late 1940s, freeways went around rather than through cities. Astute businessmen quickly realized the likely boon if roads were built *through* cities, thus allowing easy access for their desired customers: the newly affluent denizens of the suburbs springing up around every major city in America. The "urban renewal" Housing Act of 1949 ultimately had the unintended consequence of bringing about the goals of the 1944 Federal Highway Act. For poorer city dwellers, the policy was disastrous. Innumerable fraying but functional neighborhoods, many of them historic, were demolished in the late 1940s and early 1950s, displacing millions of people, some two-thirds of whom were ethnic minorities. The most notorious example of such a highway is New York City's Cross Bronx Expressway, which cut through 113 city streets and 159 buildings and turned out at least 5,000 people.

The turnpikes planned by several eastern states in the early 1940s were finished in the late 1940s, and several more, including connecting turnpikes from Pennsylvania to Ohio and Ohio to Indiana, were built.

Visual Arts

of the 1940s

American painting in the years leading up to the 1940s was primarily dominated by traditional realistic pictorial representations, although there were a small of number of Surrealist American artists. However, American artists didn't have access to the European paintings whose influence would lead to a Modernist revolutioon in American art. In the early 1940s, Modernists would come to America, bringing with them a new mode of thinking and working that would heavily shape American artists. And while the war wasn't fought on American soil, radio, newsreels, and especially newspapers and magazines featuring photographs by photojournalists, brought World War II home. As a result, American visual arts underwent a radical transformation in the 1940s.

PAINTING

By 1940, Surrealism—using unusual juxtapositions and fantastical images to express thoughts from the subconscious—had made its way to American shores. Under oppression from the totalitarianism of the Nazis' brutal regime, European artists immigrated to New York, where they continued to work in the Surrealistic mode. They socialized with their American counterparts, such as Robert Motherwell and Jackson Pollock, and it wasn't long before American artists began to experiment with Surrealism. Further exposing Americans to European Modernism were major shows at New York City's Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in 1941 featuring Surrealist masters Salvador Dalí and Joan Miró. The unprecedented American presence of European art and artists unquestionably played a major role in American artists' embrace of a new vision, but perhaps the single most important contributing factor was World War II itself. Just as World War I resulted in the rise of Modernism, so World War II led to new modes of artistic expression. Surrealism was a reaction to the war's destruction of civilization.

By 1941, Surrealism was widely adopted by American artists. This early stage was characterized by artists who were what painter Mark Rothko called "Mythmakers," those who, in addition to European art, turned to ancient myths, Native American art, and South American art for inspiration. The Mythmakers' turn to non-European art forms for influence signaled the coming revolution in American art, in which American artists would ultimately reject European art in favor of the pursuit of their own style. Their labors would result in a new school of art: Abstract Expressionism, the first inherently American style to acquire international renown.

Abstract Expressionism, while ultimately practiced by artists the world over, was initially

a New York movement, with the artists who contributed to its formation being called the "New York school." Their ranks include some of the most important American artists of the twentieth century, including Willem de Kooning, Arshile Gorky, Jackson Pollock, Mark Rothko, Robert Motherwell, Ad Reinhardt, and Clyfford Still. While the New York school has been lumped together as working in Abstract Expressionism, the term doesn't do justice to the diversity of styles of the artists. The work of the artists of the New York school changed the international perception of American art; by the mid-1950s the hub of international art had widely been recognized as having shifted from Paris to New York City, where it has remained ever since.

The New York school of abstract expressionists were arguably the most influential and revolutionary American painters of the twentieth century; however, as is often the case in art, the importance of their work was not widely understood or recognized at the time. In fact, art historians and critics have long disagreed on the defining characteristics of the form. It's generally agreed that after World War II, it could be loosely categorized as containing two primary modes of expression: chromatic abstraction and gestural abstraction. Chromatic abstraction, also known as "field painting," focused primarily on singular images of fields of color and was championed by Rothko, Reinhardt, and others. Rather than embracing the dreamy intricacy of Surrealism, they boiled their work down to more simple abstractions, often containing just a few colors. Conversely, gestural abstraction, or "action painting," was interested in the physical gestures of the painter. The gesturalists worked on a huge scale, loading their brushes with paint and using their whole bodies in the application of the paint to the canvas. What evolved from this approach was a highly personal and painterly "signature" indicative of a certain artist. De Kooning and Pollock were the most influential of the gestural abstractionists.

Mark Rothko and Willem de Kooning

Mark Rothko's (1903–1970) work has proved to be the most influential among field paintings. Born in Russia, his family immigrated to America in 1913, settling in Portland, Oregon. Rothko received a scholarship to study at Yale, but he dropped out before completing his degree. After a stint at the Art Students League in New York, he became an art teacher. His work in the 1930s concentrated primarily on figure scenes.[1] In the early 1940s, influenced by the European Surrealists, his work began to take on a more mythical tone. In 1945, he debuted at the Art of This Century Gallery in New York City; by the late 1940s his work had evolved into the field paintings with which he's become most identifiable. He worked on a large scale, creating hazy, rectangular fields of color.

Willem de Kooning (1904–1997) was born in Rotterdam, the Netherlands. He illegally immigrated to America in 1926. In the late 1930s, after a period designing murals for the Federal Art Project, he began a series of paintings depicting women. His work in the early 1940s was primarily in figure studies, but by the late 1940s de Kooning embarked on the paintings that would make his reputation: a series of black-and-white abstractions in oil and enamel.[2] After his success as an abstract expressionist, de Kooning never quit innovating and pushing himself as an artist. Although it was his black-and-white abstractions, such as *Excavations* (1950), that initially made him famous, he continued to be an influential draftsman and painter.

Jackson Pollock

Jackson Pollock (1912–1956) is considered the most influential American artist of the twentieth century, helping break the ground for artists such as Andy Warhol. Born in Cody, Wyoming, Pollock moved from place to place in the American West during his youth. By 1930, he'd found his way to New York, where he studied under Thomas Hart Benton at the Art Students League. Pollock spent the late 1930s working assorted jobs in various studios and for Federal Art Relief plans.[3]

By the early 1940s, Pollock was beginning to produce increasingly abstracted works in a vein similar to that of the other Mythmakers. He enjoyed minor success until 1945, when Pollock and his wife, artist Lee Krasner, moved to a small farmhouse in Springs, Long Island. Here, Pollock developed his revolutionary technique, his so-called

drip paintings, which he produced in a short but remarkably fecund period lasting from 1947 to 1950. It is for these "drip" works, such as *Cathedral* (1947) and *Number I* (1948), that Pollock is best known. Indeed, they are most responsible for his artistic influence. Pollock wanted to move beyond traditional painting, which he felt was restricted by the necessity of the brush as the primary painterly tool. To circumvent this, Pollock placed his canvases on the floor to make it easier for him to apply paint in whatever way struck his fancy. He would fling, throw, pour, and, most famously, drip paint on his canvases, which he believed brought him in greater touch with his mind as a painter.

After his drip period, Pollock did produce a few more important works, but for the most part his artistic creativity ceased to have its innovative edge, due in large part to his deepening alcoholism and the accompanying mental instability. After his death, Pollock quickly became the most well-known and infamous American artist of the twentieth century. He was even featured on a U.S. postage stamp in 1999.

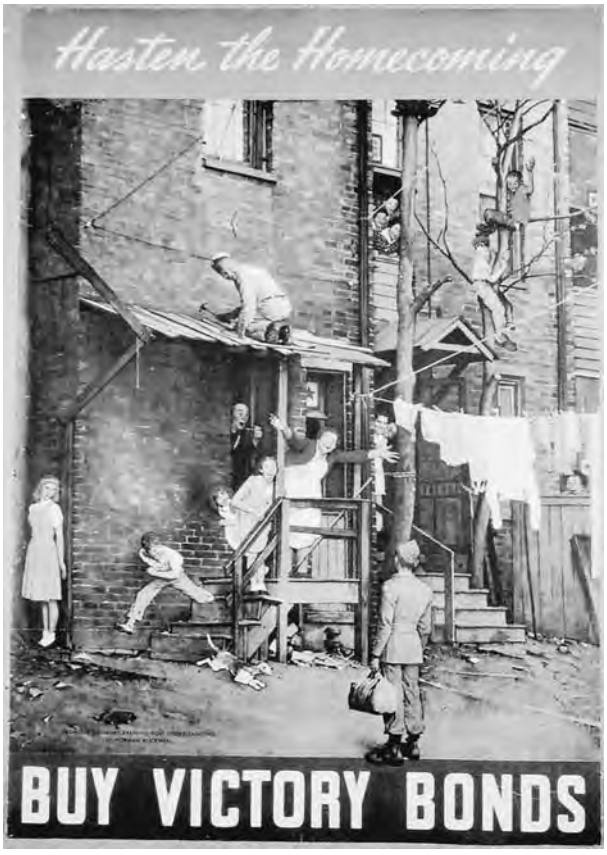


Jackson Pollock, in front of one of his paintings. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Norman Rockwell

Because of the war and its immediate aftermath, even less attention than normal was paid to visual artists. However, there is one artist whose work was widely known and loved by millions: Norman Rockwell.

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978) studied at the New York School of Art and then the National Academy of Design. He became the art director of the Boy Scouts of America's magazine, *Boys' Life,* while still in his teens. He was also a successful freelancer, placing his work in numerous national magazines. In 1916, at age 22, he landed his first of 322 paintings on the cover of the *Saturday Evening Post.* While he painted until his death in 1978, Rockwell's most productive period is generally considered to have been in the 1930s and 1940s, during which time his numerous *Saturday Evening Post* covers pictured scenes of idyllic small-town American life. These images were particularly cherished by an American audience that in the 1940s craved a return to normalcy. Perhaps the best example of Rockwell's popularity can be found in his *Four Freedoms* paintings of 1943. On January 6, 1941, President Roosevelt delivered a speech to Congress in which he stressed four essential freedoms—of speech, of worship, from want, and from fear—as a way to articulate to Americans what the fighting in World War II was for. After hearing the president's speech, Rockwell was inspired to create paintings interpreting each of them in scenes from everyday American life: *Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Worship, Freedom from Want,* and *Freedom from Fear.* Rockwell approached the government about painting this series, but the government wasn't interested. Rockwell painted them anyway, and they appeared in four consecutive issues of the *Saturday Evening Post.* The first, *Freedom of Speech,* shows a young man standing up and speaking at a public gathering; the second, *Freedom of Worship,* depicts in close-up people praying, presumably at a church; the next, *Freedom from Want,* shows a woman serving a magnificent turkey dinner to her family; the last, *Freedom from Fear,* shows a mother and father tucking their children into bed at night. These paintings immediately struck a chord with Americans, and the paintings were



Hasten the homecoming–Buy Victory Bonds. Norman Rockwell. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

soon featured in a nationwide traveling exhibition sponsored by the *Saturday Evening Post* and the U.S. Treasury Department. The Office of War Information used the images on posters that were emblazoned on the bottom with the line "BUY WAR BONDS." The posters, along with the traveling exhibition, helped to sell enough war bonds to raise more than $130 million for the war effort.

In addition to his *Four Freedoms* paintings, Rockwell created a hugely important fictional character: Willie Gillis, a jug-eared G. I. featured on the cover of the *Saturday Evening Post* 11 times. Gillis was based on Rockwell's Vermont neighbor, a young man named Bob Buck, who posed for Rockwell before going off to war. Gillis was an everyman who represented for people their absent brother or son. In his last *Post* cover on May 26, 1945, Gillis, like Buck himself, returned home safe.

While Rockwell's work for the *Saturday Evening Post* brought him public adulation, it didn't win him critical success. Rockwell referred to himself as an illustrator, yet he still wanted to be taken seriously as an artist. Having his work appear in a popular medium such as the *Saturday Evening Post* instead of on gallery walls hurt his credibility among "serious" critics and artists. Interestingly, the most popular artist of his day wasn't taken seriously by the arbiters of high culture in his time, while those who went largely unrecognized by the public were eventually lionized in both the critical and popular press.

PHOTOGRAPHY

Prior to the 1940s, photography was considered by many people to be a second-class art. In the 1940s, however, the ascent of photography as a major art form began with the publication of the *Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art* (vol. 2, no. 8, 1940/1941); the entire issue was devoted to promoting the museum's newly established photography department, which curated shows dedicated to the medium. In addition, several journals, such as *Popular Photography,* played an instrumental role in the popularization of the form.

In the prewar years, documentary and pictorialism continued to be the dominant genres practiced by photographers. Much of the work of its most visible practitioners still dealt with the Depression years, although there were the beginnings of a move away from documenting social ills toward a celebration of America's strengths. Where the advent of war brought immediate and widespread change was in the use of photography, like radio and films, as a means of chronicling the war at home and abroad. After the war, photography became far more dissonant and fractured as photographers diverged in a variety of directions, especially in terms of experimentation with and manipulation of their images.

A number of important photographers were working in the early 1940s, including Dorothea Lange, Gordon Parks, John Vachon, Marion Post Wolcott, and others. They made a reputation for themselves working as documentarists for the Farm Security Administration and the Works Progress Administration. Others, such as Ansel

Adams, Paul Strand, and Imogen Cunningham, were also practicing forms of documentary. However, of those whose work would help to characterize the early 1940s, it's particularly important to understand the contributions of Arthur "Weegee" Fellig (1899–1968) and Walker Evans (1903–1975).

A certain branch of documentation that came to the fore in the 1940s was urban documentation. At the forefront of this movement was the Photo League, a New York-based group that organized lectures and ran a small photography school. In the 1940s, Weegee was invited at various times to lecture and exhibit at the Photo League.

Following a 12-year stint as a darkroom man for Acme Newspictures, Weegee became a freelance photographer, quickly establishing a reputation as a man with a fierce nose for news; in fact, he earned his nickname (derived from the Ouija board) because he always seemed to be first on the scene where news happened. In reality, he was diligent and hardworking; he worked nights, monitoring the Teletype for breaking news reports. He also kept shortwave radios tuned to the police band in his car and apartment. As with all his work, his initial show at the Photo League, Murder is My Business, documented the crimes and weird happenings that occurred seemingly nonstop in New York City. While he was a documentarist, he didn't necessarily follow the standard direct approach to shooting a subject. Instead, his technique was characterized more by his personal visions than by a commitment to a formal methodology. He recorded urban life as a "grand carnival of human comedy." In 1943 he staged his first exhibition at MoMA, and by decade's end his fame was secured by the publication of two books, *Naked City* (1945) and *Weegee's People* (1946).

Walker Evans was a photographer closely affiliated with the Farm Security Administration and the Resettlement Administration. He is best known for his Depression-era pictures of the poverty and desperation of life in the rural American South. Many of these pictures appear in *American Photographs* (1938), the catalogue of his 1938 one-man show at the Museum of Modern Art. In the summer of 1936, on a commission from *Fortune* magazine, he lived in rural Alabama, documenting the tragedy occurring in rural America by taking pictures chronicling the lives of three sharecropping families. The writer James Agee, who had accompanied Evans in Alabama, wrote text to accompany the photos. *Fortune* magazine ultimately rejected their project. However, Evans persisted and Agee polished his text, and the two compiled a series of 31 of these images in a book entitled *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men.* The book was unable to secure a publisher, until 1941, when it was finally taken up by Houghton Mifflin. It received little attention despite the fact that it contained extraordinary photographs and vivid text to illustrate the desperation of the tenant families' lives. Ultimately, as Evans and Agee's fame grew, the book was resurrected to its rightful place among the pantheon of photographic masterpieces. Ironically, Evans's fame led him to a 20-year stint as a photographer for *Fortune* magazine, and he is widely recognized as among the most important and influential American photographers ever. (See Visual Arts of the 1930s for Walker Evans photographs.)

Photojournalism

If any one kind of photography can be said to characterize the 1940s, it is photojournalism, a style whose rise is inextricably linked to the war and the public's yearning for visually supported reporting from the various fronts. TV was in its infancy, so people turned to illustrated newspapers and weeklies for visuals of current events.

Of the many weeklies that flourished during the war years, perhaps none were more central to America's conception of the war than *Look* and *Life.* Both featured reporting on current events. Photographers such as Cecil Beaton and Margaret Bourke-White would snap their pictures and turn over their negatives to the editorial staff, who would choose images to support the text. The effect of visually supported current-event stories about the war was incredibly powerful and went a long way in shaping the public's sentiments toward the war.

In earlier years, the military had been opposed to civilian photographers on the battlefield, censoring images of American dead (showing foreign dead was okay). In September 1943, the War Department lifted that policy, arguing that

Americans needed to "understand the ferocity of the struggle and the sacrifices being made on its behalf." The American military granted photographers unprecedented access to the battlefronts, resulting in the September 20, 1943, issue of *Life* featuring a full-page picture of three dead Americans killed during the storming of Buna Beach in New Guinea.[4] Still, while photographers took pictures that showed the negative side of life for American civilians and soldiers, including photos of exhausted, dead, and dying soldiers and of Japanese people living in California's internment camps, many of the stories had a cheerleading quality to them.

The culmination of wartime photojournalism was the shocking series of photographs of the German concentration camps and other wartime horrors (including the smoldering bodies of political prisoners burned alive by retreating German soldiers) taken by Margaret Bourke-White, George Rodgers, Johnny Florea, and William Vandivert. These were published as "Atrocities" in a six-page spread in the May 7, 1945, issue of *Life*. For the public, these photos served as an explanation of and justification for American involvement in World War II.[5] In 1947, Edward Steichen, the former director of photography for the U.S. Navy, was appointed director of the Department of Photography at MoMA; he immediately began incorporating images from World War II photojournalism into shows at the museum. By decade's end, wartime photojournalism had been fully accepted as a powerful and important means of American artistic expression.

After the war, as did many other areas of American life, photography began to change rapidly. Among the most revolutionary developments was the increasing use of color in images. "Art" photography had always been in black and white. Nonetheless, in the late 1940s, some photographers began to experiment with color, even though the process was still expensive and comparatively unreliable. At the same time, color photography really took hold in the commercial realm. Glossy popular magazines, especially fashion magazines, quickly capitalized on the medium to make their pages more vivid. Color photographs were frequently used to support feature articles and were also widely adopted in magazine advertisements, where they proved to be very effective.

After the war, some photographers, led by Harry Callahan, Aaron Siskind, and Minor White, embraced the "new vision," which was photography's equivalent of Postmodernism. European émigrés came to America in droves during the late 1930s and 1940s, bringing with them the notion of conceptualizing photography through a "new vision," that is, rather than taking pictures and letting the images speak for themselves, photographers began to experiment with light and composition and to manipulate images for effect. This was highly controversial since it went completely against the grain of the American documentary style.

ENDNOTES FOR THE 1940s

OVERVIEW OF THE 1940s

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1950s

Timeline

of Popular Culture Events, 1950s

1950

June 25: North Korea launches a surprise attack on South Korea, precipitating the Korean War and U.S. involvement.

At the opening of the decade, U.S. population stands at 150 million. Life expectancy measures almost 66 years for men and 71 years for women.

The average worker makes about $3,100 per year; a new national minimum wage of $0.75 per hour goes into effect in January.

Illiteracy reaches a new low in 1950: 3.2 percent.

In January, President Truman orders the United States to move ahead on developing a hydrogen bomb, after Russia successfully tests an atomic bomb in August 1949. In February, Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy claims Communists have infiltrated every level of government, especially the State Department.

Sixty million Americans go to the movies each week.

All About Eve, a trenchant, sophisticated movie, proves a surprise hit and garners many awards. Two young actors make their film debuts: Marlon Brando in *The Men,* a war drama, and Marilyn Monroe in *The Asphalt Jungle,* a crime picture.

The Colgate Comedy Hour, Your Show of Shows, and *The Steve Allen Show* all premiere on network television, and Bob Hope makes the jump from radio to television, one of the first major radio comedians to do so. Soon after, most other radio stars follow suit.

In a clever marketing move, Earl Tupper decides to sell his plastic kitchen containers directly to consumers by way of "Tupperware Parties."

DuPont introduces Orlon, a new miracle fiber, and Xerox produces its first copying machine.

1951

March: Julius and Ethel Rosenberg are convicted of spying; they are executed in June 1953.

June: CBS presents the first commercial color telecast.

November: the New Jersey Turnpike opens, one of the first postwar superhighways.

The Twenty-second Amendment to the Constitution is passed in February, limiting presidents to two terms.

The number of American soldiers in Korea swells to 250,000, but in April, President Truman relieves General Douglas MacArthur of his Korean command after the general urges the invasion of China. MacArthur retires, and a parade honoring him in New York City draws over three million spectators. He then addresses Congress, and his mention that "old soldiers never die, they just fade

away" results in a half-dozen hit records, along with much associated memorabilia.
The nickel telephone call becomes history when most pay phones charge a dime.
Remington Rand begins to manufacture the UNIVAC I, the first commercial business computer.
Health officials recommend the fluoridation of public drinking water as a means of reducing tooth decay.
Edward R. Murrow's *See It Now* premieres on TV, as does a new comedy series titled *I Love Lucy.*
The comedy team of Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis becomes a box office favorite.
Singers like Tony Bennett, Rosemary Clooney, Nat "King" Cole, Perry Como, Bing Crosby, Doris Day, and Frank Sinatra dominate record sales, effectively ending the reign of the big bands.
DuPont introduces Dacron, another new artificial fiber.

1952

April: An atomic test explosion in Nevada is broadcast live.
September: Richard Nixon, the candidate for vice president, delivers his famous "Checkers" speech. A record 58 million viewers tune in.
November: The Atomic Energy Commission announces the successful detonation of the first H-bomb at Eniwetok Atoll in the Pacific.
Prices climb, and the nation enters into a prolonged period of inflation.
The U.S. Postal Service discontinues the penny postcard; the new rate doubles to two cents.
General Dwight D. Eisenhower is elected president in November, ending the Democrats' monopoly on the office since 1932. Eisenhower promptly travels to Korea, fulfilling a campaign promise.
During the secure Eisenhower years, the average age for both marriages and divorces falls.
The conservative "man in the gray flannel suit" comes to epitomize both the fashions and lifestyles of the era.
Jonas Salk begins testing his experimental vaccine to ward off the ravages of polio; in the meantime, the disease strikes over 50,000 people, mainly children.
Fiberglass is introduced.
Dick Clark's *American Bandstand* debuts in January on Philadelphia television (it will become an ABC network offering in 1956). *Dragnet* premieres on TV after a successful radio run, and comedians Jackie Gleason and Ernie Kovacs introduce new shows.
RCA introduces tiny transistors that can replace bulky vacuum tubes; soon thereafter, the Sony Corporation brings out the first transistorized radios.
The Quiet Man, a movie starring John Wayne and Maureen O'Hara, reaffirms the popularity of both actors.
On college campuses across the nation, the first "panty raids" occur.

1953

June: A Korean armistice is declared for July, effectively ending the war. Peace negotiations will, however, drag on for years.
August: Russia announces that it also possesses the H-bomb.
September: Earl Warren takes the reins as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.
Senator McCarthy's investigations into Communist influence in government capture the attention of many people.
An unknown guerilla leader named Fidel Castro launches an attack against the Cuban government on July 26th. It fails, and he goes to prison.
In a bow to the new medium's success, the Academy Awards presentation is televised for the first time, with Bob Hope serving as host.
Over 300 television stations schedule regular broadcasting, triple the number from 1950.
CinemaScope, a projection technique employing a wider screen and stereophonic sound, is introduced; *The Robe,* a religious epic starring Richard Burton, becomes the first offering using the new system.
Big, string-filled orchestras have a momentary burst of popularity among music fans. Percy Faith, Hugo Winterhalter, Frank Chacksfield, and Mantovani are among the leaders.
IBM introduces its first computer, the Model 701.

1954

January: Secretary of State John Foster Dulles unveils the defense policy of "massive retaliation."

January: The Navy commissions the U.S.S. *Nautilus,* the first nuclear-powered submarine.

March: The United States explodes the largest thermonuclear blast ever in an experiment at Bikini Atoll.

June 14: The phrase "under God" gets added to the Pledge of Allegiance.

July: Reflecting a renewed interest in jazz, the Newport Jazz Festival debuts.

December: The U.S. Senate censures Senator McCarthy.

The Supreme Court rules in May that "separate but equal" schools (those that separate students by race) are inherently unequal, one of the first major legal attacks against segregation.

In a move to stave off bankruptcy, Studebaker and Packard, two old U.S. auto manufacturers, merge in June.

That same month, Elvis Presley's first commercial recordings are released by Sun Records.

"Serious pictures," like *On the Waterfront, Rear Window, The Country Girl,* and *A Star is Born* dominate the movies as producers search for films that will lure audiences away from television.

1955

April: After extensive testing, officials declare the Salk vaccine against polio safe and effective, and inoculations of millions of children follow.

May: The Supreme Court rules that school segregation must end "within a reasonable time."

July: The first Disneyland opens in Anaheim, California.

August: The minimum wage rises from $0.75 to $1.00.

September: Actor James Dean dies in an auto accident. A cult almost immediately forms around his memory.

With the recession of 1953 clearly over, Americans purchase almost eight million automobiles.

"The Pill," an oral contraceptive for women in capsule form, is introduced. More effective than previous birth-control devices, it will help change sexual behavior throughout the country.

"Smog," a combination of smoke and fog, enters the language as a means of describing polluted air. The condition becomes particularly noticeable in Los Angeles, where the exhausts from large numbers of vehicles mix with damp air and cause a thick haze over the city.

Rock 'n' roll begins to attract a mass audience. The August release and success of Chuck Berry's "Maybelline" draws attention, and RCA Victor purchases Elvis Presley's contract with Sun Records.

1956

April: Grace Kelly, a popular movie actress, marries Prince Rainier of Monaco.

May: As a test, the United States drops the first airborne hydrogen bomb.

June: Congress passes the Federal-Aid Highway Act; it will lead to the Interstate Highway System.

July: The *Andrea Doria* sinks after colliding with the *Stockholm* off the Massachusetts coast; 60 people drown, but over 1,600 are saved.

November: Voters overwhelmingly reelect Eisenhower despite his lingering health problems.

November: The Supreme Court again attacks racial segregation, this time by ruling racially separated seating on public transportation illegal. In the meantime, rioting and protests accompany attempts at school desegregation in the South.

Freed from prison, Fidel Castro retreats to a mountain stronghold and in December again attacks the Cuban government.

Billed as a "hillbilly singer," Elvis Presley makes his TV debut on a show called *Stage Door.* Noting the publicity the vocalist's appearance inspires, Ed Sullivan books him for his *Toast of the Town.* In the meantime, Presley's "Heartbreak Hotel" proves a tremendous hit.

Country singer Johnny Cash crosses over to the pop charts with "I Walk the Line" in October. The lines dividing popular music genres continue to blur.

Disposable diapers are invented.

1957

September: The Atomic Energy Commission begins underground testing of nuclear weapons at its Nevada test site.

September: *West Side Story* opens on Broadway.

October: Russia launches an experimental unmanned spacecraft called *Sputnik*. Two months later, the Russians launch a second craft, this time with a dog aboard. The space race officially begins, with the United States far behind.

Following a dramatic showdown in September, President Eisenhower dispatches U.S. troops to Little Rock, Arkansas, after the state defies the courts, using National Guard troops to block the entry of black students into a previously all-white high school.

The Ford Motor Company introduces the much-heralded Edsel.

The Bridge on the River Kwai breaks box office records.

Popular music follows several avenues: traditional (Debbie Reynolds, Johnny Mathis), rock 'n' roll (Elvis Presley, Bill Haley and His Comets), country (Elvis Presley, the Everly Brothers), rhythm and blues (The Platters, Sam Cooke), and mixtures of all of the above.

1958

January: The United States finally launches its first satellite, *Explorer I,* but the Russians put a much larger *Sputnik III* into orbit. In July, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration is formed to coordinate U.S. space ventures.

March: Elvis Presley enters the U.S. Army.

April: A young American pianist named Van Cliburn wins the International Tchaikovsky Competition held in Moscow, becoming a star overnight.

August: First-class postage goes up a penny to four cents, and airmail follows suit, six cents to seven cents.

October: The Boeing 707 jetliner begins regular New York–Paris flights.

Unemployment creeps up to an uncomfortable seven percent as the nation enters another recession.

In order to avoid integration, Arkansas's governor closes the Little Rock schools in September and classes are held on television.

Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli becomes Pope John XXIII.

A love triangle involving singer Eddie Fisher and two women, his wife Debbie Reynolds and "homewrecker" Elizabeth Taylor, titillates the public for months and results in the divorce of Reynolds and Fisher.

Groups like Danny and the Juniors ("At the Hop"), the McGuire Sisters ("Sugartime"), the Silhouettes ("Get a Job"), and the Champs ("Tequila") begin to hold sway over individual vocalists.

"Beatnik" enters the language; it refers to people who do not conform to perceived proper behaviors. The "-nik" suffix comes from the publicity surrounding Russian successes with space satellites called "Sputniks."

1959

January: Fidel Castro overthrows the Cuban government after a lengthy revolution; his new government gains prompt recognition by the United States. Castro pays a friendly visit to the United States in April.

January: Virginia begins "massive resistance" to integration.

November: Congressional investigations into television quiz show scandals commence.

November: Ford Motor Company ceases producing the Edsel, the costliest failure in automobile history.

At the close of the decade, U.S. population stands at 179 million, an increase from 1950 of over 18 percent, the most rapid growth since 1900.

The average worker earns almost $5,000 a year, a 61 percent increase over 1950 figures.

Alaska officially gains statehood on January 3; on August 23, Hawaii becomes the 50th state.

"We will bury you," says Russian Premier Nikita Khrushchev, but he also makes a historic visit to the United States as relations warm, to a degree.

The rush to build home bomb shelters accelerates.

The United States makes a big move in the space race with the selection of the Mercury Seven, the first American astronauts: Scott Carpenter, Gordon Cooper, John Glenn, Virgil Grissom, Alan Shepard, Walter Schirra, and Donald Slayton.

Overview of the 1950s

Age of Anxiety

NICKNAME OF THE DECADE

At the opening of the decade, the United States found itself in the enviable position of being far and away the most powerful nation on earth. Its industrial base, undamaged and immeasurably strengthened by World War II, manufactured over half of all the world's products, along with producing raw materials like steel and oil in prodigious quantities.

America itself proved the biggest single consumer of this outpouring. Denied many goods during the austere war years, citizens rushed to buy everything that appeared on the new peacetime market. This orgy of self-indulgence created a level of prosperity unseen since the heady days just before the stock market crash of 1929, resulting in a period of unparalleled growth and economic expansion that lasted through the decade.

THE ECONOMY

Between 1950 and 1960, the gross national product (GNP) escalated from $285 billion to $500 billion, a remarkable increase by any measure. Although worker productivity increased greatly, much of this growth stemmed from the changing demographics of the nation: in 1950, the U.S. census counted 150 million Americans, a figure that leaped to 179 million by 1960. More people meant more of everything: jobs, workers, goods, services—all the ingredients for a boom economy.[1]

Median family income almost doubled: between 1950 and 1960, it went from $3,083 per year to $5,976 per year. Even factoring in inflation, real wages increased 30 percent, so that food, clothing, and shelter no longer took away so much of each paycheck. New cars (instead of used models), televisions, high-fidelity units, improved telephones, alcoholic beverages, and endless entertainment saw sharply rising sales.[2]

Nevertheless, pockets of poverty persisted in postwar America. Many black Americans still toiled in underpaid, low-status jobs and lived in substandard housing. Neither did a majority of farmers and factory workers immediately share the fruits of rising prosperity. Single women, already laboring in low-paying positions, continued to lag behind their male counterparts.

CREDIT CARDS

The formation in 1950 of the Diner's Club and its issuance of a wallet-sized credit card to members led eventually to a fundamental change in American buying habits in the later 1950s and 1960s. At first, the rather exclusive Diner's Club limited its use to restaurants in the New York City area, but the idea caught on and rapidly

expanded. In 1958, American Express started issuing cards of its own, and a year later Bank of America brought out its first BankAmericard (which later became Visa). This new approach to credit represented a financial, technological, and sociological breakthrough. It meant that those extending credit were guaranteed payment and that individuals no longer had to rely on cash or checks to make purchases.

The credit card revolution also reflected a profound transformation in attitudes about debt. Prior to World War II, most families owed as little as possible because they were imbued with an ethic that frowned on any indebtedness, plus most merchants demanded full payment for goods. Following the war, the rules changed as businesses exhibited a willingness to extend credit to their newly affluent customers.[3]

With credit so readily available, private debt increased sharply, going from $73 billion in 1950 to $196 billion in 1960.[4]

FAMILY LIFE

The family itself changed significantly during this period. Instead of Mom, Dad, and the usual two children, more and more couples opted for three or four children, making the 1950s one of the most youthful decades on record. By 1958, almost a third of all Americans were 15 years old or younger. "Baby boom" evolved as the term used to describe the skyrocketing numbers of children. This astonishing rise proved an economic bonanza for retailers, but schools and recreational facilities found themselves stretched to their limits.[5]

In *I Love Lucy,* a popular TV situation comedy, the husband-and-wife team of Desi and Lucy Ricardo find that Lucy is expecting. In those more innocent days of TV, network censors considered the word "pregnant" taboo, although they embraced the concept of approaching motherhood. In reality, Lucille Ball, the star of the show, had become pregnant, and so her condition was written into the series. It proved a wise move; the birth of little Ricky in early 1953 (filming took place in November 1952) was one of the most watched events in the history of American television. In a similar way, shows like *Father Knows Best, The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet, Leave It to Beaver, Make Room for Daddy,* and *The Donna Reed Show* espoused strong family values. They painted a picture of the decade that might have been unrealistic and rose-colored, but one that has persisted as a nostalgic perception of the 1950s. (See Entertainment of the 1950s.) In the 1954 Easter issue of *McCall's* magazine, the term "togetherness" gained some media legitimacy. It meant the family worked as a unit, that Mom and Dad and the kids undertook joint activities. Everyone could work on such activities as a "paint-by-numbers" kit in the family room, an area reserved in the modern suburban home for just such activities.

Organized religion also celebrated this emphasis on the insular family. A popular slogan of the time touted "the family that prays together stays together." And so it seemed: Americans attended church in record numbers. About half the citizenry claimed church membership or affiliation in 1950; by 1960, the number had climbed to 69 percent, an all-time high to this day. During his tenure, President Dwight Eisenhower was even baptized in the White House. The new Revised Standard Version (RSV) of the Bible spent an unprecedented three years on the best-seller lists. In 1954, the words "under God" were added to the Pledge of Allegiance, and "In God We Trust" became a part of the country's coinage the following year. With the government proclaiming a Christian heritage, various evangelists found themselves drawing record crowds into churches and other venues. Chief among them was Billy Graham and his evangelistic "crusades," but Bishop Fulton Sheen, Norman Vincent Peale, and Oral Roberts also attracted large audiences.

CIVIL RIGHTS

For much of the decade, white Americans remained blissfully ignorant about racism. The fact that their beloved suburbs were often almost one hundred percent white—likewise their schools and country clubs, especially on network television and in the movies—did not seem a concern to them,. If the era also continued to see lynchings in the South, a complacent majority avoided the injustice.

Not until 1954 did civil rights develop into a widespread issue. In the landmark case *Brown v. the Board of Education,* the Supreme Court ruled against the Topeka (Kansas) Board of Education, saying that racially segregated schools and facilities were not necessarily equal, a decision that awoke the nation from its long slumber through justice for all citizens. Then, in 1955, a tired Rosa Parks refused to give up her bus seat to a white man, and the nation again had to look at the artificial separation of people by race. When bus boycotts followed, accompanied by the elevation of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., into the national spotlight, more Americans began to realize that racial segregation could not remain a part of the fabric of American life.

In 1957, Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus refused to protect black students attempting to integrate Little Rock High School, compelling President Eisenhower to call in federal troops. By this time, the television cameras had already arrived on the scene, and the national nightly news detailed the unfolding stories of rage and repression. The civil rights movement had shifted into high gear, and American mass media had become an unblinking witness. Dr. King emerged as a spokesman for expanding civil rights and thereby became the conscience of the country. By the end of the decade, the nation found itself poised, reluctantly or not, to enter into one of the greatest social changes of the century.[6]



Mrs. Nettie Hunt, sitting on steps of Supreme Court, holding newspaper, explaining to her daughter, Nickie, the meaning of the Supreme Court's decision banning school segregation, 1954. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

WOMEN'S ROLES

Throughout the fifties, popular media portrayed American women as possibly the best-dressed housekeepers ever seen. In television sitcoms and countless advertisements, women donned elegant dresses, high heels, and jewelry (the pearl necklace seemed almost de rigueur), and they smiled as they dusted and vacuumed. Three leading TV examples were Donna Reed as "Donna Stone" in *The Donna Reed Show,* Jane Wyatt as "Margaret Anderson" in *Father Knows Best,* and Barbara Billingsley as "June Cleaver" in *Leave It to Beaver.* In the ads, some even wore crowns—women as queens of domesticity. It mattered little that many American women chose employment and careers over homemaking.

Widely accepted in the popular mind, this comforting and stereotypical picture was challenged in real life as the fifties progressed. Large-circulation magazines countered with articles that extolled the extra earning power of a second income. Doubtless many women felt torn by such mixed messages, and statistics suggest that increasing numbers of them chose a paying job over being a full-time housewife.



Woman holding coffee pot, serving a group of nicely dressed women neighbors seated in lawn chairs, Park Forest, Illinois, 1954. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

The number of working women swelled with the onset of World War II and defense jobs. At the end of the war in 1945, women were urged to vacate their occupations so returning servicemen could have them. Some did, but many younger women simultaneously joined the workforce, so that by 1950, 18 million held jobs, a significantly higher number than that in World War II. Those numbers continued to increase; by 1960, over 23 million American women, or 36 percent of all women, had jobs outside the home—a figure

HOW OTHERS SEE US

Japanese Brides Go to School

For the 18,000 Japanese women who married American servicemen in the years after World War II, their husbands' homeland was largely a mystery. Hollywood had given them glimpses of what everyday life in the United States was like, and the military base's PX (post exchange, or store for those living on the base) exposed them to American products. But this was hardly sufficient preparation for those who were readying themselves to move to America when their spouses' tours of duty ended.

To address this problem, in 1951, the American Red Cross set up special "brides' schools" on U.S. Army, Navy, and Air Force bases throughout occupied Japan. The five-week series of classes, run by volunteer military wives, was a crash course in American homemaking and womanhood, circa 1950: they covered a range of subjects from pie-baking to girdle-wearing to entertaining neighbors to dealing with new in-laws. Along with classroom instruction, the students got to spend twelve hours in the on-base home of one of the instructors. For most, it was their first encounter with such American appliances as refrigerators, toasters, stoves, and mixers. It was also a chance to add to their repertoire of American-style cooking. As one of the students put it, "My husband was getting tired of ham and eggs"—the only non-Japanese meal most brides could cook before brides' school. Eager to join him as a full-fledged American, she was only too happy to learn how to prepare a roast and mix a cake.

that includes 33 percent of all married women, though most of these would have been married women without children. Although they faced limited employment opportunities, many women nevertheless worked and did not spend the day at home, despite what the television, the movies, and advertising had one believe.[7]

With growing numbers of women entering the workplace, contradictions proliferated. Only about one-third of the women who entered college during the decade actually graduated. Further, fewer women went on to graduate or professional schools than was the case in the 1920s and 1930s; the 1950s female college student was more likely to marry, start a family, and put an end to her educational aspirations. As a result, American women were conspicuously absent from high-level jobs. They instead settled for the traditional employment outlets: secretarial, clerical, nursing, teaching, assembly lines, and domestic service. Just over 10 percent of working women entered a profession, and a minuscule 6 percent had management positions.[8]

NUCLEAR ANXIETY

In August 1949, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) exploded its first atomic bomb. This blast would cast a pall over the ensuing decade. A fear of nuclear annihilation, an underlying anxiety that ran counter to the rampant consumerism that many equate with the 1950s, became a part of the American scene.

President Truman announced in January 1950 that the United States would continue to develop a hydrogen bomb, a much more destructive version of the atomic. Shortly thereafter, the Russians commenced working on such a weapon. And so, by 1953, both nations possessed H-bombs, and the threat of total war and mutual annihilation loomed ever larger.

By mid-decade, ominous reports of huge Russian intercontinental missiles circulated. When the USSR launched *Sputnik* in October 1957, it shook the United States out of any technological complacency. No one had expected the Soviets to be the first into space; it served as a disquieting moment for any lingering notions of inherent American superiority. Part of the American response to *Sputnik* involved spending vast sums of government money to catch up. In the spring of 1958, a reluctant President Eisenhower asked Congress to create the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), and a new component to the ongoing arms race—the space race—was officially on.

Instead of having their fears alleviated by these moves, Americans found their anxieties compounded by other steps taken by the government. Officials put into place a civil defense system that included aircraft spotters and buildings designated as fallout shelters for protection from deadly radiation. Bright yellow-and-black triangular signs were attached to the entrances

FALLOUT SHELTERS

The celebration that followed the Allied victory in World War II was tempered by the fear of nuclear war. Governments responded to threat by creating "fallout shelters," subterranean rooms built to withstand radioactive fallout and intended to house government leaders in the event of a nuclear attack. Private citizens followed the government's example and began constructing their own backyard and basement fallout shelters, thereby initiating one of the most unique architectural trends in American history. Recognizing the potential of the new market, companies soon began producing pre-fabricated fallout shelters for sale, often through mail order catalogues. While many shelters were utilitarian in design, with concrete walls and space only for essential items, others were luxuriously appointed with pool tables and wine cellars. Numerous articles were published in newspapers and magazines explaining the utility of fallout shelters and how to build and maintain one. Other companies entered the market by producing peripheral equipment, such as radiation detectors to help determine when radiation levels had reduced significantly to return to the surface. By the end of the 1960s, fear of nuclear conflict began to decline and the fad was gradually abandoned. Though the fad was motivated as much by fear as by fashion, the fallout shelter craze remains a prime example of the opportunistic nature of the American consumer market.

of stout public buildings, with the instructions to "take shelter in the event of an attack." Even the public schools had their "Duck and Cover" drills. At the news of approaching planes, students were instructed to duck under whatever was close by (such as their desk) and cover their heads with their arms for additional protection. A generation of fifties students practiced the exercise—an exercise in futility had there been an actual attack.

The government also printed many pamphlets and posters that purported to show how to survive a nuclear explosion. They encouraged building backyard bomb shelters but suggested that a reinforced basement room, suitably stocked with emergency items, would also suffice.

In a series of movies that ranged from the trite *Invasion, U.S.A.* (1952), to the modest *Magnetic Monster* (1953), to the terrifying *Them!* (1954), Hollywood played on fears of mutations, atomic war, domestic spying, and Communist infiltration. (See Entertainment of the 1950s.)

THE KOREAN WAR

On June 25, 1950, North Korean forces attacked South Korea, prompting an immediate military response from both the United Nations and the United States. Many U.N. member states shipped troops to the distant peninsula, all under a unified command. By far the largest contingent came from the United States. In 1953, the parties agreed to an armistice, and peace negotiations dragged on for years thereafter. This war boasted neither victors nor losers, an unsettling fact for Americans used to winning all their encounters with foreign adversaries. During the decade, over 1.8 million U.S. troops served in Korea, with more than 33,600 losing their lives in combat and some 103,000 sustaining wounds.[9]

American popular culture hesitated to deal with the conflict, especially given its murky political overtones. Nuclear annihilation was one thing, but an unpopular, misunderstood war in a distant land was another. As a result, the Korean conflict has come down to the present as America's "forgotten war," and it remains relatively unknown to most citizens, despite its bloody toll. (See Books, Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics of the 1950s and Entertainment of the 1950s.)

MCCARTHYISM

For many TV fans, the various Congressional hearings that marked the decade served as some of the most engrossing series on the air. They had all the elements of good popular culture: drama, heroes and villains, sensationalism, and even a few surprises. Most prominent were the McCarthy hearings into Communist infiltration in the national government. In February 1950, Joseph McCarthy, the junior senator from Wisconsin, loudly proclaimed that he had evidence that 205 active Communist agents had been employed at the State Department. Leading the Senate Investigations Subcommittee, McCarthy launched a campaign based on fears, innuendo, and smears to track down Communists in government. An outright witch-hunt, the subcommittee often used guilt by accusation to besmirch its victims. By 1957, some six million individuals had been investigated by various related agencies and committees because of alleged sympathies to the Communist cause. Out of those, only a small handful were ever convicted.

McCarthy offered no hard evidence for his ceaseless claims, but many people nevertheless took them at face value. Reelected in 1952, McCarthy began a full-scale assault on anyone he deemed subversive. Finally, in March 1954, the esteemed Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) newsman Edward R. Murrow aired a special program on his television series, *See It Now.* He titled the special "A Report on Senator Joseph P. McCarthy," and he and producer Fred R. Friendly did the show at their own expense. CBS and its sponsors took a hands-off attitude toward the production, and the CBS "eye" logo was not to be seen. Despite its lack of network and commercial support, the presentation gave viewers a rare picture of the senator, most of it in his own words, and most of them damning. His crude, intimidating attacks on individuals and institutions smacked of a tyrant, a browbeater, a thug.

McCarthy implied that Murrow himself was a Communist sympathizer. Undeterred, McCarthy included the U.S. Army Signal Corps as one of his targets. During the televised hearings with the Army shortly after his exchanges with Murrow, McCarthy's charges went unsubstantiated.



Senator Joseph McCarthy appearing before a group of newsmen on December 3, 1953, in Washington, D.C., saying that it is "ridiculous and untrue" that he has challenged President Eisenhower's leadership. Courtesy of Photofest.

The country soon tired of his demagoguery; his influence waned, and the investigations drew to a close.

In 1956, the Senate took away his chairmanship of the investigative committee. The Senate eventually censured him and any remaining influence ended. Joseph McCarthy died in 1957; that same year, the Supreme Court began to restore rights taken away from Americans by the "Red Scare" brought about by his hearings, and the term "McCarthyism" has come to mean unfair, unsupported attacks on individuals by governmental groups, especially Congressional committees.[10]

FEARS ABOUT COMMUNISM

With a distant war in Korea being waged against Communist adversaries, and McCarthy's claims of Communist infiltration at all levels of government, a climate of fear and suspicion descended on the nation. In 1950, an organization called AWARE began publishing a newsletter titled *Red Channels;* it purported to identify 151 individuals from the performing arts that the organization found "subversive." No one—neither networks, studios or sponsors—offered to stand up and challenge these vicious attacks, and innocent people found themselves "blacklisted," unable to work in radio, film, or television. For many, the stigma of the blacklist lingered until well into the 1960s, and the damage proved permanent.[11]

This divisive atmosphere struck Hollywood particularly hard. The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), an investigative arm of Congress, seized on the issue of dangerous influences corrupting the nation. Hearings were held, and many Hollywood personalities were summoned to testify. Actors, producers, directors, and writers faced a dilemma: whether or not to inform on their colleagues about possible Communist ties.

The social unrest of the Depression and the country's alliance with Russia during World War II had caused some members of the film community to take an interest in the Communist Party. For most, any real party connections proved slight, often the result of youthful curiosity in years past. The committee felt otherwise, however, and pursued a selected group of writers and producers with relentless tenacity. Ten individuals, the so-called Hollywood Ten, were cited for contempt of Congress in 1947 and blacklisted, an action that put their careers in tatters. Of course, Russia and China had been American allies in World War II, but now, in an ironic twist, the two countries were demonized as America's implacable enemies. Those persons with past or present associations with either country found themselves branded as traitors.

A sensitive film that addressed the issue of informing was director Elia Kazan's *On the Waterfront* (1954). Marlon Brando burnished his acting reputation in this movie, portraying a young boxer who must deal with conflicting loyalties. Kazan had been deeply involved in the hearings and did indeed offer evidence that proved detrimental to some of his colleagues. His film indirectly commented on the whole process and its impact on belief systems.

Don Siegel's *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* (1956), a disturbing film from the blacklisting period, worked on a different level from *On the Waterfront.* In the movie mysterious pods from outer space descend on a community, ingeniously taking over the physical appearance of its inhabitants. Who can be trusted? Who can be believed? Who is what he or she appears to be? The script played off of McCarthy-era fears and the "Red Scare" they precipitated.

For example, in 1953, the popular syndicated columnist Walter Winchell asserted that none other than Lucille Ball, star of *I Love Lucy* and one of the most popular women in America, had been a Communist. This occurred during the McCarthy hearings, when such claims could sink a career. In a moving denial, her husband Desi Arnaz addressed the charge publicly—on television, just before the beginning of one of the *I Love Lucy* shows. In response, the audience gave him a standing ovation, and the matter disappeared. More often, the taint of Communism proved fatal, true or untrue. Had Ball's show not been the most popular one on television, it seems doubtful she would have received any support.

THE EISENHOWER YEARS AND THE RISE OF TELEVISION

Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969) was a seasoned military leader elected to the presidency in 1952, and his conservative, patriarchal approach to a dangerous world reassured nervous citizens. His golf game, his weekend painting, and even his health problems elicited more popular attention than did his abilities as a leader. For most Americans, he presented an image of calm authority. The decade marked, in fact, the increasing use of public relations and advertising techniques in the political arena. That Eisenhower could project such a picture of fatherly confidence overshadowed the difficulties he had articulating issues, and Americans voted their preference for imagery over content in both the 1952 and 1956 presidential elections.

The importance of strong media ties could be seen in the Republican and Democratic national conventions held in July 1952. The first such political conventions to be televised, delegates were aware of cameras and microphones everywhere, and their presence had a clear effect. Little deal making could take place outside the range of the omnipresent cameras, a decided change from the smoke-filled rooms of the past. As Republican enthusiasm for Eisenhower grew, the unblinking gaze of the national media helped him win on the first ballot. On the Democratic side, it took three ballots to nominate Adlai Stevenson, even though the party did not wish to appear divided to a national television audience.

In the midst of the 1952 campaign, Eisenhower's running mate, California Senator Richard M. Nixon, was accused of improperly using funds and accepting gifts. Alarmists urged Eisenhower to drop Nixon from the ticket. In response, Nixon turned to television and delivered his famous "Checkers" speech, a moment in television history that illustrated the enormous power the medium could wield. An estimated audience of 58 million heard and saw his denials. "Checkers" was a cute cocker spaniel, a gift Nixon challenged anyone to take from his daughters. His somewhat melodramatic defense played well; audiences viewed the charges against him as ham-handed attempts by overzealous Democrats to discredit him. In short, popular imagery overrode any reasoned investigation. Eisenhower retained Nixon in his campaign, and the two savored a strong victory.[12]

THE CULTURAL FERMENT OF THE 1950s

For many American intellectuals, the specter of an undifferentiated mass culture that could lead public opinion seemed far more frightening than any Russian warhead. They saw the nation falling into a kind of mindless conformity, accepting without question the nightly offerings of network television, along with Top 40 radio programming and big box office movies. Those elements, coupled with the paternalistic philosophy of the Eisenhower administration, created undercurrents of dissent and revolt that simmered throughout the decade.

Jack Kerouac set out to rewrite the American novel, Jackson Pollock challenged his fellow artists with abstract "drip paintings," and the suspect insolence of Elvis Presley and James Dean bothered many. Marlon Brando sweated and grunted to

TIME MAN OF THE YEAR

1950 "G.I. Joe" (the average American solider)

1951 Mohammed Mossadegh (prime minister of Iran)

1952 Queen Elizabeth II (queen of the United Kingdom)

1953 Konrad Adenauer (West German chancellor)

1954 John Foster Dulles (secretary of state)

1955 Harlow H. Curtice (president of General Motors)

1956 The Hungarian Freedom Fighter

1957 Nikita Khrushchev (Soviet leader)

1958 Charles de Gaulle (president of France)

1959 Dwight D. Eisenhower (34th president of the United States)

the delight of adolescents everywhere, and Charlie Parker and Dizzy Gillespie took jazz places it had never been before. True, Ernest Hemingway's heroes still adhered to a manly code of behavior, Norman Rockwell's *Saturday Evening Post* covers continued to captivate millions, Gary Cooper represented all that was good in the western myth, Perry Como crooned in a reassuring baritone, and good old traditional Dixieland Jazz enjoyed something of a revival. Depending on one's focus during the fifties, the decade could seem complacent and conformist, or it could be filled with threatening change and shrill individuals who turned their backs on anything held dear by generations of Americans.

For the average American, however, the intellectual debates of the era occurred offstage, unseen and unheard. With the reality of the Cold War intruding into daily lives, the thought of a cultural consensus sounded reassuring, not threatening. Rock 'n' roll seemed far more challenging to worried parents than discussions of cultural hegemony. Added to this were the changes brought about by civil rights legislation, by school integration, and by a sense of rebellion on the part of youth across the nation. Nothing was as it used to be.[13]

Advertising of the 1950s

In days past, except for the occasional traveling salesman or print enticements found in newspapers and magazines, the home served as a sanctuary from merchants and their wares. With the advent of commercial radio in the thirties and forties, the haven of home had been breached. The rise of television in the late 1940s presented a potent new venue. It did not take long for TV to surpass both magazines and radio in advertising volume and profits, although, in an era of consumption, the public needed little urging to go out and buy goods and services.

PRINT ADVERTISING AND PACKAGING

During the 1950s, improved reproduction technologies allowed print to continue as a major advertising medium in newspapers and magazines, despite the fierce competition of radio and television. (See Books, Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics of the 1950s.) Print advertising allowed the reader the luxury of reading and rereading text that carried both informational and emotive content, while radio and TV spots were limited to fleeting, one-time responses. It did not take long for advertisers to exploit these inherent differences. An automobile advertisement in a magazine, for example, might have mentioned exact horsepower and engine specifications; the same vehicle in a TV spot would have given images of speed and power instead, with little accompanying information. Similarly, food promotions in print, while they could give an attractive picture of the item, would have told the reader about nutrition and might even have included a recipe. That same food, on television, would have been presented in such a way as to make the viewer salivate, but the likelihood of detailed information was slim.[1]

The fifties witnessed extraordinary growth among those manufacturers responsible for all the bottles, aerosols, bubble-packs, cartons, and boxes: by 1959, packaging stood alongside print advertising as a significant industry in its own right. Food featured sealed plastic bags and pressurized cans, with eye-catching slogans like "quick 'n' easy," "heat 'n' serve," "bound to please," and "ready in no time." Hand lotion flowed from dispensers with pumps, thumb tacks were displayed in fancy packages, drugs arrived in brightly labeled plastic vials, and underwear came wrapped in cellophane packs of three.

Because many items exhibited little outward difference, it became imperative that the ads promoting the product on the package persuade the customer that the item was "more convenient," "easier to use," "stronger," "neater," "cleaner," "fresher," or possessed any number of other improvements

on the norm. Even standard sizes went through semantic shifts, with "large" becoming "economy size" and "small" evolving into "personal size.

Self-service increasingly emerged as the way consumers purchased goods in stores; the once knowledgeable and friendly grocery clerk or shop owner ready to help the shopper was replaced by employees not necessarily trained to assist customers. Consumers therefore relied on advertising for both information and the stimulus to buy; packaging at times assumed greater significance than the item itself.

RADIO ADVERTISING

As an advertising medium, radio underwent a significant decline during the fifties; it fell from 9 percent of all ad dollars in 1952 to stabilize at approximately 6 percent in 1959. Television emerged as the big winner, rising from 6 percent of all ad dollars in 1952 to 13 percent in 1960.[2]

Short, catchy jingles, long a staple of radio commercials, continued as a primary means of capturing listeners' attention, albeit sometimes on a background, or subliminal, level. Ad agencies occasionally used the same jingle on both TV and radio, such as those used by Pepsi-Cola and Coca-Cola. Familiarity became the key, and media repetition achieved it. The heady days of radio's advertising dominance essentially came to an end in the 1950s, but the medium remained an important carrier of commercial messages.[3]

EARLY TELEVISION ADVERTISING

Advertisers came warily to television in the early fifties. The charges for sponsoring a show seemed astronomical compared to radio, as much as 10 times higher. The production costs for TV commercials greatly exceeded those charged in radio or print media; moreover, advertisers and their agencies had to produce a visual TV ad.

In the early days of TV, sponsors and their ad agencies took the primary responsibility for the packaging of shows. That power led to abuses, especially in the area of censorship. A car manufacturer might have objected to a competitor's vehicles being shown, or a cigarette company might have rejected the sight of anyone smoking pipes or cigars. The situation changed toward the end of the decade, sparked by the quiz show scandals of 1958–1959, when the networks took over more of the decision making. The creation and production of new series fell more and more to packagers that had no connection to sponsors or networks. Ultimately, ad agencies found themselves reduced to buying time and had little control over content. (See Entertainment of the 1950s.)

The commercials themselves reflected the growth of television. The early 1950s witnessed a variety of cartoons and animations as producers capitalized on TV's ability to show movement. Ajax Cleanser had its "pixies," little creatures that demonstrated the product's effectiveness, and Autolite featured endless rows of marching sparkplugs, thanks to stop-action filming techniques. Later, Speedy Alka-Seltzer, a friendly little character, showed how the product would make a person feel better, and the Jolly Green Giant's "Ho, ho, ho" echoed throughout homes everywhere. Charlie the Tuna epitomized the cool hipster, right down to his beret, Mr. Clean's muscled strength could overcome the worst spills and stains, and the Pillsbury Doughboy personified cuteness.

Live action figured prominently in the formative years of TV commercials. The Men from Texaco introduced Milton Berle, the star of *Texaco Star Theater* (1948–1953), one of television's first real hits. In 1951, the famous Budweiser Clydesdales came to television. Although they had represented the brewery since the nineteenth century, they proved an instant hit and have been appearing in Budweiser commercials ever since. Unfortunately, few of these early commercials survived to the present day. No one saw any reason to preserve them, so aside from some snowy kinescopes, a visual record of an important part of popular culture will always remain incomplete.[4]

GROWTH IN TELEVISION ADVERTISING

By mid-decade, Americans mastered, via television, a new language of consumerism. The incessant growth brought certain costs. Most television commercials in the early 1950s ran for a full minute, sometimes more, allowing mini-stories to be told, ideas worked out, humor developed, a wealth

of details included. But production costs and ad time on television did not come cheap; by the end of the 1950s, producers spent, on average, anywhere from $10,000 to $20,000 for a one-minute ad. In contrast, a minute of content for an entertainment show cost around $2,000. As a result, television ads shrank to 30 seconds of airtime.[5]

Annual U.S. spending for advertising rose from $5.7 billion in 1950 to almost $12 billion at decade's end. Newspapers and television together consumed almost two-thirds of the advertising dollar; the remainder was divided among magazines, radio, direct mail, outdoor, and other miscellaneous outlets. Television managed only a paltry $41 million in ad revenues in 1950. By 1952, it swelled to $336 million and began to close in on radio's ad income ($473 million). Furthermore, TV reached a truly national market in its advertising, whereas both radio and newspapers served more local clients. At mid-decade, television became the leading carrier for national advertising; by 1959, a single national TV spot could penetrate 90 percent of American homes something no other medium could accomplish. Ad revenues had surged to over $1.5 billion, second only to newspaper advertising.[6] Automobiles counted among the most heavily promoted products during the 1950s; out of the top ten TV advertisers, nine manufactured motor vehicles. General Motors reigned as the single biggest advertiser in the United States, although giant Procter & Gamble's products did place second in overall



Betty Furness displaying a refrigerator. In the 1950s, especially earlier in the decade, commercials were often broadcast live. Courtesy of Photofest.

expenditures. Individually, however, Procter & Gamble's ads for Camay, Crisco, Prell, Tide, and other brands did not equal the amounts spent on Chevrolets, Oldsmobiles, and Buicks.[7] (See Travel of the 1950s.)

American television exploited the renown and talents of major show business personalities: Eddie Fisher sipped Coca-Cola; Henry Fonda touted beer; Frank Sinatra crooned about shampoo; Jack Benny plugged just about anything; and Lucille Ball and Desi Arnaz, TV's most popular couple, smoked Philip Morris cigarettes on camera. Even acclaimed film director Alfred Hitchcock, the sardonic host of *Alfred Hitchcock Presents* (1955–1965), entered into the commercial side of television production. He made deprecating remarks about Bristol-Myers, his longtime sponsor, and viewers loved it—as did Bristol-Myers—because his put-downs of the company's ads made them memorable. The seemingly daring jabs amused his audiences, and no one informed them that they had all been carefully scripted; in the meantime, the sponsor happily watched sales increase. The endless endorsements of celebrities like these created a strong link between consumerism and entertainment, and celebrities emerged as effective salespeople.

While celebrities promoted products on television in the 1950s, unknowns became celebrities as a result of their work in commercials. Betty Furness, an actress appearing on television in the late 1940s, became an extremely popular spokeswoman for Westinghouse appliances throughout the 1950s and also hosted talk shows on television and on radio as well as appearing on programs. She was a smart, authoritative, and attractive woman, in an era where women in commercials were too often merely attractive mannikins.

MEDIA AND THE MESSAGE

Regardless of the medium carrying the message, American advertising during the 1950s presented endless images of the good life. An ad for floor wax might be staged in a kitchen that most consumers only dreamed of; but the imagery came across clearly: use this product and your kitchen will resemble the one in the ad. Fantasy, social values, and the hard sell came together unlike in any previous era. Borrowing a device long employed by car manufacturers and the fashion industry, promoters of a wide range of consumer goods began to espouse planned obsolescence in their ads. The product might not really need replacement, but the new model had to be an improvement over the old version. Watch makers recommended having a "wardrobe" of timepieces, one for every occasion. Appliance manufacturers began to make their previously all-white washers and dryers in a rainbow of fashionable colors—they might not wash or dry any better, but they fit better into the modern home than plain old white.

With incomes rising and the economy booming, "No money down, attractive terms!" seemed a reasonable way to accumulate goods. Ads promoted trading old furniture for new, along with carpeting, appliances, and a host of other products. "Why be tied down to old, out-of-style furniture [or anything else]?" the argument went. "Trade-in now and get the latest styles."

QUESTIONING THE MESSAGE

A downside to the decade-long buying spree of the fifties involved customer dissatisfaction with many of the products bought. In their rush to keep store inventories up, manufacturers sometimes skimped on the quality of the merchandise. New homeowners had to contend with leaks and faulty wiring as construction crews rushed to finish tract houses. Relentless consumer demand caused most manufacturers and distributors to deem such complaints as minor annoyances. Unfortunately, the broad questions of quality and assurance went largely unaddressed during the 1950s as developers and contractors tried even harder to sell more goods, shoddy or not.

Author Vance Packard released *The Hidden Persuaders* in 1957. This best-selling book claimed that all manner of colors, shapes, concealed symbols, and other devious devices in advertising manipulated the consumer. Packard's work served as a damning indictment of advertising, and led to calls for investigations into industry methodologies. The thought that advertising might affect people on a subliminal level stimulated considerable public debate.[8]

ADVERTISING SLOGANS OF THE 1950s

"Takes a licking and keeps on ticking," Timex watches, 1952*

"You're in good hands with Allstate," Allstate, 1951

"Tastes good like a cigarette should," Winston cigarettes, 1954*

"Aren't you glad you use Dial? Don't you wish everybody did?" Dial soap, 1953

"Does she . . . or doesn't she?" Clairol hair coloring, 1956*

"The man in the Hathaway shirt," Hathaway shirts, 1951*

"Look, Mom! No cavities!" Crest toothpaste, 1958*

"See the U.S.A. in your Chevrolet," Chevrolet, 1951*

"They're gr-r-reat!" Kellogg's Frosted Flakes*

"Think Small," Volkswagen, 1959*

"The Marlboro Man," Marlboro, 1955*

"Sometimes you feel like a nut, sometimes you don't," Mounds and Almond Joy candy bars, 1953*

"Melts in your mouth, not in your hand," M&Ms, 1954*

"A little dab'll do ya," Brylcreem, 1950s*

"Silly Rabbit, Trix are for kids," Trix cereal, 1959

"Leave the driving to us," Greyhound Lines, Inc., 1957*

"Double your pleasure, double your fun," Wrigley's Doublemint Gum, 1959

*Among *Advertising Age's* "The Advertising Century: Top 100 Advertising Campaigns," http://adage.com/century/campaigns.html.

Packard's claims were not really new—other books and articles had come to the same conclusions—but *The Hidden Persuaders* struck a responsive chord. Despite their ferocious consumerism, a majority of Americans tended to distrust the very ads that urged them to buy, buy, buy. But little, beyond debate that revealed some popular misgivings about the advertiser's trade, came from the book's revelations. One title in particular summed up the popular image of the advertising executive: Sloan Wilson's *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* (1955). Although the hero of this best-selling novel actually worked in public relations, its title contributed a phrase to the American lexicon. It also furthered the popular apprehension that advertising and public relations, or "Madison Avenue," the New York street commonly associated with many such agencies, were inherently manipulative and dishonest.

ADVERTISING AND WOMEN

Throughout the twentieth century, most shopping and spending—upwards of 80 or 90 percent by most estimates—was done by women. Thus, many ads of the 1950s targeted women. Most advertising agencies consisted of men, however, a discrepancy that led to ad copy written by males but meant for women. American advertising exhibited rampant stereotyping and gender bias throughout the decade, and the idea that a woman should live for her husband and family became a dominant image. It all fit in with the outward conservatism and conformity that characterized the period.[9] By emphasizing the image of women as housekeepers, ads depicted women as virtual servants, serving meals, doing dishes, cleaning, dusting, and vacuuming. Some humorously asked, "Who does all this work?" and then answered the question with a picture of an attractive, well-dressed, aproned, high-heeled woman of indeterminate age. The woman of the 1950s, at least in much American advertising, functioned as little more than stylish help.

But domestic help with a difference: her portrayal also included decision making. Not only did the American woman shop in 1950s advertising, but she also decided what would be purchased. Big-ticket items, like appliances, television sets, and even automobiles, were displayed with a fashionable woman choosing this or that model. Males may have been present, but they functioned as background filler, not as major players. Manufacturers and their advertising agencies eagerly bought into the concept of the woman as primary selector and arbiter of family wants and needs.



From a typical print ad of the 1950s for Formica, a well-dressed woman arranges a vase of flowers in her spotless kitchen, because all of her housework has been finished, "thanks to the easily wipeable Formica surfaces." Getty Images.

General Mills's maternal trademark, Betty Crocker, also underwent a facelift in the 1950s. It did not mark the first or last time, but marketing experts at the food company wanted to express a warmer, less professional look than the one then gracing boxes of their cake mix. They felt that their corporate logo should suggest everyone's image of "mother," but a more stylish one, a helpful, loving person who could dispense advice without intimidating.

The new Betty Crocker had a touch of gray at the temples, a broader smile, and she seemed happy. In response to changing media demands, Betty Crocker also took on television. *The Betty Crocker Television Show* ran 1950–1951, and *The Betty Crocker Star Matinee* came along in 1952. Impersonated by actress Adelaide Hawley, millions of viewers accepted her as "real," a situation that reflected the power of repeated advertising.

Mom, portrayed in advertisements such as those with Betty Crocker, was in charge and decisive and presided over a happy home. She did not go to an office. She went shopping—to buy more goods. In truth, by 1957, women comprised a third of the workforce, so the happy housewife with endless time to shop existed as a part of popular mythology. The push for ease and efficiency led to many advertising campaigns in the 1950s, both print and broadcast, that involved more than just items for the kitchen. Automatic transmissions in cars, wrinkle-free clothing, easy-to-use wallpapers, and quick-drying paints were counted among the many products aimed at the busy woman.

CHILDREN AND ADVERTISING

Next to women (and often posed with them), children occupied an important niche in 1950s advertising. The ages of consumers made little difference, and children were seen as especially vulnerable to persuasive messages. For example, Ovaltine, the venerable chocolate drink, targeted the youthful viewers of its popular television series, *Captain Midnight* (1954–1956), a show that had previously run as a popular serial on radio (1939–1949). The use of premiums to lure larger audiences dated back to early broadcasting, and Ovaltine chose to carry on the tradition. TV viewers, just like the generation of avid radio listeners before them, could obtain decoder rings that deciphered secret messages, badges, identity cards, and official membership certificates by purchasing jars of Ovaltine and saving the labels that served as cash toward these gifts. Only a handful of other sponsors followed suit, however, and the practice declined during the decade. (See Entertainment of the 1950s.)

Advertising aimed at children also freely used cartoon figures, such as Kellogg's Tony the Tiger for Frosted Flakes in 1955, and Snap! Crackle! Pop! for Rice Krispies. These were but the first of a vast menagerie of animated characters that would entice children on television screens and packages for decades to come.

The usual products, such as baby food, candy, bath powders, soaps, toys, and games, consistently employed children as the focus of their advertising.

The helpless, or hapless, father-male lurked in the background. He beamed proudly, but his role remained clearly a secondary one. Less likely products—automobiles, tires, television sets, appliances, furniture—also showed children to broaden their appeal, especially to women. Stereotyping, however, continued to plague such advertising. Little boys were depicted roughhousing, playing sports, or working with tools, whereas little girls served tea from miniature pots, pretended to clean house, or played nurse. Ads with adolescents continued in this mode. The idea of gender-appropriate behaviors, so ingrained in the American psyche, saw little change during the 1950s.[10]

MEN AND ADVERTISING

Despite the emphases placed on women in advertising, men appeared in many ads of the 1950s, and more often than not they did manly things. They raced cars, slugged baseballs, hunted, or built something, usually in the company of other men. Although women portrayed in American advertising excelled as housekeepers, shoppers, or consumers, they somehow seemed at a loss when it came to comprehending how complex things worked. It still took male expertise—traditional male authority—to conquer the inner workings of mechanical devices or to explain complex topics, like current events and finances.

For example, popular newscaster John Cameron Swayze, in a long-running series of ads commencing in 1952, touted the indestructibility of Timex watches ("it takes a licking and keeps on ticking"), insinuating it took more than style to market a wristwatch. Actor Ed Reimers for many years told people that they were in the "good hands" of Allstate insurance, his rich baritone voice assuring viewers that a man understands a whole life policy. In these instances, the actors carried on the theme of the square-jawed, decisive, and self-sufficient male.

Women, if present at all in this kind of ad, usually looked on, but they seldom participated. On the other hand, when 1950s advertising dealt with domestic themes and deigned to include men, the situation reversed: it was the man who became the nonparticipant. He loafed on a chaise lounge while his wife gardened; he was ensconced in an easy chair while household activities occurred around him. For whatever reasons, advertisers seemed reluctant to portray men as assisting in the duties of the home, although occasionally an ad would portray mom, dad, and the kids enjoying a product together.



An advertisement illustrated with a family playing musical instruments. Everybody, even the baby in the high chair, has a bottle of 7-Up soda, 1950. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

MINORITIES AND ADVERTISING

One area of ad stereotyping that changed in the fifties involved the depiction of African Americans. With blacks breaking previously inviolate color lines in sports and entertainment, and with civil rights beginning to inch forward, people found the old derogatory images—the shuffling, cartoonish figures of the recent past—offensive. Words like "Sambo," "Uncle," and "pickaninny," along with demeaning uses of dialect, gradually disappeared from ad copy of the 1950s, although companies continued to wrestle with how best to portray

CIGARETTE ADVERTISING

Surveys in the postwar era showed just how widespread smoking had become. Almost half of all Americans—60 percent males, 30 percent women—smoked at least a pack of cigarettes a day. In 1954, however, the American Medical Association (AMA) issued a study based on the smoking habits of 188,000 men. In it, the AMA established a link between smoking and the incidence of cancer. The gist of this report ran in the high-circulation *Reader's Digest,* forcing an immediate response from the tobacco industry. In full-page newspaper ads, spokesmen denied any correspondences between smoking and cancer.

In 1954, Winston Cigarettes appeared, backed by the slogan "tastes good, like a cigarette should." Much to R. J. Reynolds's delight, the grammar upset some purists (the "like" should be "as," they claimed), and Winston emerged as a major brand in a crowded field, soon occupying the top spot among filter brands.

Another classic ad campaign that occurred at this time involved the Marlboro Man. Marlboro cigarettes had originally appeared in 1924, marketed as a cigarette appropriate for sophisticated women. The brand never did particularly well, and so Phillip Morris, the maker of Marlboros, decided to redo its faltering product in 1954.

In 1955, the revamped Marlboros came out; advertisements pushed them as "masculine," a smoke for "rugged men" with "man-sized flavor," and packaged in a sturdy "flip-top box" that would not cave in and could be opened with one hand. Thanks to a massive saturation campaign, the Marlboro Man—a tall, lean westerner in leather and denim—soon evolved into a national icon. Immediately identifiable, his smoking was associated with manly pursuits, and Marlboros rose to become one of the most popular cigarette brands in the United States.

minority groups. Most major advertisers chose not to depict African Americans or any minority ethnic groups at all. As a result, a significant portion of the population received no acknowledgment, rendering them all but invisible. When blacks did receive some recognition, it occurred too often around products with racial associations, such as hair straighteners and bleaching creams, items that appeared primarily in limited (i.e., nonwhite) markets.

TOOTHPASTE ADVERTISING

Some of the most hotly fought ad campaigns of the fifties involved toothpastes. At the beginning of the 1950s, Colgate-Palmolive's toothpaste led the way with the jingle: "It cleans your breath while it cleans your teeth." For most of the decade, Colgate outsold all others.

HUMOR IN ADVERTISING

Some advertising in the 1950s, especially that aimed at the newly affluent middle class, used deadpan humor. Because readers could linger over them, such ads more often appeared in magazines. Television exposure was deemed too brief for appropriate understanding, although that attitude softened as the decade progressed and viewers became more media-literate. For example, in 1956 the first Clairol advertisements appeared, created by the advertising agency of Foote, Cone and Belding, and sporting the now-famous line, "Does she . . . or doesn't she?" Despite the clever innuendo, the question referred to the use of hair coloring, and "only her hairdresser knows for sure." Not only was the copy unique, so, too, was the subject: in the 1950s fewer than 10 percent of women would admit to coloring their hair. Both the ads and the product were runaway successes, and Clairol would dominate the field until almost the end of the century.

The Volkswagen "Think Small" ad campaign of 1959, created by the Doyle, Dane, Bernbach advertising agency, showed a black-and-white picture of the Volkswagen Beetle and was distinctive in its honesty and wry humor, unusual for the period, and for the type of ad copy usually run for automobiles. Instead of equating their car with masculine prestige, or family use, the ad suggested the Beetle's unique and unusual qualities.

For their part, Procter & Gamble brought out Crest toothpaste in 1955. Searching for a gimmick to attract the public, Procter & Gamble discovered "Fluoristan." In the early fifties, the government included sodium fluoride in most municipal drinking water. Fluoride had been demonstrated an effective dental decay preventative. The compound reduced the number of cavities among Americans with fluoride-treated water by 50 percent. Wisely sensing the public goodwill toward fluoride, Procter & Gamble in 1956 began marketing Crest as containing stannous fluoride or Fluoristan, as they christened it.

Fluoristan was coupled with a memorable phrase "Look, Mom! No cavities!" in 1958. Crest took off in sales. Numerous photographers, along with the immensely popular illustrator Norman Rockwell, created a series of television, magazine and newspaper ads of delighted kids proclaiming their absence of cavities. The Food and Drug Administration (FDA) soon gave the toothpaste its seal of approval, but because millions had already been buying Crest for years, the FDA's blessing only heightened its success.[11]

TRADING STAMPS

In 1951, a Denver grocery store began offering S&H Green Stamps. Trading stamps had first appeared at the end of the nineteenth century as a means to promote sales among participating merchants. They flourished during the Depression years, but their use fell off during World War II. The idea came around again in the 1950s and found shoppers eager to collect them. The early success of S&H Green Stamps spurred the giant Kroger supermarket chain to join with six other firms to introduce their own Top Value Stamps in 1955.

By the end of the decade, more than 80 percent of all American families were collecting trading stamps, receiving one stamp for every ten cents spent. Redemption centers sprouted like weeds, and every enterprise, from gas stations to department stores, offered them. The three-inch-by-five-inch book of stamps became a ubiquitous part of American shopping. As a rule, it took 1,200 stamps to fill one book, or $120 in purchases. The cash value of a filled book was about $3, so people had to redeem a lot of books for even small items. Items that stamp collectors could "redeem" with the stamp books included small appliances, such as toasters, electric frying pans, and hairdryers, but also baby cribs, baseball mitts, and many other items. Some 250 to 500 different stamp companies operated during the 1950s, generating over half a billion dollars in revenue.[12]

PUBLIC RELATIONS

A close relative of advertising, public relations enjoyed phenomenal growth during the 1950s. By promoting corporate and organization identity instead of products or services, the image of the parent company became as important as the product. This led to a new term: "image advertising." Many manufacturers wanted to stress the company itself, especially those that made numerous products.

The DuPont Corporation, a giant chemical conglomerate, sponsored both *The DuPont Theater* (1956–1957) and *The DuPont Show of the Month* (1957–1961) on television. In carefully nuanced messages instead of traditional commercials, DuPont spokesmen talked of corporate responsibilities, commitment to excellence, and the role of a large company in serving its employees and families. General Electric, in like manner, spent millions on *The General Electric Theater* (1953–1962) extolling its many roles within the community, not the least of which was that of a major defense contractor dedicated to the security of the nation. Incidentally, GE featured Ronald Reagan as the genial host of the series, a position that catapulted him to political fame. AT&T, General Motors, U.S. Steel, Standard Oil, Ford Motor Company, and numerous other large industrial leaders took similar approaches, intent on getting out a message that cast a positive light on their activities.

POLITICS, PUBLIC RELATIONS, AND ADVERTISING

Politics is an area that blurs the lines between advertising, public relations, and popular culture. The 1952 presidential campaign, pitting Republican Dwight Eisenhower against Democrat Adlai Stevenson, marked the first large-scale use of

both print and broadcast appeals for candidates and parties. This innovation became especially apparent in Eisenhower's quest for the presidency. General Eisenhower had, in 1948, authored a best-selling book titled *Crusade in Europe*. Written prior to his candidacy, the book chronicled the Allies' victory in World War II and his role as Supreme Commander, and its popular success brought him further public acclaim.

Eisenhower's run for the presidency employed the resources of Batten, Barton, Durstine, and Osborne (or BBD&O), a large New York advertising firm. Immediately capitalizing on the popularity of the general and his book, his candidacy would be called a "great crusade," and BBD&O began to focus on images instead of issues. Eisenhower—or "Ike," as millions fondly remembered him from his days during the war—was presented as a trusted soldier, one whose fatherly wisdom could simplify complex issues, but not too fatherly: the image-makers wanted Eisenhower to also be personable and appear in full command of his powers. In his TV spots, he read from large cue cards, so he would not have to wear glasses and appear elderly, and the familiar "We Like Ike" became the cheer of his supporters.

Stevenson, on the other hand, attempted to discuss the problems of the day, saying there were no easy choices, no pat explanations, in the Cold War era. But he came across as too smart, too distant. He lacked the folksy touch BBD&O worked relentlessly to associate with Ike. One commentator dredged up an old term used to denigrate an overly learned person: "egghead." It stuck, and Stevenson could never shake the image of an intellectual out of touch with the people.[13]

Eisenhower won in a landside. The campaign illustrated to all the power of image-based advertising, especially in politics and on television. The candidates spent tens of millions of dollars getting their messages out, far more than in any previous presidential race. Henceforth, American election campaigns and American politics would never be the same.

Architecture

of the 1950s

After 16 years of depression (1929–1945), recession, and war, Americans stood poised to embark on the biggest building and buying binge the world had ever seen. The return of millions of veterans, stoked by pent-up demand and available money, set the stage. As industry turned back to civilian needs, builders and developers could barely meet the demand for new housing. The result was the mass production of standardized middle-class dwellings in huge suburban tracts. The ubiquitous ranch house emerged as a popular icon of the 1950s, while commercial architecture and innovative design frequently took a back seat in this rush to build.

COMMERCIAL ARCHITECTURE

For most Americans, any growth in commercial architecture during the 1950s seemed incidental to their primary interest: acquiring a home of their own. Nevertheless, the decade-long construction boom consisted of more than just personal residences; the skylines of most cities also underwent change.

Elite architects like Philip Johnson, Eero Saarinen, Edward Durrell Stone, Frank Lloyd Wright, and the firm of Skidmore, Owings & Merrill (featuring Gordon Bunshaft, in particular) busily signed contracts and watched their works rise across America. For the fifties, among commercial structures large and small, the glass box emerged as the dominant form.

The glass-fronted office or shop became commonplace, a direct outgrowth of the International Style, but the majority lacked any particular distinction. Extruded aluminum framing, maybe an inset panel or two of colored anodized aluminum, along with glass and anonymous detailing characterized these diluted interpretations of the style. But it served as a cheap, fast way to create commercial spaces, and people liked the openness it gave the businesses enclosed within. Supermarkets, banks, insurance firms, loan agencies, car dealerships, gas stations, department stores, and myriad other commercial establishments quickly adapted to this kind of modernism.

THE SHOPPING CENTER AND THE SHOPPING MALL

Voracious demand and extra dollars in the postwar years signaled that consumers wanted quantity, variety, and convenience. Also, the continuing move to the suburbs by so many middle-class families meant they lived a distance from urban downtowns, the traditional location for shopping. Out of all this emerged big urban and suburban shopping centers consisting of vast paved parking

lots with numerous structurally related shops and stores clustered in the middle. Later came more sophisticated shopping malls, an architectural original that clustered stores around a central hub and often featured a climate-controlled environment.

Throughout the 1950s, outlying rural property that bordered cities could still be found in most places at reasonable prices. These open tracts offered endless free parking, and the space to build huge stores and an array of specialty shops. The thirties and forties had seen the rise of the strip shopping center, usually a small parking area and a long row of businesses that abutted a street or highway. The new shopping centers and malls of the fifties, however, took that simple concept much further, with many more establishments including large "anchor tenants," such as department stores and supermarkets. Fancy restaurants—as opposed to fast food—were located inside them also. Many included movie theaters, and some offered multiple screens toward the end of the decade. The space allotted for parking grew geometrically, often covering acres of flattened land, further proof of how the automobile had restructured American society.

Victor Gruen, an architect and designer, pioneered the development of the modern day mall. Outside Minneapolis, Minnesota, he created Southdale, a commercial center that was an immediate success when it opened in 1956. Gruen enclosed the entire development under a single roof, giving shoppers constant air-conditioned or heated comfort. In addition, he made it a place for socializing and entertainment by including a large food court. Its widespread acceptance led other communities to demand malls of their own.[1]

ROADSIDE ARCHITECTURE AND THE HIGHWAY

New high-speed, multilane highways increasingly defined American life. People zoomed past commercial establishments and seldom slowed down. Easy access became paramount, and a sophisticated system of signs and symbols guided drivers in their quest for goods and services.

The superhighways linking the nation also brought with them innovative designs for roadside services. The earlier structures shaped like giant pigs, ducks, coffeepots, and flying fish had begun to disappear. Their replacements reflected postwar aspirations to be modern. Some employed unusual and bizarre shapes and colors, along with plastics, stainless steel, fiberglass, neon tubing, and anything else their developers thought would be eye-catching. Triangles instead of rectangles, boomerangs instead of triangles, abstractions instead of boomerangs—everything had to be scaled to the moving automobile.

After the 1956 launch of the Russian space vehicle *Sputnik I,* shapes that suggested the space race became immensely popular. Rocket-like imagery, along with hints of satellites, planets, suns, stars, and constellations appeared with great profusion. Atomic designs followed close behind—atoms, complete with rotating neutrons and protons, sparkled above even the most mundane of enterprises.

Collectively, this constituted an architecture of wonder, almost anti-gravitational in its effects, and brought about by advances in building technology. Plastics led the way; their malleability, the ease with which they could be molded into infinite shapes, lent them to creative design. Nowhere was freeform architecture better displayed than on the trendsetting West Coast, especially in drive-in restaurants and diners.

THE SIGN AS SYMBOL

In another bow to the highway, commercial signs grew to monumental size in order to be seen from greater distances while traveling at high speeds. In fact, architects conceived of the entire structure as an integrated sign—from the orange roofs on a Howard Johnson's to the golden arches of a McDonald's. Broad expanses of glass allowed a view into the interior and all that transpired there, a kind of billboard to advertise function. This openness suggests a democratization of architecture and a reproach to elitism. Transparent walls mediated between the exterior and the interior, while private space and public space blended into one.

An example of the iconic role signs played can be found in the familiar green and yellow roadside emblem that announced a Holiday Inn during the fifties. Founded in 1954 and still new to many

people, the chain's towering sign featured an exploding star, a huge boomerang arrow, the words "Holiday Inn" in a distinctive script, and a large marquee that advertised coming events, meal specials, perhaps a birthday or anniversary, and ongoing activities within. Its sheer size demanded recognition, and the sign itself became an icon, a visual magnet promising food, shelter, and economy.

Holiday Inns of America, the corporate owners of the chain, recognized the value of their sign and registered it as an official trademark. Although its design and dimensions have changed over the years, the sign is never sold; franchise holders lease it, allowing it to remain the property of the corporation.[2]

Another illustration of the iconic sign would be the famous golden arches of McDonald's hamburger stands. In reality they do not mean or represent anything; they exist simply as shapes—parabolas, to be exact. But they have become associated with the company, with fast food, and have assumed a symbolic meaning of their own. First introduced in 1953 at a new McDonald's in Phoenix, Arizona, the golden arches immediately garnered attention. The growing restaurant chain saw to it that they were replicated in all subsequent stands. With time, the arches have diminished in size, but they continue to symbolize the company and have become the corporate logo. (See Food of the 1950s.)

RESIDENTIAL BUILDING

The triumph of the suburbs and the building of thousands upon thousands of new homes overshadowed all other architectural endeavors. Virtually everything that occurred in American residential architecture and design in the immediate postwar years came to fruition in the 1950s. New technologies allowed architects freedom to create new spaces in house interiors, stronger building materials promised greater durability and weather resistance, and the quest for economical housing meant these advances would be employed on a vast scale.

"Houses of the Future" became a minor fad during the postwar years. Usually sponsored by suppliers and trade groups, these for-display-only homes were shown across the country and drew large crowds. They tended toward the avant-garde in their design, but they incorporated such prefabricated details as plywood for walls, laminated roofs, metal trusses and wall framing, preassembled windows, gypsum-board ceilings, and a host of other innovative structural details. The large picture windows and open interior areas would come to characterize many ranch houses in the ballooning suburbs. Most potential buyers wanted something that, on the exterior at least, looked traditional and resembled the other houses in the neighborhood. Many building advances may have been incorporated into these new homes, but they were not obvious to passersby.

Despite the reluctance of homebuyers to move into anything futuristic in the least, architects continued to display their modernistic concepts. Perhaps the most famous of these varied designs was the all-metal Lustron House. Manufactured between 1948 and 1950, this functional dwelling featured a steel frame with porcelain-enameled steel panels available in six colors. The Lustron House cost roughly $7,000 at the time, a very reasonable price, and about 2,500 were built, some of which remain in use.

Other conceptual homes of the era included the Look House (1948), sponsored by the popular *Look* magazine. *House & Garden* erected the House of Ideas in 1952, and in the following year *Life* magazine underwrote the Trade Secrets House. *Arts and Architecture,* another influential magazine, organized the Case Study House Program; it commissioned architects to design and build modern dwellings that featured the latest in construction details and furnishings. Monsanto's experimental House of the Future (1954), a cruciform-shaped structure constructed of molded plastic, fiberglass, and concrete, became a permanent exhibition at Disneyland in 1957. Major manufacturers furnished the dwelling with futuristic furniture and appliances. The curious gawked at it, but they went home and built brick-and-wood ranch houses with early American detailing. Probably the most significant result that came from these varied designs was an increased utilization of prefabricated components.[3]

RANCH HOUSES AND SPLIT-LEVELS

A postwar power grid that took transmission lines into the open countryside surrounding



Monsanto's "House of the Future" in the Tomorrowland section of Disneyland Park, Anaheim, California, 1957. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

built-up areas, coupled with a growing highway system, made the relentless growth of suburbs possible. Because most adults had access to automobiles, the distance between urban and rural space ceased being an important consideration. Sprawling subdivisions soon sprang up around the perimeters of cities and towns, occupying areas once thought of as "too far away" from city life.

The home design most favored by developers, realtors, and buyers alike has come to be called the ranch house. In the years surrounding World War II, early examples of the style had begun to appear in the San Francisco Bay area, giving rise to the name "California Ranch." In reality, however, many elements contained in the design could be traced to the long, low residences, or Prairie style homes, that Frank Lloyd Wright and his followers pioneered in the early part of the twentieth century. Whether original or derivative, the fifties ranch was basically a one-story rectangle, with the long side facing the street. Employing simple frame construction methods, ranch houses could be easily and economically assembled on site. As a rule, a carport (an open, roofed garage) served to shelter the family car.

A large inefficient picture window on the street side let in heat during the summer and cold during the winter, but because homebuyers wanted it, it became a basic part of the house. As a result, the sales of air conditioners and bigger heating systems surged. In a neighborhood of ranch homes, everyone looked out at one another, and everyone could likewise look in. At the same time, it existed as a sealed environment; ranches did not extend a greeting to those on the street. They had a front entry, but no front porches. Activities were oriented to the backyard for privacy, with a tiny patio behind the house for outdoor family entertaining and dining.

To the millions who bought them during the 1950s, the ranch house symbolized an informal lifestyle. The term "cookout" entered the national vocabulary at this time, and almost overnight, a

cheap, portable charcoal grill became a necessity. The ubiquitous kettle version made its first appearance in 1952, and the aroma of steaks being grilled on the patio became commonplace. It all fit an image of familial togetherness that seldom tolerated significant differences.

Most ranch houses possessed less square footage than the designs they replaced, the foursquares, bungalows, and revivals of the 1920s and 1930s. But they gave the illusion of being spacious and open, and housewives did not have to repeatedly climb stairs to a second floor. Developers marketed them as efficient, pleasant, and casual—attributes homebuyers wanted in the 1950s.

Old favorites like Cape Cods and Colonial Revivals were still built during the decade, but the ranch house and its variants emerged as the overwhelming favorite for the new American suburb. Inexpensive plans abounded: *Better Homes and Gardens* and *House & Garden* both published them. In glowing articles, they espoused the advantages of leisurely living and offered economical blueprints. Its low cost and simplicity made the ranch the ideal starter home, and the prosperity of the fifties allowed more and more Americans to become first-time homeowners.

By the mid-fifties, a popular variation on the style emerged. Considered a "split-level" house, the design typically allowed for a central entrance and a landing at mid-level; one section of the house stood two stories in height, consisting of private bath and bedroom areas on the upper floor and informal areas like the family room on the lowest level. The middle or ground-level section consisted of one story and tended to be more formal, with the living room, dining room and kitchen. The lower level contained a family room and garage or carport. Split-levels provided designated living (public) and sleeping (private) areas and became a favorite in the late 1950s. While managing to retain the simplicity of the ranch style, they accommodated more rooms and increased overall floor space than did ranch houses, yet both could be erected on cramped suburban lots, especially sloped ones.

HOUSE TRAILERS AND MOBILE HOMES

In the immediate postwar years, about eight percent of the population lived in house trailers, a carryover from emergency wartime housing. During the 1950s, trailers grew into "mobile homes"; they went from 8 feet to 10 feet in width, and could hardly be called mobile. The travails of living in this kind of structure were depicted in *The Long, Long Trailer,* a 1954 movie comedy starring Lucille Ball and Desi Arnaz. Riding a crest of popularity because of their hit television series, *I Love Lucy* (1951–1957), the couple tackled any and all stereotypes about trailer living in the film.

Trailer parks, later renamed "Mobile Home Parks" in an attempt to impart a sense of greater permanence, became a part of the American landscape. In terms of modern housing, trailers and mobile homes exemplified true factory prefabrication.[4]

HOUSING GROWTH

In 1945, at the conclusion of the war, about 40 percent of Americans owned homes. Over 50 percent of the new homes sold during most of the decade received financing through Veterans Administration or Federal Housing Administration mortgages. With these incentives, builders erected almost 15 million homes, a new national record. By 1960, 60 percent of Americans owned their own homes. Most middle-class people saw real salary gains and increased buying power during the decade, but not black citizens; their median incomes lingered at about 40 percent of what white people earned. As whites fled to the welcoming suburbs, blacks found themselves confined to the cities, making do with older, often inferior housing. Some developments even had "whites only" clauses built into their contracts, and not until later would these restrictions be dropped. Playwright Lorraine Hansberry captured this dilemma in *A Raisin in the Sun* (1959). An American classic, the play (also a movie in 1961) treated realistically the inequalities that remained manifest in this otherwise prosperous decade.

LEVITTOWN

Across the country, new suburban towns rose seemingly overnight. Communities like Lakewood (outside Los Angeles), Park Forest (outside Chicago), Lexington (outside Boston), and

a number of other huge subdivisions built thousands of homes in the early fifties. But the largest, the most ambitious of all, was Levittown. For many, the name has become synonymous with American suburbia.

In reality, three separate Levittowns exist in the United States. The name acknowledges William J. Levitt, a builder who pioneered the mass production of interchangeable parts for home construction. Levitt and many of his fellow builders gained practice during World War II assembling tracts of temporary housing for defense workers and military families. Preassembled components were trucked directly to sites, where cheap, unskilled workers could put them together. By employing techniques he learned during the war, Levitt reduced the need for expensive skilled labor to about a quarter of the tasks. The construction process, refined and simplified, ranged from painting (each color a separate step) to tile laying. At its peak, a new home went up in Levittown every 15 minutes.[5] In 1947, the first Levittown appeared just below Hicksville, Long Island, on what were once potato fields; it consisted of over 17,000 homes, almost all of them built in a similar one-and-a-half-story Cape Cod style. They provided 800 square feet of living space on a small (60 feet by 100 feet), barren lot. By using a traditional Cape Cod design as his first model, Levitt unwittingly encouraged both the early American and do-it-yourself crazes that swept the suburbs in the 1950s. Although the typical dwelling had no spare space for a home workshop, enterprising woodworkers found a niche in the unfinished attic or in a corner for projects. Despite the initial success with Cape Cods, the public's desire for ranch houses predicated Levitt's second phase. In then rural Bucks County, Pennsylvania, just north of Philadelphia, he created the next Levittown in 1951. As he had done on Long Island, Levitt built some 17,000 ranches, along with schools, parks, and stores. The third and final Levittown, situated just across the Delaware River in Willingboro, New Jersey, also consisted of ranch style homes, about 11,000 of them; construction began in 1958.

Those Cape Cods shared almost identical floor plans, as did the ranches; it kept costs down. The exteriors varied only by degree: a few minor changes in detailing and some choices in colors. As the first Levitt version of the American suburban Dream House took shape in the late forties, it provided buyers a kitchen, bath, living room, and two bedrooms. Upstairs, an unfinished attic space could be converted to additional bedrooms. In an admission of television's growing influence, these early Cape Cods included a built-in 12½-inch TV set and a washing machine already hooked to water lines. Building the TV into a wall and connecting the washer to plumbing made them parts of the house, not separate purchases by the buyer, and qualified them to be part of the mortgage. Major kitchen appliances, like a refrigerator and a stove, also were included in the original purchase price of $7,000–$8,000.[6] Levitt's choice of a ranch style for his subsequent developments reflected changing consumer needs. Slightly more spacious than the earlier Cape Cods, it cost about $9,000. These homes boasted three bedrooms, a necessity for the bigger families most suburbanites desired. Family rooms, spacious areas that allowed for everyone to come together, became a demand item. Likewise, utility rooms designed to hold an automatic washer and a dryer reflected the buying power and consumerist bent of 1950s families. The once ubiquitous backyard clothesline became a relic of the past, as did the old wringer washing machine.

Certainly, conformity characterized the new postwar American suburb. The original Levittown stipulated that homeowners keep their tiny lots tidy and well mowed. And mow they did; in the 1950s the powered rotary mower replaced the old-fashioned hand-powered reel mower. For some, the lawn became an end in itself, a celebration of the final taming of nature. In order for no backyard to detract from its neighbors, laundry could only be done on certain days in certain neighborhoods, and it was to be dried on identical metal racks, not hung from clotheslines. The rules forbade fences, so yards flowed into one another, contributing to the overall anonymity of the development. And to complete the bland neighborhoods, racist covenants for Levittown excluded African Americans, Puerto Ricans, and other ethic minorities from buying homes. If a Levittown homeowner tried to sell a house to someone from a minority group, the seller could be sued by the neighbors.

HOME FALLOUT SHELTERS

As fears about nuclear war increased during the 1950s, many families decided to construct fallout shelters either in their basements or backyards. Such a move supposedly gave protection from nuclear explosions and radioactive fallout to any users. These shelters ranged from elaborate multiroom underground facilities well stocked with food and water to simple cave-like excavations designed to protect a family at the time of the initial blast. Whatever shape the shelter took, the idea gave people pause. Leading popular magazines like *Life* ran articles complete with detailed plans to accommodate this interest, and the government obligingly provided pamphlets with titles such as *You Can Survive, The Family Fallout Shelter,* and *Atomic Attack.*[7]

DESIGN

Designers

A number of designers established names for themselves in the fifties. People like Harry Bertoia (wire furniture), Charles and Ray Eames (laminated plywood and molded plastic "Eames chairs"), George Nelson (storage systems and platform benches), Eero Saarinen (molded fiberglass "Tulip chairs"), and Russel Wright (plastic and ceramic dinnerware, including the popular "American Modern" line) became known to the public. Advertising promoted their names along with their designs, and it was chic to buy a product designed by someone famous and respected.



Man, woman, and child seated in "Kidde Kokoon," an underground bomb shelter, 1955. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

ICONIC ACCESSORIES OF THE 1950s HOME AND OFFICE

The hooded, freestanding fireplace, ideally suited for family rooms, made its first appearance in 1953, and it immediately caught on. "Atomic clocks" also sold well throughout the decade. They featured round faces representing the nucleus of an atom and radiating numbers on spokes that symbolized the rotating particles. Pole lamps relied on a spring-loaded pole that created a snug fit between floor and ceiling. Adjustable reflectors up and down the length of the pole directed light as needed. For the open spaces of a modern house, these fixtures could be placed almost anywhere.

The classic rotary desk telephone was commercially introduced in the early fifties. Because AT&T and Bell Laboratories then held a monopoly on all telephones in use, virtually every American home had at least one of these black plastic instruments. Almost indestructible, there existed no other piece of technology better known to the general public, and its sleek, contemporary lines resonated with the times.

Similarly, the Rolodex rotary card file was introduced in 1958. Completely manual—flip the cards until the desired information comes up—they could be updated or edited easily. Its polished metal and plastic holder seemed to symbolize the modern office. Although the Rolodex predated the personal computer, it remains a valuable tool that employs minimal technology.

The gaudy 1950s jukeboxes, particularly in the models created by Paul Fuller for the Wurlitzer Company, sum up much of the decade's design trends. Brightly lit, with cascading and blinking colors, lots of shiny surfaces, and angles that suggest Detroit cars of the era more than anything else, their flashiness epitomized the era.

Kitchens and Appliances

The immensely popular ranch houses of the 1950s gave considerable attention to kitchens, especially the appliances that would be found there. As a result, this once neglected room emerged as an important display area for modern design. Because most ranches put a premium on available space, the kitchen became home to built-in cabinets and appliances. This emphasis signified a blend of the technologically new and the traditional. Cabinets faced in early American knotty pine with wrought-iron hardware would share space with an advanced, all-electric range.

Much commercial design of the 1950s carried over the Streamline Moderne characteristics developed during the late 1930s and 1940s, but designers found themselves pressed to create a distinctive 1950s look in small appliances and dinnerware. They responded with plain, unadorned pieces, especially in the case of casual china. Featuring hourglass and tulip shapes in cups and pitchers, they gave saucers and plates sharp, dynamic lines instead of the curves and rounded edges that so characterized streamlining. Accessories that dispensed with ornamentation quickly became the favorites of consumers. Flatware likewise was redesigned, often becoming sculptural in its lines, with stainless steel emerging as a new favorite at the expense of traditional silver. Even prosaic pots and pans enjoyed a facelift, displaying crisper lines and more ergonomically shaped handles.

Polyethylene, a durable but flexible plastic and one of the technological advances of the postwar era, was used to make everything from refrigerator containers to garbage cans. It would not crack or break, resisted cold, and could be cheaply mass produced in a rainbow of colors. Brands like Tupperware and Rubbermaid attracted millions of shoppers, and Tupperware parties in private homes proved a novel and effective way to merchandise their modern-looking polyethylene containers.[8] (See Food of the 1950s.)

Melamine, another sturdy plastic, gained renown as a revolutionary new product for dinnerware in 1952. Virtually unbreakable and available in white and pastels, it complemented the appliances and furnishings found in the modern kitchen. Even the lowly sink received a new look. The basin could be had in stainless steel and plumbing manufacturers offered faucets that mixed hot and cold water from a single, moveable spigot.[9]

Modern kitchens received an unanticipated emphasis from television. Cooking shows, cheap and easy to produce in the early days of TV, usually featured a lineup of shiny new appliances loaned by willing merchants. A spacious work island might constitute the entire set. In addition, the major networks often employed kitchens as props in their situation comedies. Many of these series, such as *The Donna Reed Show* (1958–1966), *Father Knows Best* (1954–1962), *Leave It to Beaver* (1957–1963), and *Ozzie and Harriet* (1952–1966) set numerous scenes in sparkling, well-equipped kitchens.

Books

Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics of the 1950s

At the forefront of the decade were two of American's greatest writers, William Faulkner and Ernest Hemingway. Faulkner won the Nobel Prize in literature in 1950, followed four years later by Hemingway. This international recognition briefly boosted their appeal and made them the subjects of considerable popular attention.

By and large, Faulkner and Hemingway were supplanted by the usual run of best sellers and assorted ephemeral titles that sold in astronomical numbers and then disappeared. Mysteries, lurid novels, social studies, along with self-help and how-to books galore, dominated the trade lists.

BOOKS

Paperbacks

Paperback books rose to dominance in popular publishing, accounting for over one-third of all the books sold in the United States. Pocket Books, founded in 1939, had by 1950 become the leading publisher of the less expensive paperbound titles, and they continued to maintain a $0.25 cover price.[1]

The success of Pocket Books led to an expansion of publishing imprints. Cardinal Editions, a subsidiary of Pocket Books, came along in 1951. In 1954, the Pocket Library was created, consisting of reprints of earlier Pocket Books and Cardinal Editions titles, but at higher prices. At the end of the decade, the Pocket Library evolved into the Washington Square Press but continued to offer reprints.

Other publishers, envious of the paperback empire Pocket Books had created, launched their own series. Avon Books debuted in 1941, and throughout the forties and fifties its garish covers, most featuring semi-clothed women, rivaled anything the cheap pulp magazines displayed on newsstands. By 1951, Avon released a dozen new titles a month.

Still more paperback firms, some new and some boasting fresh imprints from established houses, appeared during the fifties. Familiar names like Ballantine (1952), Beacon Books (1954), Berkley Books (1955), and Monarch (1958) commenced publishing. The dominance of the expensive hardcover book had ended, and popular mass-market writers found expanded outlets for their work.

The racy covers on many 1950s Popular Library titles, led to the formation of a Congressional committee in 1952. The committee recommended that the postmaster general ban any books with covers deemed pornographic from interstate or international shipment, a move that gave the U.S. Post Office censorship powers. The paperback publishers themselves responded by toning down their covers.

NOTABLE BOOKS

Pippi Longstocking, Astrid Lindgren (U.S. edition, 1950)

The Martian Chronicles, Ray Bradbury (1950)

The Caine Mutiny, Herman Wouk (1951)

Catcher in the Rye, J. D. Salinger (1951)

From Here to Eternity, James Jones (1951)

Charlotte's Web, E. B. White (1952)

Invisible Man, Ralph Ellison (1952)

East of Eden, John Steinbeck (1952)

The Power of Positive Thinking, Norman Vincent Peale (1952)

The Old Man and the Sea, Ernest Hemingway (1952)

Fahrenheit 451, Ray Bradbury (1953)

Casino Royale, Ian Fleming (U.S. edition, 1954)

The Blackboard Jungle, Evan Hunter (1954)

Lord of the Flies, William Golding (1954)

Peyton Place, Grace Metalious (1956)

The Cat in the Hat and *How the Grinch Stole Christmas,* Dr. Seuss (1957)

On the Road, Jack Kerouac (1957)

Dr. Zhivago, Boris Pasternak (U.S. edition, 1958)

Lolita, Vladimir Nabokov (1958)

By the beginning of the 1950s, paperbacks constituted a thriving part of the publishing industry. Some of the larger houses even released original titles, not just reprints of hardcover books. Many mystery novels made their debuts in paperback because most people bought the cheaper paper editions anyway. Publishers expanded this practice to include such popular genres as westerns, science fiction, thrillers, fantasy and horror, romances, and much in sports and humor.

In 1950, the ABC television network aired *The Adventures of Ellery Queen,* a series based on a fictional detective whose adventures were popular novels during the 1930s and 1940s. It ran for two unspectacular years, but NBC brought the private eye back for the 1958–1959 season. In like manner, novels began to feature Perry Mason, outwardly a lawyer but in actuality a sleuth who had enjoyed considerable acclaim in the preceding two decades. Capitalizing on this popularity, CBS Radio ran *Perry Mason* from 1943 to 1955, but Mason's greatest fame came in 1957 when the network moved the series to television, creating one of the most successful shows in TV history. It would run until 1966. Naturally, the publishers of both Ellery Queen and Perry Mason promptly issued fresh paperbound editions of their adventures, introducing a new generation of readers to the popular mystery series.[2]

Best Sellers

Despite the inroads made by the ubiquitous paperback, most best-seller lists continued to spotlight hardback titles. Simplistic religious literature boomed as people sought an easy spiritual security. Norman Vincent Peale, the popular pastor at New York's Marble Collegiate Church, wrote *The Power of Positive Thinking* (1952), a consistent best seller for several years. The book argues that material wealth and an optimistic outlook go hand in hand. Although it did not originate with Peale's work, the motto "the family that prays together stays together" gained widespread credence during the 1950s, and its message found support in *The Power of Positive Thinking.* His success assured, Peale also published *Guideposts* magazine and wrote a weekly column for *Look* magazine.

The long-awaited Revised Standard Version, or RSV, of the Bible came out in 1952. The work of 32 biblical scholars over 15 years, the book was applauded by most people everywhere as a needed update to the King James Version. During 1952 and 1953, it overwhelmed fiction and nonfiction titles, with over three million copies sold. By 1954, the RSV still led all nonfiction with close to another million copies purchased.[3]

The evangelist Billy Graham (1918–) emerged as a multimedia phenomenon in the 1950s. He joined the ranks of religious writers with *America's Hour of Decision* in 1951. He followed it with *Peace with God* in 1953 and *The Secret of Happiness* two years later. In 1956, Graham began a newspaper column, "My Answer," that quickly received nationwide syndication. He participated in

two periodicals, *Christianity Today* and *Decision Magazine*. In 1950, he incorporated his work, creating the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, which produced films and radio and television broadcasts. In the summer of 1957, Graham led one of the largest religious crusades New York City had ever seen, drawing nearly two million people to Madison Square Garden. He also became a personal friend and confidant to President Eisenhower, a role he would consistently play with succeeding presidents.[4]

This religious/spiritual enthusiasm—some likened it to a new awakening—carried over into film, radio, and television. Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen (1895–1979) gained fame by virtue of his long-running NBC radio show, *The Catholic Hour* (1930–1961). In 1953, the network broadened his radio program to include television. The televised *Catholic Hour* evolved into *Life is Worth Living* (1953–1955) and then into *Mission to the World* (1955–1957). The television exposure, along with his good looks, low-key delivery, and common sense values, made Sheen a show business celebrity. Prime-time scheduling put the bishop up against comedian Milton Berle, and although he could never topple the popular Berle, he did well, and the two referred to one another humorously. (See Entertainment of the 1950s.)



American author J. D. Salinger is seen in this undated photo. AP Photo.

J. D. Salinger

Just as the movies had their teen stars in the fifties, so did the publishing world. Holden Caulfield, the lonely hero—or antihero, as contemporary critics delighted in calling him—of J. D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951) captivated audiences everywhere, and came to epitomize contemporary youth. The novel attracted a large public and soon appeared on required reading lists in innumerable high schools and colleges. Holden's distrust of adults and simultaneous yearning for the security and stability of family served as a good metaphor for the decade. While the novel drew praise from the start, there was an equal amount of criticism, with some calling for the book to be banned, censored, or restricted on account of its adult themes. Seen as an important spark in the so-called teenage revolution of the late 1950s, Salinger won critical and popular praise for his simple, honest dialogue and unusual narrative style.[5]

Ernest Hemingway

Established writers like William Faulkner (*The Mansion,* 1959) and John Steinbeck (*East of Eden,* 1952) continued to produce significant works, but only Ernest Hemingway (1899–1961) succeeded in reaching a truly large audience. *Life* magazine published his *Old Man and the Sea* (1952) in its entirety, so certain were the editors that millions would be attracted to this brief, allegorical work. On September 1, 1952, one week before the book's publication, the magazine printed five million copies, a record number. The editors had guessed correctly; *Life* sold out and the book shot straight onto best-seller lists everywhere. The Book-of-the-Month Club featured it, and Hemingway enjoyed the largest single audience he would ever have. In 1958, Hollywood released a film based on the novel, with Spencer Tracy taking the lead role.

Mickey Spillane

American readers might profess admiration for the likes of Hemingway, Faulkner, and Steinbeck, but when they bought books en masse, their purchases suggested that their tastes were oriented toward authors writing in a more violent and graphic style. In sheer sales, no one could top Mickey Spillane (1918–2006), the creator of detective Mike Hammer. Hammer, a private eye only outwardly cut from the mold established by Raymond Chandler, Dashiell Hammett, and other hard-boiled writers of the thirties and forties, was crude and brutal, but neither he nor his creator seemed to care. In addition, Hammer functioned as a strong anti-Communist, rampant homophobe, and, some would add, misogynist. In Hammer's primitive code, sexual deviance led to moral weakness, and that made a person a target of Communist infiltrators ready to pounce on any human frailty.

The first of the Hammer stories, *I, the Jury,* came out in 1947 and took off like a rocket. By 1952, Spillane's titles—such as *My Gun is Quick* (1950), *Vengeance is Mine* (1950), *One Lonely Night* (1951), *The Big Kill* (1951), and *Kiss Me Deadly* (1952)—accounted for one-quarter of all paperback books sold in the United States. Hollywood quickly rushed out dark, moody versions of *I, the Jury* (1953; remade in 1982), *Kiss Me Deadly* (1955), and *My Gun is Quick* (1957).[6]

Television jumped on the Spillane bandwagon in 1958 with a syndicated series titled *Mickey Spillane's Mike Hammer.* Starring Darren McGavin as the tough investigator, it ran for 78 half-hour episodes.

Grace Metalious

Another prominent writer of the period was Grace Metalious (1924–1964). Her claim to fame rests with one blockbuster novel, *Peyton Place* (1956). The book introduced readers to a complex, interrelated cast of characters that moved from one steamy episode to another. Since its release in 1956, the novel has established itself as one of the all-time American best sellers, with over 12 million copies sold.

Originally written to challenge every sexual taboo in America, in its final form *Peyton Place* was somewhat toned down. But even with editing, *Peyton Place* managed to include adultery, incest, illegitimacy, and graphic sexual descriptions, making it a "must read" for millions.

Thanks to its notoriety and huge sales, *Peyton Place* appeared on the big screen in 1957. Metalious, not happy with what editors had done to her work in both novelistic and cinematic terms, nonetheless wrote a sequel, *Return to Peyton Place* (1959). Panned by critics, the book sold well on the strength of the original and likewise became a movie in 1960.[7] (See Entertainment of the 1950s.)

Vladimir Nabokov

With the publication of the Mike Hammer thrillers and *Peyton Place,* in addition to several other controversial novels, America's sexual innocence drew to a close. The release of *Lolita* by Vladimir Nabokov (1899–1977) in 1955 hastened that closure. First published by the Paris-based Olympia Press, the book finally found an American house willing to carry it in 1958. Never officially banned in the United States in either its European or American editions, the novel stunned critics, drove would-be censors wild, sold millions of copies, and dominated best-seller lists soon after its release. The story involves the adventures, both comic and sexual, of a 12-year-old girl and her ardent middle-aged suitor, Humbert Humbert. Nabokov contributed two new words to the language: "Lolita" and "nymphet." Both refer to underage girls who are sexually wise beyond their years. The author until this time had been noted mainly for dense, academic novels that had little to do with eroticism, so *Lolita* came as a surprise and had the book world talking for years after its publication.

The Beat Generation and Jack Kerouac

The work of the so-called Beat Generation in literature favored an improvisational approach, and its supporters claimed that true spontaneity in the arts outweighed a text in which the author carefully positioned every word. In their eyes, emotion (or the expression thereof) supplanted traditional craft, an attitude that put them in

"HURRICANE LOLITA"

Vladimir Nabokov (1899–1977) taught at Cornell University from 1948 to 1959. Nabokov's controversial book *Lolita* is about an older European, Humbert Humbert, who comes to America and has an affinity for young girls. He encounters 12-year-old Dolores Haze (Lolita) and marries her mother so he can be near her daughter. Following the journey of Humbert, the book is full of satire and sexual innuendos and brought the new words "Lolita" and "nymphet" into American language. Four publishing companies rejected *Lolita* before Olympia Press in Paris published it in 1955.

Initially, Nabokov wanted to use a pen name as he was afraid he would be fired from Cornell because of the roundly denounced subject of pedophilia. *Lolita* took America by storm and was soon referred to as "Hurricane Lolita." Although never banned from the United States, Nabokov's book was banned from individual schools and many public libraries.

The effect *Lolita* had on American culture is profound. The tone of the story is celebratory, glorifying the United States in the fifties. The use of language in Lolita is stunning; the Russian-born Nabokov once remarked that he was in love with the English language. With the publication of *Lolita,* a more sexually adventurous publishing culture ensued. The word "Lolita" is now associated with a very seductive and attractive young girl. Two movies of the same name were released, the first in 1962, directed by Stanley Kubrick, and the second in 1997, directed by Adrian Lyne. Both films faced harsh criticism and many American film companies refused to distribute them. Kubrick's 1962 cinematic adaptation was meticulously censored in Hollywood, much like critics wanted to do with Nabokov's novel.

league with many of the abstract expressionists then active in painting. (See Art of the 1950s.)

Like their counterparts in the other arts, the Beat writers rejected much of modern mass culture, claiming that it was sterile and lacking in any substance. Their work first manifested itself on the West Coast, particularly in the coffeehouses and bistros of San Francisco. "Beat" quickly entered the language, denoting novelists, poets, and other creative types of the 1950s who rebelled against the status quo.

After the successful launch of the Russian *Sputnik* spacecraft in 1957, the suffix "–nik" took on a certain cachet and was added to the word "beat." The resultant "beatnik" veered away from the original; it carried negative connotations, implying a person loafed, possessed a beard (but seldom long hair), wore scruffy clothes and sandals, and displayed numerous bad habits. Poet and publisher Lawrence Ferlinghetti ran the City Lights Bookstore in San Francisco, and there many of the more famous Beat writers and poets congregated. Novelists William S. Burroughs (*The Naked Lunch,* 1959) and Jack Kerouac (*On the Road,* 1957), alongside poet Allen Ginsberg (*Howl,* 1956), emerged as prominent members.[8]

Kerouac (1922–1969) in particular came to symbolize this free-spirited movement. He called his technique of unpunctuated, stream-of-consciousness prose "sketching," a nod to its similarities with the ongoing art scene. In 1957 *On the Road,* his best-known novel, appeared. Written in the early 1950s in a seemingly spontaneous, nonstop, impulsive style, it attracted a wide range of readers. *On the Road* was followed in 1958 by *The Subterraneans* and *The Dharma Bums,* but their success relied in large part on the reputation earned by *On the Road.*

Poetry

A few established poets like Robert Frost and Carl Sandburg could still attract a handful of readers, but serious poetry held little popular appeal in the 1950s. Robert Lowell, perhaps the best of a new, postwar generation of poets, enjoyed the praises of critics, but that kind of recognition failed to generate any wave of public acclaim or sales.

One exception was Allen Ginsberg's long, rambling poem *Howl.* Published in 1956 by City Lights Press and initially released in San Francisco, the local police deemed it obscene and seized all copies, giving the work more publicity than it might otherwise have received. A trial ensued, and both



Allen Ginsberg, left, and William S. Burroughs chat in their later years. AP Photo.

Lawrence Ferlinghetti (the publisher) and his store manager (who sold a copy to a law officer) were cleared. Meanwhile, *Howl* reaped huge sales and became the top-selling book of poetry in the United States in the 1950s.

Nonfiction

Nonfiction titles purporting to analyze the social changes taking place in contemporary America found large, receptive readerships. David Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd* (1953; with contributions from Nathan Glazer and Reuel Denney) stood as a trailblazing sociological study that suggested Americans could lose their individuality in a quest for "togetherness," a favorite term of the time. The book maintained that Americans, more and more subjugated to the will of a faceless majority, lived anonymous, undirected lives, and that newfound prosperity—signified by the acquisition of material goods—deadened any responses to this situation.

Author William Whyte examined the question of an oppressive work environment in his best seller, *The Organization Man* (1956). Whyte argued that American businesses forced their employees into a kind of unthinking conformity; the title became a phrase to describe almost anyone working in a white-collar job. Whyte's thesis said that Americans, particularly American men, had lost touch with the spirit of individualism and self-reliance. Instead, the modern corporation imposed a self-serving philosophy of cooperation and loyalty to the company, and their millions of "organization men" wallowed in a kind of sameness and conformism.

Tied to all the foregoing was a concern about growing materialism. In a pair of studies, Vance Packard attacked the rampant consumerism of the 1950s. *The Hidden Persuaders* came out in 1957. Using many examples, he attempted to show how manipulative advertising had convinced Americans to purchase goods based on psychological needs instead of the more historic ones of scarcity and insufficiency. (See Advertising of the 1950s.)

On an altogether different plane, Alfred Kinsey's much-awaited *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* made big publishing news upon its release in 1953. A companion to his controversial *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948), readers found much to discuss in the two volumes. His findings indicated that Americans, especially American women, were not quite as proper as they seemed. From outrage to enthusiastic support, the book remained on the best-seller lists for much of the year. For an essentially dry academic treatise on behavior, its popular success came as a surprise.

The Great Books Program

The middle class has traditionally viewed self-education in a positive light, picturing it as an old, desirable American trait. In 1947 Robert Maynard Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago, initiated with others what they published as *The Great Books of the Western World,* or the Great Books program. Owing as much to marketing as to education, the program caught the public interest and in 1952 became available as a 54-volume set. Sold under the auspices of the Encyclopedia Britannica publishing group, *Great Books* promised a library of works deemed basic to what a well-read person should know. Included in the undertaking were over 500 works by writers

ranging from Aristotle to Virginia Woolf. A clever two-volume *Syntopticon* served as a guidebook, or outline, to the thousands of pages of text.

The series enjoyed a modest success, at least in sales, during the 1950s. The nicely bound volumes had color-coded spines (e.g., red for philosophy and religion) and the publishers marketed them as a handsome addition to any home library. Purchasers were encouraged to meet informally with other buyers to have group discussions, or "great conversations," as Hutchins put it.[9]

Dr. Spock

If some aspired to greater knowledge, others merely wanted advice on raising children and healthy diets. Pediatrician Benjamin Spock (1903–1998) published his first edition of *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* in 1946, and the postwar baby boom caused it to become a perennial best seller, especially in the 1950s. The book served as a bible for millions of young mothers; on only 13 pages of the over 300-page book does Dr. Spock specifically address fathers and fatherhood. Generally speaking, Spock recommended flexibility and restraint when dealing with infants and children, in contrast to the sterner messages of earlier advice manuals. *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* became one of the most popular books in the annals of American publishing.[10]

MAGAZINES

In 1950, magazines remained a leading mass medium in terms of advertising revenue. Television, however, whittled away at this figure, just as it would do with all print media. Adding to their woes, paper and printing costs rose sharply, and postage rates for magazines jumped a whopping 30 percent in 1959. As a result of all these economic pressures, many old, established titles would disappear during the decade.

With the realization that advertisers wanted magazines that reflected specific readerships, a flood of new titles came out during the 1950s. Most were specialty, or niche, magazines, periodicals that catered to specific interest groups instead of a vague general populace. Finding a blend of materials that would appeal to both the specialist and to the generalist became the challenge for editors.

Playboy

One of the most important new magazines of the era was *Playboy*. The first issue appeared in October 1953. Almost single-handedly the creation of Hugh Hefner (1926–), *Playboy* attempted to be both spicy and sophisticated. Operating on a shoestring budget, Hefner published the first issue without a date or number because he was not sure it would go beyond one issue. He need not have worried. Overnight, *Playboy* captured an audience of college males and young men. Of course, the fact that the first Playmate centerfold featured Marilyn Monroe unclothed did not hurt sales. One of Hollywood's top stars by 1953, Monroe had posed for the shot before her rise to fame in the movies; Hefner had obtained the picture through a photo agency.

Espousing a philosophy of sexual freedom and materialism, the magazine managed to hire



Publisher Hugh Hefner looks over proof sheets for *Playboy,* in Chicago, 1961. AP Photo.

the best authors for both fiction and nonfiction articles. Hefner wrote lengthy editorials justifying the lifestyles portrayed within the periodical's pages. Advertisers, sensing something new and lucrative, flocked to *Playboy,* making it one of the most profitable magazines of all time.

From its inauspicious beginnings, Hefner and his staff expanded from a tiny Chicago office to the Playboy Mansion, a splendid old house where intellect and ribaldry, jazz and parties, could intermix and become models for readers of how the sophisticated male spends his time. Circulating a profitable one million copies a month by the close of the decade, *Playboy* dominated an important niche market for advertisers: young males with money to spend and tastes honed by the advice provided in their favorite new magazine.[11]

TV Guide

The 1953 debut of *TV Guide* proved as culturally important as the introduction of *Playboy.* The brainchild of publisher Walter Annenberg, the new magazine found its inspiration in the success of a local publication in Philadelphia that provided complete listings of local television programming. He discovered other cities had similar periodicals, including one in New York that called itself *TV Guide.* Annenberg bought out several of these magazines, including the New York edition, so he could have the rights to the name.

Annenberg's staff prepared articles and features for the magazine, along with the all-important network schedules; regional editions of *TV Guide* then added local programming to the listings. The first issue hit newsstands in April 1953, just after actress Lucille Ball delivered her real-life baby. The event had been cleverly worked into her TV comedy series, *I Love Lucy.* In an ingenious marketing move, *TV Guide* capitalized on the enormous public interest about the birth by putting Ball's new son, Desi Jr., on the magazine's first cover.

Millions of people either subscribed or picked up a copy of the magazine at supermarkets and drug stores. Except for the veteran *Reader's Digest, TV Guide* soon enjoyed the highest circulation of any magazine in the country, selling about six-and-a-half million copies a week in 1959.[12]

Sports Illustrated

Sports Illustrated, a product of Henry Luce's *Time-Life* empire, made its debut in August 1954. The publication reached an audience in excess of 600,000 its first year. *Sports Illustrated* aimed its content at the mainstream sports fan, substituting great photography for endless statistics and offering probing articles on events influencing sports, such as illegal gambling.

Fan Magazines

As they had done throughout the 1930s and 1940s, Hollywood fan magazines continued to flourish into the fifties. A mix of fact and innuendo, they directed their content primarily at women of all ages eager to read about the makeup secrets and love lives of their favorite stars. *Photoplay,* the acknowledged leader among the dozens of such periodicals available at newsstands, boasted a monthly circulation in excess of one million readers.

As the decade progressed, the fan magazines turned increasingly sensational, a desperate attempt to hang onto readers, but one doomed to failure. The magical glitter that once characterized Hollywood had begun to wear off by the late fifties, and tawdriness could not replace it.

Science Fiction Magazines

With the onset of the Atomic Age, there existed fears of what the future might hold. Publishers capitalized on this anxiety with endless tales of radioactive monsters, mutations, and nuclear devastation. By 1953, some 35 different science fiction magazines could be found on newsstands. Little more than updated versions of the old sex-violence-horror pulp magazines of the 1920s and 1930s, and printed on cheap paper and adorned with garish covers, they nonetheless did well, attracting a wide readership.

Many of the stories from these magazines, collected and reprinted in equally cheap paperback anthologies, led to original, novel-length works, prompting a small boom in science fiction. Of course, success in one medium leads to imitation in another, and so Hollywood produced

NEW MAGAZINES

Golf Digest (1950)
Prevention (1950)
Jet (1951)
The Family Handyman (1951)
Mad (1952)
Playboy (1953)
TV Guide (1953)
Sports Illustrated (1954)
Bon Appétit (1956)
Car and Driver (1956)
GQ (1957)
Golf Magazine (1959)

innumerable sci-fi movies; network radio had series like *Dimension X* (1950–1951) and *X-Minus One* (1955–1958); and television began the first of its many ventures into the realm with early shows like *Out There* (1951–1952) and *Tales of Tomorrow* (1951–1953).

Other Specialty Magazines

Since teenagers had become an important, affluent component of American society in their own right, a host of journals catered to them. Possibly the best known was *Seventeen;* its first issue appeared in 1944, but the magazine did not hit its stride until the 1950s, when it emerged as almost essential reading for young girls in junior and senior high schools. With the ages at which women married declining sharply during the late 1940s and early 1950s, savvy marketers began to use the pages of magazines like *Seventeen* to advertise not just teen fashions, but household items such as furniture and appliances. Competitors like *Young Miss* (1955; later re-titled *YM Magazine*) followed *Seventeen*'s lead; the potential of the youth market was not to be ignored.

Males, young and old, could read *Golf Digest* (1950–), or indulge their fantasies about auto racing with *Road & Track* (1947–), *Hot Rod* (1948–), *Motor Trend* (1949–), and *Car and Driver* (1956–). *American Heritage* (1949–) and *Horizon* (1958–) appealed to anyone interested in history, and *Modern Maturity* (1958–) went out to millions of older Americans. Those needing spiritual uplift had *Guidepost* (1952–), whereas *Prevention* (1950–) focused on health care. By the end of the decade, over 8,000 periodicals were published in the United States, up from approximately 6,000 in 1950. Most of these had extremely limited circulations and readerships.[13]

Some Failures

The 1950s also witnessed the deaths of a number of venerable titles. General interest weeklies, once the mainstays of the business, led the list of the fallen. For instance, the *American Magazine,* which traced its lineage back to 1876, ceased publication in 1956; *Woman's Home Companion, Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly,* and *Liberty* also closed up shop at about the same time. They blamed their failures on a lack of advertising revenue, a most compelling reason. But other circumstances also contributed to the fall of these once thriving journals. One example illustrates the problems faced by all.

After a 61-year run, *Collier's* general interest magazine ceased publication in 1956. At the time of its demise, its circulation totaled almost four million, a healthy number of readers. No one could say with any precision exactly who read *Collier's;* marketing research that might have provided such information was then in its infancy, and a large circulation figure offered no guarantee advertisers' target audiences were included in that number.

In addition, *Collier's* operating costs, from postage to paper to staffing, continued to rise. The magazine refused to change its editorial policies, suggesting to advertisers that *Collier's* readers were older and more conservative, not the active, youthful consumers that agencies desired. Newcomers like *Playboy* and *Sports Illustrated* could claim they went primarily to young, middle-class males, and *Time* and *Newsweek* could boast of the education and business backgrounds of their constituencies, and advertisers reacted accordingly. Women's magazines already had a defined readership, although many attempted to refine that by appealing to specific groups of women. The exceptions

WORDS AND PHRASES

beatnik
bopera (a nightclub specializing in bop music)
cat (male who is both hip and cool)
chick
cool
dig (to understand)
do-it-yourself
drag strip
dragster
egghead
far out
fish stick (frozen food)
hip
hot dog (a race driver)
junk mail
litterbug
pony tail
sex kitten
skygirl (airline stewardess)
smog
smust (combination of smoke and dust)
sock hop
souped up
square (unfashionable and uncool person)
squaresville (dull)
telethon
UFO
urban legend
whomp
wumgush (nonsense)

seemed to be the broad-based general magazines. Even the largest circulation magazine of them all, the *Saturday Evening Post,* would fall in 1962.

NEWSPAPERS

The American newspaper had enjoyed its greatest success and influence during the 1920s. The economic problems of the Great Depression, followed by World War II and the simultaneous rise of radio, dimmed that luster. Some smaller papers enjoyed readership gains, but most major metropolitan dailies lost circulation between 1950 and 1960.

Consolidation and Chains

The consolidation of older papers that characterized the 1940s continued on into the 1950s. The economic pressures of successfully running a daily paper took their toll, and the era of the two-or-three-newspaper city was drawing to a close; most communities found themselves with only one paper. Those papers that survived tended to be morning editions. Between 1945 and 1960, 350 daily newspapers went out of business, the majority of them evening papers. Some closed down entirely and others merged or consolidated with what was once the competition.

Many independent papers became parts of newspaper chains. Older names like Hearst and Scripps-Howard continued to own significant groups of papers, but their overall holdings dipped as newspapers merged or went out of business. Relatively new groups like Newhouse, Cox, Knight Newspapers, Ridder Publications, and Gannett acquired operations in many different locales. By the 1950s chains controlled about half of national newspaper circulation, both daily and Sunday. Competition remained strong in those remaining cities with multiple papers, and chain ownership did not appear to bring about any sameness of product nor did it silence editors and columnists, as some had feared. A chain did, however, bring financial resources not always available to independent papers.

Economic Woes

Newspapers commanded 37 percent of all U.S. ad revenues in 1950, but by 1960, the newspapers' share of the advertising pie, both local and national, shrunk to 31 percent. This marked the first downward shift in newspaper advertising since the Depression. At the same time, TV's share of the advertising pot rose from 3 percent in 1950 to about 30 percent in 1960, a tremendous

increase. In addition to the loss of important advertising revenue, labor unrest brought about several devastating newspaper strikes. In 1953, a prolonged walkout over wages crippled journals in New York City. Detroit and Cleveland papers suffered strikes in 1955. After hard-fought negotiations failed, New York newspapermen again walked out in the fall of 1956. The city did without newspapers for 11 days before the two sides reached a compromise. These instances illustrate but a few of the crippling union-management clashes that swept through the country in the fifties. At the end of each big disruption, the settlement invariably hit management hard, especially in the area of circulation. During these recurring strikes, readers discovered they could do without a daily paper. When a strike was resolved, not all former readers returned; lower circulation meant lower ad rates, and that meant decreased revenue. Beleaguered owners frequently ended up raising prices, a move that drove away more readers.

Although gross revenues rose during the 1950s, expenditures climbed at an even faster rate, outweighing any increases in profits. As owners bought new technology to cut costs, workers feared for their jobs, and any savings usually disappeared in a new and bitter round of labor negotiations. As the number of personnel required to put out a modern newspaper dropped sharply, edgy labor unions exacted a stiff price in wages and benefits. Modernization and automation brought with them a host of "featherbedding" clauses in union contracts that allowed unneeded workers to stay on in obsolete jobs. In the worst cases, several papers went out of business, furthering the decline of the American newspaper.[14]

Publishers did put into play some innovative ideas during the decade, including increased use of color in the printing process. Both editorial and ad copy featured more color layouts. But this technological progress came at a considerable cost. Aging printing equipment had to be replaced, and traditional lead type became a thing of the past. The composing room evolved from a noisy redoubt of hot metal into an operation relying on fewer and fewer people. But most analysts considered it money well spent as newspapers strove to compete more effectively with other media.

Newspapers and the Cold War

The Cold War dominated the front pages. The doings of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), such as its investigations into Communist infiltration of Hollywood, received coverage. Readers no doubt thought that Reds hid under every bed during the near-hysteria of the McCarthy era.

Editorial cartoonist Herbert Block, better known as "Herblock," was among the first to challenge the stridency of the anti-Communist campaign being waged by Senator McCarthy. In stinging cartoons that commenced in 1950, Herblock created both the word and the idea of "McCarthyism"—unfounded allegations designed to create fear, a kind of bullying attitude toward opposing attitudes.

The Korean War likewise gained extensive coverage, and strict censorship hobbled efforts to report an accurate picture of the hostilities. General Douglas MacArthur, the commander of Allied forces, kept a tight lid on all news, including the threat of courts-martial for reporters who broke his rules. Thus, nothing negative, including specific words like "retreat," saw print. The public could read about the war, but what they received distorted the facts.[15]

Advice Columnists

A feature that increased greatly in popularity was advice to the lovelorn. Although such columns were not new to American newspapers, two women who happened to be twins—"Ann Landers" (Esther Friedman) and "Abigail Van Buren" (Pauline Friedman)—increased the readership of such material significantly. Both enjoyed wide syndication, although their columns remained completely independent of one another. The "Ann Landers" column led the way, first appearing in the *Chicago Sun-Times* in 1955. Her sister followed a year later with "Dear Abby" in the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

The Friedman twins were much more direct, eschewing the usually sappy messages their predecessors had followed; at times, they could even be critical of the letters they received. They provided a fresh approach to journalism aimed at

the "woman's page," and readers responded positively, making the columns popular features read by women and men alike.

COMICS

By the 1950s, comic strips were a standard feature of virtually every American newspaper. Many of the old pioneers continued to appear daily on the comic pages, but a number of new artists and writers broke into this highly competitive business in the years following World War II. The decade turned out to be one of transition, as action and adventure gave way to more humor and family-oriented themes.

As a rule, the younger cartoonists preferred a simpler visual style, rejecting much of the detail that characterized so much prewar comic art.

Charles Schulz

In 1947, a struggling young cartoonist named Charles Schulz (1922–2000) finally sold his daily strip, *Li'l Folks,* to a St. Paul newspaper. Three years later, United Features Syndicate picked up a revised version of Schulz's strip. Renamed *Peanuts,* eight newspapers initially ran it. By the end of the decade, the strip, featuring a round-headed boy named Charlie Brown and his circle of friends, appeared in over 400 dailies. Schulz recognized the money to be made in merchandising: *Peanuts* lunch pails, posters, books, and other paraphernalia proliferated, especially in the 1970s. The books alone, simple compendiums of the newspaper strips, sold in the hundreds of thousands.



Charles Schulz, seated at drawing table with a sketch of Charlie Brown, 1956. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Hank Ketcham

In 1951, *Dennis the Menace* by Hank Ketcham (1920–) made its debut. Like *Peanuts,* it quickly gained readers and popularity, distinguishing itself by being a single-panel cartoon. Dennis himself was an incorrigible yet loveable five-year-old who reflected the old American adage that "boys will be boys." Margaret, the primary girl appearing in the cartoon, was smart but prissy, and her presence reinforced some gender stereotypes. By the end of the decade, *Dennis* ran in more than 600 daily papers, and 7 bound collections had been issued.

Mort Walker

The Cold War raged throughout the fifties, and the Korean conflict (1950–1953) cost America thousands of lives in casualties. Young men had to register for the draft, and each month trainloads of new recruits entered basic training. Small wonder, then, that a comic strip about citizen soldiers found a receptive audience. *Beetle Bailey,* created by Mort Walker (1923–), met that need.

In the late 1940s, Walker created a strip about a hapless young collegian called "Spider." But no syndicates wanted college humor, so in 1951 the character, now named "Beetle," found himself inducted into the Army. An immediate success after the change, *Beetle Bailey* climbed to the top ranks of comics. The humorous trials of Beetle, Sergeant Snorkel, General Halftrack, and others soon had the strip syndicated in over 700 papers.

Walt Kelly

With Mickey Mouse, Bugs Bunny, and Felix the Cat attracting young readers, few papers expressed much interest in yet another talking dog, cat, or the like. Cartoonist Walt Kelly (1913–1973)

managed to introduce a newspaper strip called *Pogo* in 1949. *Pogo* seems, superficially at least, to have been a continuing group of fables set in the Okeefenokee Swamp of Georgia.

Animals made up the cast: Pogo the possum, his friend Albert the alligator, Porky the porcupine, Seminole Sam the fox, and so on. Kelly endowed each character not only with personality, but also often with distinctive lettering in the speech balloons. Some even spoke in their own dialects.

Pogo tried to present a running commentary on the human condition. Greed, anger, envy, laziness—all the usual foibles had their day in poetic retellings read by young and old. Current events even received some play, most memorably a 1952 episode that involved Senator Joseph McCarthy. McCarthy—appropriately depicted as a jackal and named "Simple J. Malarkey"—received his comeuppance in Kelly's hands.

Pogo fans supported a merchandising blitz featuring their favorite swamp figures and a series of *Pogo* books became perennial best sellers. The phrase, "I Go Pogo," insinuated itself into the language after the diminutive possum ran for political office. With over 500 papers subscribing to the strip, *Pogo* stood as an unexpected success story in the rough-and-tumble world of comics.

Comic Books

In the years following World War II, a comic-book boom occurred; newsstands featured some 650 different titles, and by the early 1950s annual sales had climbed to 1 billion copies. The superheroes of World War II (Captain America, Blackhawk, Superman, Captain Marvel, etc.) seemed dated by the end of the forties, although a few of them did fight Commies, Reds, and any other enemy sympathizers during the Korean conflict. Teenage comic characters (Buzzy, Andy Hardy, Katy Keene, Suzie, Henry Aldrich, etc.) also appeared out of step with the times, especially with rock 'n' roll entering the picture. One exception was the *Archie* comic book series, chiefly popular among preteen girls, featuring teenage characters Archie Andrews; his rich girlfriend Veronica; the girl next door, Betty; Archie's friend Reggie; and the hapless Jughead, who always got into trouble. In keeping with the decade, all the characters were white, but they were fairly attuned to popular culture. Archie comics and spin-offs are still in publication today and have a Web site. Harmless tales of animals like Mighty Mouse, Woody Woodpecker, and Peter Rabbit, along with the whole Disney menagerie also remained steady comics sellers that underwent little change.

Throughout the late forties and early fifties, publishers, in an attempt to lure more males to their product, freely used "cheesecake," attractive women in skimpy attire. "Jungle comics," most of which starred half-dressed, statuesque women, proved especially popular in the early fifties. Sheena, Queen of the Jungle, led the pack but had competition from numerous others wearing leopard skins and little else. For their female readers, publishers borrowed from the popular confession magazines of the day and created *Secret Romances, Sweethearts, Young Love, Young Romance,* and a



Captain America (Marvel Comics). Shown center: Captain America/Steve Rogers. Courtesy of Photofest.

host of similar titles. Like radio soap operas and their pulp counterparts, these comics stressed domesticity, along with torn emotions, broken hearts, jealousy, and some heavy breathing and innuendo, but virtually no sex.

William M. Gaines

In 1947, William M. Gaines (1922–1992) inherited his father's company, Educational Comics (EC on their cover logo). The firm published children's materials, which Gaines considered hopelessly behind in the changing world of comic books. He tried westerns and science fiction and finally developed a new line of horror comics in 1950. Gaines used the old logo, although he changed the initials to mean "Entertaining Comics." Titles like *The Haunt of Fear, Shock Suspen-Stories, Tales from the Crypt,* and *The Vault of Horror* immediately found an adolescent/young adult market. Controversy dogged this new EC line, however, because the stories contained explicit drawings that critics thought exceeded all bounds of good taste.

Publishers ignored most of the criticism, and a flood of horror and fantasy comics appeared on newsstands, along with a number of violent crime comics. *Astonishing, Chamber of Chills, Crime Exposed, Crime Suspense Stories, Gangsters and Gun Molls, Terrifying Tales, Uncanny Tales, Weird Worlds,* and *Witches Tales* were among the titles of these new sensations. Sales soared and the chorus of disapproval rose in volume.

Despite threats of censorship within the industry, Gaines remained undaunted; in 1952 he launched a new comic destined to become a classic: *Mad.* A kind of combination horror comic and satirical takeoff on movies, radio, celebrities, and the like, it mixed gore with hilarious spoofs of much ongoing popular culture. His target market of primarily adolescent boys reacted positively, but his timing was poor. In 1953, Congress began an investigation into the whole comic book industry (discussed above), and distributors were wary of anything like *Mad.* As a result, Gaines altered *Mad*'s format in the summer of 1955. He eliminated color, printed on a higher quality paper, raised the price, and called the "new" *Mad* a magazine. Now newsstands could carry *Mad* somewhere other than in the comic racks, solving the problem. In addition, the new *Mad* focused almost exclusively on satire, making it a favorite of high school and college students. From that point onward, the magazine earned a profit and stirred little controversy—except occasionally from those who served as the butts of its sometimes barbed humor.[16]

Comics and Censorship

While Gaines tinkered with *Mad,* rival publishers were stepping over most boundaries of good taste in their horror and crime comics. In 1954, psychiatrist Fredric Wertham published *Seduction of the Innocent.* Subtitled *The Influence of Comic Books on Today's Youth,* the book set off a groundswell of debate, much of it focusing on juvenile delinquency. Wertham, a prominent social critic, claimed in his book that reading comics led to antisocial behavior, although he offered no supporting research. He claimed crime and horror comics provided virtual blueprints for criminal acts. Wertham maintained that the level of sex and violence in most comics would lead young, susceptible readers to juvenile crime. A handful of carefully cropped illustrations suggested that comic books contain hidden pornographic drawings.[17] That same year, a congressional committee led by Senator Estes Kefauver began investigating the causes of juvenile delinquency and added comic books to its list of subjects. Dr. Wertham, his book already a controversial best seller, was asked by the committee to lead the attack on the industry. In the fall of 1954, 26 publishers of comic books formed the Comics Code Authority, a self-regulatory industry body. The Authority came up with "a seal of approval," an emblem that had to prominently adorn the covers of most new comic books found on newsstands in the United States. Many wholesalers refused to stock comics that lacked this seal, so the industry quickly fell into line. Gaines dropped his horror series, as did many others. The bland content of the new approved titles bore little resemblance to the freewheeling stories of just a few months earlier.

By 1955, only about 300 comic titles remained on newsstands, about half of what had been available

5 years earlier, and overall sales had fallen sharply. Despite the industry's efforts, the public no longer saw comic books as harmless entertainments. While senators and psychologists searched for hidden meanings in comic books, television—another visual medium—was busy establishing itself in American homes. It presented itself to millions of kids as an electronic successor to the comic book and did more to hasten the industry's decline than any congressional hearings or muckraking books could do.

The latter half of the 1950s, therefore, found the comic book industry treading water. Innocuous children's comics fared well, and science fiction, provided it avoided anything too frightening, had a following. Crime comics virtually disappeared from the racks, and horror and fantasy were toned down into blandness. A few superheroes—Superman, Batman, Wonder Woman—held on during these dark times, but not until the 1960s would the industry recoup and thrill a new generation of readers.[18]

Entertainment

of the 1950s

The ascendancy of television as the nation's most popular medium marked the 1950s. At the beginning of the decade, 9 percent of American households possessed at least one TV; by 1959, some 86 percent owned receivers, leaving movies and radio as the big losers. By 1953, plummeting attendance had caused a quarter of the nation's movie theaters to close. Radio went from a schedule filled with variety to one essentially of popular recordings, brief hourly newscasts, and occasional sports.

MOVIES

Technical Innovation and Novelty

Weekly movie attendance had dropped from highs of over 80 million down to about 46 million patrons in 1952. In response, Hollywood began experimenting with technical gimmicks that might lure people back into theaters. After all, television, the film industry's archrival, was limited to a tiny screen and a monochromatic picture. Many large budget films already enjoyed color and high-fidelity sound; what else might the technical effects people accomplish?

One of the first attempts to get audiences back proved ill-fated: 3-D (three-dimensional). The Natural Vision Corporation manufactured film stock that held double images. Through the use of polarized lenses, those images could be reconfigured to give the illusion of depth. Amid much fanfare, millions dutifully donned ill-fitting cardboard glasses with green and red cellophane lenses to watch *Bwana Devil* (1952), the first of several mediocre 3-D offerings. It was followed by such titles as *It Came from Outer Space* (1953), *House of Wax* (1953), and *Creature from the Black Lagoon* (1954). The 3-D format might have fared better if the initial releases had been superior films, but Hollywood provided hastily made and poorly acted features.

About the same time as 3-D's introduction, another innovation came along. For many years, the projected theatrical image maintained a ratio of 1.33:1, meaning that the screen measured 1.33 times wider than its height. Over time, this ratio had become the standard and today accounts for the familiar shape of most television screens. The movie industry, desperate to compete with television, began to tinker with screen dimensions and proportions in hopes of widening the image.

In 1952, the Cinerama Corporation released *This Is Cinerama!* The film began innocuously enough: a black-and-white picture appears on a standard screen, and all seems normal, just like any other Hollywood feature. But the black-and-white becomes color, the screen swells, and

suddenly the audience finds itself in the midst of a terrifying roller coaster ride as the huge screen wraps an arc of 146 degrees. The horizontal-vertical ratio had been changed to 2.55:1, with images now 2.55 times wider than they were tall. *This Is Cinerama!* enjoyed immediate popularity in the select cities where it first showed on a limited basis, and other theaters quickly lined up for wide-screen adaptations.

CinemaScope made its debut in 1953. For CinemaScope, the screen retained its traditional flatness and only one camera and one projector were involved, an innovation any theater could adapt. The first feature movie in CinemaScope, *The Robe,* came out in 1953. The wider screen, with its panoramic vistas and illusion of depth, soon became the preferred way to show big-budget pictures.

By 1955, almost all large American theaters had been equipped to show films in wide-screen versions, although the proportions were later reduced to somewhere between 2.2:1 and 1.85:1. The use of Panavision lenses provided sharp definition and an overall lack of distortion. When the studios released their wide-screen movies to television, parts of the horizontal image disappeared, because the TV screen accommodated only traditional films.

The success of wide-screen movies in the 1950s meant that audiences were less inclined to watch films of traditional width. In response, the studios released some of their vast libraries of old movies to television. Because of various union agreements, most of the pictures initially shown on TV had been made prior to 1948. Yet, with the television industry paying top dollar to get popular movies, more recent films became available after the mid-fifties. In 1955, RKO released 740 features to C&C Television Corporation for television viewing. The unions agreed to this transaction, and the following year over 2,500 more movies became available to TV. Despite their long-standing rivalry with the new medium, all the major Hollywood studios shared their troves of pictures with television by 1958.[1]

Drive-Ins

The decade also witnessed the popularization of the drive-in theater. The idea of watching movies in the comfort and privacy of an automobile originated in the early 1930s, but not until the 1950s did entrepreneurs push the concept. By 1956, over 7,000 drive-ins dotted the nation. Some consisted of a cleared rural field with wooden speaker posts and a crude snack bar; others boasted elaborate layouts with sculpted rows, so cars parked at the proper angle for optimum viewing, and the new snack bars often offered as much variety as a traditional restaurant. (See Travel in the 1950s.)

NOTABLE ACTORS

Marlon Brando, 1924–2004
Gary Cooper, 1901–1961
Bing Crosby, 1903–1977
Doris Day, 1924–
Glenn Ford, 1916–2006
Betty Grable, 1916–1973
Audrey Hepburn, 1929–1993
William Holden, 1918–1981
Bob Hope, 1903–2003
Rock Hudson, 1925–1985
Gene Kelly, 1912–1996
Grace Kelly, 1929–1982
Burt Lancaster, 1913–1994
Dean Martin, 1917–1995, and Jerry Lewis, 1926–
Marilyn Monroe, 1926–1962
James Stewart, 1908–1997
Elizabeth Taylor, 1932–
John Wayne, 1907–1979

The Youth Market

The 1950s marked the full realization of movie marketing for the burgeoning teenage population along with the production of films starring actors who could pass for adolescents.

In 1954's *The Wild One,* Marlon Brando (1924–2004) played a lawless biker who brings his motorcycle gang to an innocent, unsuspecting town. Mumbling and clad in boots, tight jeans, and a

T-shirt, he terrorized not only the townspeople, but also much of the audience. Teenage boys, however, saw in this inarticulate hero a kind of amoral role model. Yet, in that same year, Brando won an Academy Award for Best Actor in *On the Waterfront*. His sensitive portrayal of a victimized boxer caught up in mobs and crime demonstrated he could handle almost any role.

No one typified the disaffected, aloof teen character better than James Dean (1931–1955). Although he had major roles in only three movies—*Rebel without a Cause* (1955), *East of Eden* (1955), and *Giant* (1956)—Dean came to symbolize the alienation of youth. In both his films and in his life, he represented the loner struggling against the forces of conformity. His untimely death in an automobile accident only served to elevate him to cult hero.

Young people also had their own movies. Most famously perhaps, *The Blackboard Jungle* (1955) purported to show how juvenile delinquency was rampant in American schools. Vic Morrow (1929–1982) played a sullen teen who seemed incapable of good behavior. Sidney Poitier (1927–), in his first major screen role, portrayed one of Morrow's fellow gang members. Glenn Ford, as their teacher, tries to reach the boys and break up their gang. In the background, Bill Haley and His Comets pound out "Rock Around the Clock," creating an association between rock 'n' roll and delinquency, just as people frequently connected jazz with crime.



The Wild One (1953). Marlon Brando as Johnny Strabler/Narrator. Courtesy of Photofest.

A host of youth-and-rock films followed the success of *Blackboard Jungle*. In 1956, *Don't Knock the Rock; Rock Around the Clock; Rock, Pretty Baby;* and *Rock, Rock, Rock!* graced theater marquees. *Teenage Doll* (1957), *Go, Johnny, Go!* (1958), *High School Confidential!* (1958), and *Teenage Bad Girl* (1959) mixed delinquency with drugs, making American high schools seem like hotbeds of crime and perversion.

Film Themes

The fifties contributed numerous outstanding films on many subjects. They ranged from original dramas like *All About Eve* (1950), sophisticated comedies (*Some Like It Hot,* 1959), sweeping westerns (*Shane,* 1953), epics of war (*The Bridge on the River Kwai,* 1957), imaginative science fiction (*Destination Moon,* 1950), to the most forgettable "B" pictures imaginable (*Zombies of Moratau,* 1957). Within all this variety evolved three cinematic themes: 1) a liberal bias that argued for sensitivity and tenderness, 2) a mainstream approach that attempted no ideological stance other than entertainment, and 3) a conservative leaning that capitalized on the ongoing anti-Communist rhetoric of the period along with the idea of conforming to the perceived needs of American society. Examples of the first group might include *A Place in the Sun* (1951) or *Paths of Glory* (1957). For the mainstream category, typical choices could be *Singin' in the Rain* (1952) and *Giant* (1956). *I Was a Communist for the FBI* (1951) and *Strategic Air Command* (1955) could represent the third category. Within those broad categories, however, lay much ambiguity; in the movies of the 1950s, nothing was as simple as it seemed.

The Cold War and the Movies

Uncertainty became a recurring motif in the films of the fifties: who is good, who is evil? Who can be trusted? A kind of cinematic extension of the Cold War, the movies at times spelled out any doubts in simplistic plots, as in *Big Jim McLain* (1952). John Wayne, who starred as an agent of the House Un-American Activities Committee, had no problem second-guessing as he hunted down subversives. Made during the height of the McCarthy investigations, *Big Jim McLain,* along with a number of similar films, played on the popular fear of Communist infiltration into the fabric of American life. It took energetic lawmen to root out this menace, although civil libertarians may have winced at some of the methods employed.

In other pictures, however, audiences were sometimes left hanging. For instance, in *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* (1956), townspeople discovered ominous pods in their idyllic community. Were these pods some alien life form, or might they really have been Communists in disguise? Ostensibly a science fiction film, *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* could easily be interpreted as an allegorical approach to spies and paranoia.

The movie *12 Angry Men* (1957) starring Henry Fonda presented a drama about a man upholding an unpopular cause and focused on a hung jury—eleven for a murder conviction, one not so sure. Despite great pressure, especially from



12 Angry Men (1957). Shown: E. G. Marshall, Henry Fonda, Lee J. Cobb, Edward Binns, George Voskovec, Jack Klugman, Joseph Sweeney. Directed by Sidney Lumet. United Artists/The Kobal Collection. Courtesy of Picturedesk.

COLD WAR MOVIES

The Cold War, which gripped American culture from the 1920s until the 1980s, exerted a major influence over all facets of American society. In the film and television industries, the Cold War had a pervasive and complex influence. In 1947, the film industry came under the scrutiny of the House Un-American Activities Committee, which interviewed hundreds of actors, directors, writers, and other film personnel for suspected links to Communist organizations. This scrutiny was in relation to films that were perceived to have a pro-Communist message and, as a result, some film companies were urged to produce films with strong anti-Communist themes. The 1948 film *The Iron Curtain* was one of the first anti-Communist films to come from a major Hollywood studio, telling the story of a defector attempting to flee to the West. Blending fantasy adventure with propaganda, Hollywood released a string of films in the 1950s with paranoid themes in which the protagonists discovered spies and/or secret Communist societies operating in their communities. Some of these films may seem comical by modern standards, with titles like *I Married A Communist*. The effect of the Cold War was present even in films that had no overt references to Communism, as in a number of westerns in which the protagonists were engaged in diplomatic struggles between ideological enemies. Until the mid-1980s, Russians and Asians were consistently cast as the villains in Hollywood adventure films, providing the substrate for the remarkably successful James Bond films and a number of other blockbusters of the 1960s, 70s, and 80s. While American culture changed during the Korean Conflict and the Vietnam War, Hollywood writers and producers used their films both in support of and in sharp criticism of the ongoing struggle against Communism. It wasn't until the late 1980s, as fear of the Russian threat and danger of nuclear war dissolved, that the Cold War's influence on Hollywood cinema began to decline.

several indignant jurors (the truly "angry" ones of the title), the holdout argues his position and gradually brings the others to his point of view. A microcosm of popular thinking during the fifties, the film did a superlative job of defending the individual's right to confront the majority, no matter how hopeless or extreme his or her position may be.

Somewhat unusual in that it was adapted from a television play, *12 Angry Men* first appeared on the CBS series *Studio One* in 1954. Reginald Rose scripted both the teleplay and the screenplay. The winner of many awards and an almost instantaneous television classic, it reversed the traditional procedure of movies being adapted to television. When it appeared on TV, the country was in the midst of the Army-McCarthy hearings, a tempestuous series of encounters between Senator Joseph McCarthy and a legal team representing the U.S. Army. During the lengthy debates, McCarthy revealed himself to be a bullying inquisitor, a man ready to destroy others in his obsessive quest for dubious information. In short, some of the more aggressive jurors and their arguments in the original *12 Angry Men* resembled Joseph McCarthy and his tactics.

Other Cold War events had their moments on film. In June 1950, North Korean troops flooded across the border into South Korea. The invasion immediately escalated into an encounter between the so-called Free World and the Communist Bloc. Hollywood likewise responded with a series of low-budget combat movies depicting Americans at war. Most of the Korean-era films were forgettable, although *Pork Chop Hill* (1959) stood as a notable exception. Directed by the esteemed Lewis Milestone and starring Gregory Peck, the picture addressed both the battle of the same name and some of its political implications.

Several films attempted to capitalize on the mistreatment of American prisoners of war during their confinement. *The Rack* (1956) gave a good psychological portrait of such a soldier after his return home. The movie also served as an effective stepping-stone in the career of Paul Newman.

Serious Films

When it came to straightforward dramatic storytelling and mass production, Hollywood in the 1950s had no equal, though French, Italian, Swedish, and Japanese directors also

ACADEMY AWARD WINNERS

Year of release, not year of award.

1950 Picture: *All About Eve*
Director: Joseph L. Mankiewicz, *All About Eve*
Actor: Jose Ferrer, *Cyrano de Bergerac*
Actress: Judy Holliday, *Born Yesterday*

1951 Picture: *An American in Paris*
Director: George Stevens, *A Place in the Sun*
Actor: Humphrey Bogart, *The African Queen*
Actress: Vivien Leigh, *A Streetcar Named Desire*

1952 Picture: *The Greatest Show on Earth*
Director: John Ford, *The Quiet Man*
Actor: Gary Cooper, *High Noon*
Actress: Shirley Booth, *Come Back, Little Sheba*

1953 Picture: *From Here to Eternity*
Director: Fred Zinnemann, *From Here to Eternity*
Actor: William Holden, *Stalag 17*
Actress: Audrey Hepburn, *Roman Holiday*

1954 Picture: *On the Waterfront*
Director: Elia Kazan, *On the Waterfront*
Actor: Marlon Brando, *On the Waterfront*
Actress: Grace Kelly, *The Country Girl*

1955 Picture: *Marty*
Director: Delbert Mann, *Marty*
Actor: Ernest Borgnine, *Marty*
Actress: Anna Magnani, *The Rose Tattoo*

1956 Picture: *Around the World in 80 Days*
Director: George Stevens, *Giant*
Actor: Yul Brynner, *The King and I*
Actress: Ingrid Bergman, *Anastasia*

1957 Picture: *The Bridge on the River Kwai*
Director: David Lean, *The Bridge on the River Kwai*
Actor: Alec Guinness, *The Bridge on the River Kwai*
Actress: Joanne Woodward, *The Three Faces of Eve*

1958 Picture: *Gigi*
Director: Vincente Minnelli, *Gigi*
Actor: David Niven, *Separate Tables*
Actress: Susan Hayward, *I Want to Live*

1959 Picture: *Ben-Hur*
Director: William Wyler, *Ben-Hur*
Actor: Charlton Heston, *Ben-Hur*
Actress: Simone Signoret, *Room at the Top*

produced artistic triumphs. For example, *The 400 Blows* (France, 1959), *La Strada* (Italy, 1954), *The Seventh Seal* (Sweden, 1957), and *Rashomon* (Japan, 1950) are today generally considered classics of cinema, but limited distribution and audience reluctance to watch foreign films made their popular impact almost nil during the decade. (See "Foreign Films" below.)

Hollywood's glossy, dramatic interpretation of the 1950s stressed the white, middle-class values familiar to a majority of Americans. Only a handful of films examined minority groups in a sympathetic way, and these generally did poorly at the box office.

In *Executive Suite* (1954) some of the basic tenets of fifties corporate culture received examination. Based on Cameron Hawley's best-selling 1952 novel of the same name, the movie posited the belief that, for a man, a successful career must come first—family and personal concerns of necessity were secondary. The idea of women in the upper echelons of business life remained foreign to most American filmmakers; women nurtured the bruised egos of their men when the competition got rough, but they seldom entered the fray themselves.

Author Sloan Wilson penned another popular novel of the period, *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* (1955). Made into a movie in 1956, its title became a metaphor for both male fashions and advertising executives. (See Advertising of the 1950s.) A slick story about the lives of New York ad men on Madison Avenue, both book and movie claimed to depict contemporary manners and mores, smoothly glossing over any difficult questions that might arise. Like *Executive Suite,*

NOTABLE MOVIES

Excluding Best Picture winners.

Cinderella (1950)
Sunset Boulevard (1950)
The African Queen (1951)
A Place in the Sun (1951)
A Streetcar Named Desire (1951)
High Noon (1952)
Singin' in the Rain (1952)
Roman Holiday (1953)
Shane (1953)
Rear Window (1954)
Rebel Without a Cause (1955)
Giant (1956)
Guys and Dolls (1955)
The Searchers (1956)
I Was a Teenage Werewolf (1957)
12 Angry Men (1957)
Vertigo (1958)
Cat on a Hot Tin Roof (1958)
North by Northwest (1959)
Some Like It Hot (1959)

the male characters must choose between family and career. A successful job, a secure place in the system, an understanding wife—these were the goals to be attained in 1950s America.

Not every successful drama portrayed a buttoned-down, flannel-suited businessman, however. *Marty* (1955), a completely unanticipated hit, was a low-budget production that made a star of actor Ernest Borgnine and proved that occasionally audiences could be more discerning than expected. Yet another transfer from television, *Marty* first appeared on *The Goodyear Playhouse* in 1953, with Rod Steiger in the lead role. Marty worked as a butcher, not an ad man, and Paddy Chayefsky's script (he wrote both the teleplay and the screenplay) gave a moving portrayal of urban loneliness. A commercial success, *Marty* garnered four Academy Awards, including Best Picture and Best Actor.

Film Noir

Most critics agree that the period from 1940 to 1960 marks the time of the greatest film noir, or "black film," productions. Little existed in film noir that moviemakers had not attempted before, but the success with which the industry produced a long string of pictures employing certain techniques gave rise to the term. As the phrase suggests, dark, shadowy dramas distinguished the noir style, and cinematography became as important as plotting, a condition that assured black and white as the preferred colors of the medium.

No one director, cinematographer, or studio, stood out as being preeminent in the noir style. For the twenty years that mark its greatest popularity, film noir enjoyed a wide audience. A successful noir film used tried and familiar imagery. A neon sign flickering on a fog-enshrouded street, cigarette smoke backlit by lamps or headlights, the interplay of extreme light and dark, nighttime in the darkened city as a metaphor for danger. Such familiarity stood at the heart of much popular culture; the fulfillment of expectations brought people back to formulaic movies, fiction, television, and music.

Mysteries represented the best noir films of the fifties. Audiences already knew the image of the detective, cigarette dangling from his lips, trench coat pulled tight against a misty rain. Most pictures in this genre were low-budget affairs, employing actors who had not attained true star status; instead they relied on plot, dialogue, and mood. A few of the more enduring titles included *In a Lonely Place* (1950), *Night and the City* (1950), *Detective Story* (1951), *Strangers on a Train* (1951), *Sudden Fear* (1952), *The Big Heat* (1953), *Cry Vengeance* (1954), *Kiss Me Deadly* (1955), *The Killing* (1956), *The Sweet Smell of Success* (1957), and *Touch of Evil* (1958).

A number of events sealed the doom of film noir. In an attempt to lure more viewers, movie screens grew larger and color became the preferred film stock. Television, with the intimacy of the small screen and with most productions still produced in black and white, quickly claimed much of the noir territory. By the end of the decade, the style had virtually disappeared from theaters.[2]

Musicals

Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) completely dominated the musical genre, starting with the rambunctious *Annie Get Your Gun* in 1950 and wrapping up the decade with *Gigi* in 1958. Using top talent, and matching that with quality production values, the studio produced a series of movie musicals that have come to be considered classics.[3]

Many of Hollywood's musicals have been adaptations of previous Broadway offerings. For example, *Annie Get Your Gun* had opened on Broadway in 1946; Ethel Merman, one of the great stars of the American stage, played Annie Oakley. When discussions of a movie version came up, Merman was not available and the coveted role fell to Betty Hutton, a veteran dancer and singer. It proved a wise choice, and the commercial success of the filmed *Annie Get Your Gun* (1950) emboldened Hollywood to plunge ahead with numerous other musical offerings.

Continuing the practice of borrowing from Broadway, *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (1953) took a 1947 play and added to the mix two potent sex symbols of the era, actresses Marilyn Monroe and Jane Russell. The growing popularity of Monroe assured a strong box office return and even spurred a lackluster sequel, *Gentlemen Marry Brunettes* (1955). In a bit of unusual casting, MGM convinced Marlon Brando to play Sky Masterson in 1955's *Guys and Dolls,* the studio's adaptation of the classic 1950 musical. With help from a strong score and excellent costars, Brando managed to carry his part. By this time, musicals were such a major constituent of film production that actors clamored for roles in them.

A big hit on Broadway in 1943, Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein's *Oklahoma!* finally made it to movie theaters in 1955. The picture's commercial success led to still more stage-to-screen conversions of older plays such as *Anything Goes* (stage, 1934; film, 1956), *Pal Joey* (stage, 1940; film, 1957), and *Carousel* (stage, 1945; film, 1956). The studios maintained a strong relationship with Broadway; although relatively few people ever saw a New York stage musical, millions watched the film version. In addition, radio and television further popularized the music from these productions, often making the score more familiar than the play itself.[4] (See "Theater" below.)

Two the greatest musicals of the 1950s were created specifically for the screen: *An American in Paris* (1951) and *Singin' in the Rain* (1952), both from MGM and both featuring Gene Kelly, one of America's great dancers. Their popular success marked the rise of the movie musical during the decade. Given their cinematic production values—large, changing sets, varied camera angles, manipulation of time and space—they would have been difficult, if not impossible, to replicate on even the most modern stage.

By 1958, box office receipts had dwindled. As a kind of last gasp, *Gigi* (1958) established stardom for Leslie Caron, but Rodgers and Hammerstein's long-awaited *South Pacific* (1958) arrived to anemic reviews because it lacked the original Broadway cast of Mary Martin and Ezio Pinza. Because of the high production expenses of musicals, the long rise of the Hollywood musical had decidedly slowed down.

Religious Spectacles

As competition from television grew more intense, studio executives employed a device available only to film: the ability to project large-scale action and spectacle onto the screen.

Early on producers turned to the religious epic. Boasting elaborate staging, these spectacles tended to be set in the early Christian era. This made allowances for all the old, tried-and-true props of miracles in the desert, gladiators and chariots, mystics and believers, and fantastic costumes and sets. Historical and theological accuracy never seemed a concern. Among the more notable efforts were *Samson and Delilah* (1950), *Quo Vadis?* (1951), *David and Bathsheba* (1951), *The Robe* (1953), *Solomon and Sheba* (1959), and the last religious saga of the decade, *Ben-Hur* (1959).

As long as audiences did not object to the obvious tinkering with the Bible, they could sit back and enjoy Charlton Heston hurling down thunderbolts as Moses in *The Ten Commandments* (1956) or racing his chariot around the Roman Forum in *Ben-Hur* (his acting style lent itself well to such pictures). Utterly lacking in subtlety,

CECIL B. DEMILLE

Cecil B. DeMille (1881–1959) was one of the early giants of American film. Born to modest economic beginnings, DeMille was that great American trope, the man who became a legend by lifting himself up by the bootstraps. An indefatigable self-promoter, DeMille paved the way for the director as celebrity, exemplified by Woody Allen, Alfred Hitchcock, and Martin Scorsese. DeMille successfully navigated the transition from silent films to talkies and is perhaps best known for his film *The Ten Commandments,* which he directed both as a silent version in 1923 and as a full-blown, nearly four-hour extravaganza in the 1956 version with Charlton Heston as Moses. What makes DeMille so interesting is the fact that he's an example of a highly successful man affected by all the major changes of the twentieth century. For instance, he was seriously hurt by the stock market crash of 1929, emerging almost broke. Afterward, he left with his wife for Europe, hoping to drum up interest in movie deals. Unsuccessful overseas, DeMille returned to Hollywood, scored a single film deal at Paramount, turned a profit, and stayed at Paramount for the rest of his life.

the religious epics' calls to blind faith in an age of anxiety and ambiguity gave audiences a brief time-out from contemporary concerns. Unlike so many forgotten films from the era, the religious epics have developed a life of their own. At Christmas and Easter, network, cable, and satellite broadcasters run them over and over, and the ratings remain consistently high.

Science Fiction

The technological advances of the decade, coupled with fears about nuclear weapons and their aftermath, led to the production of a number of science fiction films. In many instances, the monsters and aliens that populated these films were depicted as the results of well-meaning but poorly executed experiments.

At the opening of the decade, films like *Destination Moon* (1950) and *Rocketship X-M* (1950) utilized straightforward stories of space exploration. They reflected the growing certainty that space would be the next frontier and carried no subtext about an out-of-control technology.

The War of the Worlds (1953), a dazzling version of the classic 1898 H. G. Wells story, cautioned against an over-reliance on machines and resolved itself in an almost religious way, with the Martians being destroyed by earthly germs.

Most of the cinematic science fiction of the fifties, however, came across as dark and pessimistic. In *The Day the Earth Stood Still* (1951), a flying saucer announces the arrival of a visitor from "somewhere else," presumably a much-advanced civilization. The visitor, accompanied by an impregnable robot named Gort, warns Earth that it must stop experimenting with atomic weapons and submit to more enlightened leadership. To refuse will mean destruction.

The idea that nuclear knowledge could have threatening consequences took on urgency as the decade progressed and weaponry became more deadly. The thought of mutual assured destruction (MAD), as the policy was known, only reinforced the anxieties of the time. *The Thing* (1951) played on this fear. Scientists stationed at an Arctic outpost discover a nonhuman intruder. The monster is seen only briefly, allowing audiences to imagine what they will. As much a horror picture as an exercise in science fiction, *The Thing* also fit in nicely with the anti-Communist rhetoric of the time. The story suggested that suspicious characters lurked everywhere; one risked everything to let down his guard.

If *The Thing* stood as a cautionary tale, then *Invaders from Mars* (1953), *Creature from the Black Lagoon* (1954), *Them!* (1954), *Tarantula* (1955), *It Came from Beneath the Sea* (1955), and *It Conquered the World* (1956) showed what scientific carelessness could cause. Children saw things that their parents could not believe; mutated creatures rose up from muck or hatched from eggs; insects grew to incredible sizes, and horrible creatures invaded an unprepared Earth. The fact that Hollywood produced so many movies with similar themes suggests the remarkable popularity of these films during the 1950s.[5]

These pictures tended to be a mix of horror, bad acting, cheap special effects, and silly stories. The intended audience—usually teenagers packed into



Poster for *Earth vs. the Flying Saucers,* a 1956 movie starring Hugh Marlowe, Joan Taylor, and Donald Curtis, illustrated with flying saucers and dead Earth people and spacemen from an alien planet. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

a car for an evening of drive-in entertainment—did not mind, and only a few of the films rose above their perceived audience. For instance, *Forbidden Planet* (1956) has come to be recognized as a minor science fiction classic. Based loosely on Shakespeare's *The Tempest,* the story involves space explorers looking for a lost colony of adventurers who end up in a brave new world on a distant planet. Robby the Robot steals the show, an obedient, good-natured mechanical servant anxious to please his human masters.

The last years of the decade saw special effects displacing plot and character. Radiation from botched experiments caused unanticipated results in *The Incredible Shrinking Man* (1957), whereas a human brain implanted into a huge robot created the opposite effect in *The Colossus of New York* (1958). *The Deadly Mantis* (1957) delivered just what its title promised: a huge mantis released from centuries-old sleep. In *The Blob* (1958), Steve McQueen battles a Jell-O-like creature; only he and other teens can save the earth. Regardless of storyline, all these films returned to a theme of meddling with the natural order of things and its horrible results.

Westerns

Some of the best films of the fifties involved cowboys, Indians, shoot-'em-ups, and the mythic story of the West. On the other hand, many of the westerns produced during the decade survived as little more than cheap "B" movies, quickly shot on the back lots of Hollywood studios and rushed

into distribution. Either way, the western occupied a significant part of the era's movie history.

The 1950s began with the "B" western already an established part of the film industry. Lesser known studios found such productions their lifeblood, shooting countless features from 60 to 90 minutes long and often inserting stock footage from previous movies to hold down costs. They relied on an array of actors, both good and bad. For example, singing cowboy Gene Autry made some 30 forgettable low-budget westerns during the decade, but diehard fans kept asking for more.

The rise of the so-called adult western on television shifted Hollywood's production of "B" westerns to the small screen. The big-budget variety continued to be made consistently throughout the 1950s. With wide screens, Technicolor, and top stars, Hollywood could still turn out a product that drew crowds at the box office and was unavailable to television.

Although a bit old for a western hero, Gary Cooper rose to the occasion in *High Noon* (1952), a classic of the genre, and it gained him an Academy Award for Best Actor. In this movie, Cooper plays a beleaguered sheriff who must stand alone and resist the simplistic thinking of the crowd. Made at a time when "going along" and the concept of the compliant "organization man" were in vogue, the picture portrayed a good character in a bad situation. In reality, many equally good people found their reputations and careers ruined by overly zealous investigative committees, and few individuals would stand with them against this kind of attack.

As a rule, the movie western looked to the good side of American myth. Occasionally, however, a movie came along that showed its dark underside. In 1956, John Wayne collaborated with director John Ford, the man with whom he had made some of his best films. The result of this collaboration was *The Searchers,* a story about the dogged search for the whereabouts and fate of Wayne's niece, played by Natalie Wood. In a complex plot that covers years, Wayne's character emerges as an Indian-hater, a man obsessed by racial fears. Both Ford in his direction and Wayne in his performance emerged as problematical figures; the Indians were treated with sensitivity, a rarity in westerns at that time, but the hatred and the single-mindedness of the quest reflected much about American society at the time.

Because they claimed to be based on history, westerns at times supported themes that would be forbidden in other movie genres. For example, racism appeared not just in *The Searchers,* but in many 1950s westerns. White supremacy overrode everything, and Indians assumed the roles traditionally taken by blacks. Throughout the decade, Wayne burnished his image as a defender of staunch conservative values, a position that endeared him to many, but irritated others.

Women's Movies

During the 1950s, dozens of pictures seemingly played on the feelings of women. Formulaic, the movies tended to feature strong women characters that must endure an emotional roller coaster as they resolved complex relationships. The male characters, usually presented as weak or downright weepy, relied on the strengths of a caring woman. In consideration of the times, however, even the strongest women deferred to the men in the story.

Collective studio thinking about these films dictated that the audience wanted wrenching emotional drama, often at the cost of plausible stories or convincing acting. A liberal amount of sex—usually more implied than depicted—did not hurt box office receipts. A prime example was *Magnificent Obsession* (1954). The title speaks volumes: this film did not deal with a normal love affair or some distant goal; rather, it dealt with an obsession. The film focuses on a drunken playboy whose actions lead to the accidental death of a good man and loss of sight for the man's wife. After much soul-searching, he mends his ways, becomes a surgeon, and proceeds to restore the widow's sight. Melodramatic in every frame, *Obsession* typified this category of picture. It also made a star of Rock Hudson, and, as evidence of the durability of the genre, it had been filmed once before; in 1935 Robert Taylor played the same role and received the same star treatment.

Bigger at the box office than *Magnificent Obsession* was *Peyton Place* (1957). Based on the steamy, best-selling 1956 novel by Grace Metalious, the movie promised lurid sex and lots of it. It also

offered an all-star cast headed by Lana Turner, Arthur Kennedy, and Lloyd Nolan. The studio Twentieth Century-Fox spared no expense, either in production or marketing, riding the wave of success enjoyed by the book. It assured audiences that here, on account of the melodramatic plot, was a "three handkerchief movie," meaning emotions ran high and tears poured out, a common assumption among those producing films for women.

Peyton Place may not have satisfied everyone, but it nevertheless drew people to theaters. Peyton Place, a fictional small town in rural New Hampshire, serves as the focus of the story. The vaunted sexual revolution had not yet occurred, and traditional morality still ruled the day. Metalious's frank presentation of behaviors that exceeded most norms caused a storm of controversy—and resulted in sales and admissions that probably exceeded most early estimates. What the novel detailed in explicit detail, the movie, given Production Code restrictions, only hinted at. (See Books, Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics of the 1950s.) The sex may have been oblique, but the heavy breathing and melodramatic acting of the cast seemed to titillate 1957 audiences, calling attention to a prurience usually repressed by American popular culture.

Come Back, Little Sheba (1952) and *The Country Girl* (1954), two acclaimed films, strove to rise above their tawdry material. Thanks to strong performances by their female leads, they succeeded. Shirley Booth (*Little Sheba*) and Grace Kelly (*Country Girl*) both won Academy Awards, lending credence to the importance Hollywood placed on this kind of feature.

Foreign Films

Toward the end of the decade, European and Japanese filmmakers had begun to distribute increasing numbers of movies in the United States. Accordingly, struggling neighborhood theaters transformed themselves into "cinemas" or "art houses." These theaters found a small but enthusiastic following for the latest imported movies. For most of the 1950s, however, the impact of foreign films remained negligible and the mass audience stayed faithful to Hollywood's offerings.

HOW OTHERS SEE US

Hooray for Bollywood

The film industry of India, affectionately known as "Bollywood," is big business, producing up to 1,000 features a year and reaching audiences throughout Southeast Asia and around the world. Bollywood films are famous for their elaborate musical numbers, complex plots, and lengthy running times.

All these traditions can be traced back to the films of director Mehboob Khan (1907–1964), who drew on the look and mood of American movies during Hollywood's Golden Age while espousing traditional Indian values. *Andaaz* (1949), regarded as the first modern film of the newly independent India, reflected the technical gloss and fashionable sets of any American drama in the service of a love-triangle storyline that reflected clashing Indian and Western mores. The design and cinematography of Khan's 1952 epic *Aan,* one of the earliest all-color Indian features, was influenced by American adventures such as *The Thief of Baghdad*. What's more, Khan's best-known film, *Mother India* (1957), recalled *Gone with the Wind* in its length and historic sweep, *Stella Dallas* in its enshrinement of maternal suffering, and the entire catalog of MGM movie musicals in its song and dance numbers.

In *Mother India,* Khan made his strongest bid at filming a global blockbuster, one that would be definitively Indian while appealing to audiences elsewhere. He visited Hollywood in 1958 to pitch the film for American distribution and to explore joint ventures with American producers. *Mother India* was released in the United States the next year (in a much-edited version called *A Handful of Grain*), and though it was not a commercial success—one American critic called the film "unorthodox" in its "howling, suffering and musical hopping," while another concluded that it would be "difficult for average movie fans to appreciate"—it did garner an Academy Award nomination for Best Foreign Language Film, the first Indian production to do so.

In 1956, *And God Created Woman,* a French film by director Roger Vadim, shocked audiences with an opening sequence that showed a supine—and unclothed—Brigitte Bardot, the "woman" of the title. The import pitted would-be censors against film-as-art supporters. The censors lost, and the movie made several million dollars in the United States. Its success encouraged quality pictures like *Wild Strawberries* (Sweden, 1957), *Throne of Blood* (Japan, 1957), *Black Orpheus* (Brazil, 1959), and *Hiroshima, Mon Amour* (France/Japan, 1959).

One foreign film from 1956 deserves mention in any discussion of popular culture: Japan's *Godzilla: King of the Monsters!* A cheaply made picture about a sleeping monster awakened by atomic blasts, it features clips of American actor Raymond Burr intercut with the Japanese story. This arbitrary intrusion proved needless, distracting, and at times hilarious; the fascination of *Godzilla* rests with the monster and its ensuing actions. A hulking beast crudely shot in miniature stop-action sequences, Godzilla wreaks havoc on every model city he attacks. Stilted, awkward, amateurish—*Godzilla* quickly rose to cult status. Since 1956, over twenty sequels have been shot, none matching the original.

Censorship

Hollywood chafed under the restrictions on language, imagery, and content imposed by the Production Code Administration, a group of industry censors that had been ruling what could and could not be seen and said in films since 1934. For example, characters could not swear, sex could only be hinted at, and nudity was banned. In order to be assured distribution, all commercial movies had to pass Code approval, thus allowing it to effectively control American movie content.

In 1953, a light comedy titled *The Moon Is Blue* defied the Production Code. Directed by the esteemed Otto Preminger and adapted from a hit Broadway play, the film employed innuendo freely, as well the forbidden words "virgin," "seduce," and "pregnant." Denied a seal of approval, United Artists released it anyway, and the subsequent publicity caused the feature to do well. Defenders of the film argued that movies have protection under the free speech clause of the Constitution. The defense proved successful, the first of several successful challenges to the outmoded Production Code, and caused censors to loosen their grips significantly.

With its authority weakened, and with continuing assaults on its rules and worries about declining attendance at theaters, the Code underwent significant revision in 1956, allowing Hollywood to put previously forbidden subjects on the screen, something television could not also do because of its governance by the Federal Communications Commission. In short order, pregnancy, interracial marriage, miscegenation, abortion, and prostitution, could all serve as legitimate movie topics, provided directors handled them in a seemly manner.

RADIO

In the immediate postwar period (1946–1949), radio experienced extensive growth as new stations went on the air. Ninety-five percent of American households owned at least one radio in 1950, and more than half of all U.S. automobiles had radios by the early 1950s. Then, with the beginning of the new decade, listenership plummeted. Faced with the inevitability of change, radio went about reinventing itself, returning to its roots of music and news. By the close of the 1950s, virtually no original programming could be heard on network or locally independent stations; all had gone to a schedule of disc jockeys and recorded music, with a sprinkling of sports and news.

Radio's Dilemma

New stations, long postponed by the Depression and World War II, came into being at a rapid rate in the late forties and early fifties. The number of AM (amplitude modulation) stations jumped from 930 in 1945 to more than 2,300 by 1952. FM (frequency modulation) experienced even more explosive growth, jumping from just 46 stations at the end of the war to over 600 broadcasters in 1952. In addition, several hundred would-be operators, just waiting for the opportunity to go on the air, had licenses pending in 1952 with the Federal Communications Commission (FCC).[6]

RADIO DEBUTS OF THE 1950s

Big Jon and Sparkie (1950): children's show about the adventures of a "little elf from the land of make-believe."

The Bob and Ray Show (1951): national broadcasts of Bob Elliott and Ray Goulding's deadpan comic parodies of pop culture.

Silver Eagle (1951): the daring exploits of Jim West, a Canadian Mountie.

I Was a Communist for the FBI (1952): an FBI agent infiltrates a Communist Party cell in this ultra-patriotic drama aired at the height of the McCarthy era.

Space Patrol (1952): in the twenty-first century, Earth's Commander Buzz Corey leads the fight against evil interplanetary forces.

Gunsmoke (1952): U.S. Marshal Matt Dillon maintains law and order in Dodge City in this classic western starring William Conrad, which begins on TV in 1955 with James Arness as Dillon.

My Little Margie (1952): situation comedy about a New York City widower and his madcap 21-year-old daughter; its radio run coincides with a TV show featuring the same name and cast.

Hour of Decision (1953): Sunday-morning sermons with the Reverend Billy Graham.

X Minus 1 (1955): science fiction anthology series, with scripts adapted from the stories of writers such as Robert A. Heinlein, Ray Bradbury, Philip K. Dick, and Isaac Asimov.

Have Gun—Will Travel (1958): radio version of the successful TV western about the professional gunman Paladin in 1875 California.

By 1959, despite the fierce competition of television, 3,431 AM and 850 FM stations could be found across the United States. Yet, despite the growth in numbers of stations and receivers in the postwar years, significant changes occurred in ownership and programming. Only half of the nation's broadcasters continued to be associated with a network (ABC, CBS, Mutual, or Keystone), a situation that would accelerate throughout the remainder of the decade. Even with this setback, the networks scheduled more programming during the 1953–1954 season than they ever had. Their efforts, however, failed; affiliations continued to drop, and network programming dropped off sharply after 1954.[7]

Two years later the networks had ceased most original radio productions. Gone were the comedians, the mysteries, the variety revues, and all the other elaborate programming that so characterized immediate postwar American radio. Within the same period, more and more TV stations came on the air, associating with the ABC, CBS, and NBC networks. Television could claim more entertainers, more big names, and more variety, while radio helplessly watched its former stars move to the new medium. National advertisers moved their accounts to television as well.

In spite of the loss of national accounts, total radio advertising revenue actually rose in the early 1950s. The creation of new AM stations and the expansion of regional and local radio advertising helped compensate for the decline in network revenues, with precipitous losses being absorbed by the networks themselves. A national medium evolved into a localized one; by the end of the decade, two-thirds of a typical station's income came from local advertisers.

FM Broadcasting

One area of radio held out great hope for broadcasters: FM. The 1950s were expected to be FM's glory decade, with people everywhere acquiring new receivers and listening to quality high-fidelity programming. But people did not rush to buy FM radios and sponsors did not line up. Instead, people rushed to buy new televisions and sponsors lined up to buy time on television. In addition, a series of unwise decisions by the FCC during the late 1940s limited the FM spectrum available to radio broadcasters, further dampening enthusiasm for the creation of new stations.

During this time, strong AM stations frequently owned a fledgling FM operation. As a result, the programs on both AM and FM were often the same. Why buy an expensive new FM receiver, why sponsor a show, when the same programming could be heard on AM? FM stations that attempted independent programming, usually classical music, attracted small, dedicated audiences. Advertisers

displayed little interest in such limited listenership and only a handful of new FM stations came on the air for most of the 1950s, including subsidized educational stations often run by colleges and universities.[8]

Stereo Broadcasting

Radio stations had been experimenting with stereo programming since 1952. Their approach usually involved broadcasting through dual channels, one on the AM frequency and the other on FM. Although this form of stereophonic transmission worked, it required separate AM and FM receivers that could be played independently of one another. A combination AM-FM receiver would not work because the two formats could not be played at the same time, plus 1950s sets had only one speaker, not the requisite two.

Because television sound is broadcast over the FM band, experimentation continued with occasional musical shows playing on one channel through a television set, while the other channel played over an AM radio. The gambit failed. The AM sound proved inferior to FM; not only that, listeners had to have a radio and TV on simultaneously. Not until the early sixties did stereophonic broadcasting through a single source become technologically feasible.

Science Fiction

Despite declining advertising revenues and disappearing audiences, a momentary bright spot for radio programmers lit up in the form of science fiction. During the 1950s, a spate of new shows attracted listeners, and they shared common themes of space exploration, invention, and fantasy. One of the first was *Dimension X,* an NBC production that premiered in 1950 and ran well into 1951. Capitalizing on the vogue for science fiction movies, the show used imaginative sound effects instead of futuristic visual sets. In 1955, NBC scheduled *X-Minus One,* a virtual twin to *Dimension X*. It ran until 1958, adding new scripts and new fans to the genre.

Both *Dimension X* and *X-Minus One* borrowed from the popular science fiction pulp magazines of the day. Authors like Ray Bradbury, Robert Bloch, Robert Sheckley, and a host of others, all veterans of the pulps, contributed to both series. Not to be outdone, CBS scheduled a series titled *Escape* (1947–1954). Focusing more on adventure stories than straight science fiction, *Escape* nonetheless enthralled listeners with tales of survival and fantasy. It, too, relied on the pulp magazines for many of its writers, finding their detailed, descriptive writing styles well suited to the aural medium of radio.

Two science fiction radio series aimed at younger audiences that had counterparts in television were *Space Patrol* (1950–1955) and *Tom Corbett, Space Cadet* (1952); both were products of ABC-Radio. ABC-TV also produced *Space Patrol* for television from 1950 to 1955. *Tom Corbett, Space Cadet* enjoyed a considerably longer and more varied life on TV. The series began in 1950 on CBS, shifted to ABC in 1951, and then went to NBC for two years. DuMont, a small TV network of the time, picked it up for the 1953 and 1954 seasons, and the show returned to NBC in 1955 where it ended that summer.

Top 40 Programming

While radio was losing all its old mainstays, a new concept in broadcasting began taking hold in the Midwest. In 1955, a station in Omaha, Nebraska, played only those songs identified in published lists as being the most popular in the country. Limited to hits listed from number 1 to number 40, the concept proved successful with youthful audiences, and while many smaller stations adopted the practice, some of the larger urban markets proved resistant. Top 40 programmers based their rationale around the perception that, it being the mid-1950s, most popular music would consist of rock 'n' roll, and station directors assumed the audience would consist primarily of teenagers.

Surveys showed that the youth market was the primary block of listeners, so the Top 40 format became irresistible to many stations. At the same time, the move to Top 40 proved the death knell for most network productions, other than news and sports. Using colorful, talkative disk jockeys, along with contests, giveaways, and other promotions, stations succeeded in attracting a large

listener base and, more importantly, numerous sponsors.

In order to lessen criticism of their programming practices, many stations began to experiment with more varied formats in the late 1950s. "Oldies" (songs from the recent past), adult contemporary, religious, country and western, jazz, and middle of the road emerged as programming approaches evolving from the Top 40 concept. By the end of the decade, American AM radio had clearly decided that its future lay with recorded popular music.

TELEVISION

Regularly scheduled television broadcasts began in the United States in 1927, but few people had access to the new TV technology. In 1946, wartime restrictions were lifted and receivers could again be manufactured. Sixteen stations were on the air in 1947, a number that jumped to 107 by 1951. As ownership of television sets swelled, people became increasingly literate in the visual sense, making decisions about who and what they liked and disliked on the basis of the images projected on their TV screen.

Early Broadcasting

In the beginning, much television drama relied on traditional theatrics—actors moving about on a small stage, all within the gaze of a fixed camera. Producers gave emphasis to creativity in playwriting and performance, and the medium's debts to legitimate theater and vaudeville were many. By the early 1950s, however, television became much more cinematic and much less static a medium, looking to Hollywood for aesthetic inspiration.[9]

Postwar commercial television struggled, primarily from a lack of equipment and technical problems. Between 1948 and 1952, the Federal Communications Commission imposed a freeze on new stations as the industry sought to solve numerous shortcomings. In time, most licenses gained approval, and by the end of the fifties, well over 500 TV stations (515 commercial, 44 educational) had gone on the air.[10]

Network television, with the successes and failures of radio as models, moved quickly in the early 1950s to provide as much variety as possible. The TV menu presented to viewers every evening rivaled anything radio had provided in its best days—plus, a picture accompanied the sound.

VHF, UHF, and ETV

The FCC, in 1951, allowed many new stations to broadcast on the UHF (ultrahigh frequency) waveband, a move that opened up the potential for more than a thousand additional stations across the country. Designed to supplement the VHF (very high frequency) band where all broadcasters had previously been assigned, UHF broadcast channels 14–89. VHF carried channels 2–13 (channel 1 was reserved for emergencies and service broadcasting). The FCC stipulated that channels 14–69 could carry commercial stations, reserving 70–89 for special broadcasting. This well-meaning move attempted to open up competition to many more stations, but it overlooked the fact that most existing sets could pick up only VHF signals.[11]

To get around the inability of existing television sets to receive UHF signals, a number of devices came on the market that promised to overcome the problem. These gadgets attached to a set's existing antenna terminals and supposedly expanded its range. They provided inferior picture quality, however, and few people rushed out to buy them. Not until ten years later, in 1961, did the FCC decree that all new receivers had to have the ability to pick up UHF as well as VHF broadcasting. As a result, very few UHF stations could make a commercial go of it in the fifties, since sponsors were loath to support channels that only a few could receive.

The FCC also ruled in 1951 that some television channels had to be reserved for educational programming, or ETV (educational television). In 1953, the first ETV station began broadcasting and was soon followed by a number of others. Out of this grew National Education Television (NET), a loose grouping of stations dedicated to creating educational programs. Instructional TV frequently went on the air early in the morning (5:30–6:00 A.M.) to allow working people to take courses. By 1959, 45 NET stations had come on the air. Because most of them got assigned to

the UHF band, they lacked any commercial support, and without subsidies their survival proved problematical.[12]

Television Impacts

During the transition from radio to television, roughly from 1948 to 1952, many cities had no television reception. Studies found that movie attendance dropped sharply in areas receiving a signal, while those without TV reception showed no commensurate drop. In a similar fashion, people did not go out to sporting events or restaurants as frequently when they could watch TV at home. Even libraries reported lower circulation in cities with access to television. By the mid-1950s, however, virtually the entire country could receive at least one channel, and any remaining pockets of isolation were quickly identified and efforts made to reach them. Television had become, in just a few short years, the primary carrier of both entertainment and information. In fact, by 1960, 13 percent of American households had more than one TV set, a sure sign of the medium's success.[13]

Television proved an expensive investment for consumers. In 1952, a typical black-and-white set with an 11- or 12-inch screen cost about $250, plus installation. A rooftop antenna was also a necessity in most places to get reasonable reception.

But mass production soon brought the high prices down, the screens grew larger, and the overall quality rose. By the middle of the decade, the same amount of money would buy a vastly improved 21-inch set.

In 1955, General Electric introduced the first truly portable TV set. Until then, receivers were large, bulky boxes, often handsomely constructed with wood cabinets, and they could easily weigh over a hundred pounds. The new GE model had a 14-inch screen and weighed only 26 pounds. A sturdy handle ran the length of the casing for convenient carrying. No longer disguised as part of a living room suite, the portable TV found a ready audience. By 1956, virtually every manufacturer offered portable models, and they assumed their place as "second sets." Television had gone from being a novelty to a mass medium in which second and even third sets became commonplace in American homes.

Color Television

In a race with rival NBC, CBS had come up with the technology to broadcast in color at the beginning of the decade, but the network's rush to be first overlooked major problems. Sets lacked the equipment to pick up the color signal broadcast by CBS. The first color receivers compatible with the CBS system appeared in 1953 and cost $1,000 or more. Despite their color compatibility and their ability to reproduce black-and-white signals in addition to color ones, the networks broadcast virtually nothing in color, making the purchase impractical.

At the time of these color experiments, Americans were purchasing black-and-white sets at a record pace, virtually all of them incompatible with CBS's proposed system. Rather than have so many people buy new, expensive color sets, the FCC approved rival NBC's color technology as the national standard. The NBC system, while inferior in overall quality to CBS's, was compatible with existing receivers, so viewers could watch color broadcasts in black and white. Economy won out over technology, with the result that consumers had to accept a second-rate color image while not having to purchase a second set.

By 1954, both NBC and CBS began limited color telecasting using the NBC system. ABC, short on cash and perennially in third place among the three networks, did not begin color broadcasts until 1958. The whole controversy turned into a major victory for NBC and made them the industry leader for the remainder of the decade. In 1957, NBC's famed "color peacock" was born, and its colorful tail feathers served as an icon for the network. By that time, a fairly good color set could be purchased for around $600, and the networks worked at presenting more and more of their lineup in "living color." Most shows and series remained black-and-white, but by 1957, the networks transmitted about 500 hours of color annually—still less than two hours a day. They called these color shows "specials": one- or two-hour productions independent of any ongoing series.[14]

TV Ratings

While the FCC attempted to impose order in the color debates, the Big Three networks wanted

to know who watched what programs. The idea of tracking audiences and their preferences originated with radio in the 1930s. In 1950, the firm of A. C. Nielsen landed contracts with the TV networks to collect data about the viewing public. They used the Nielsen Television Index, a meter attached to a TV set that monitored when a particular channel was on and for how long. Nielsen's sample audience consisted of 1,200 families across the United States that had agreed to have the machine installed in their homes.

The meter, crude by later standards, could not prove if anyone actually watched, only that the set had been tuned to a specific channel. Nevertheless, the results impressed broadcasters, who presented this information to advertisers with authority. The network with the best ratings (i.e., the most sets tuned to that network) could therefore charge the highest fees for advertising time in that slot.

NOTABLE TELEVISION SHOWS

The Ed Sullivan Show (The Toast of the Town) (1948–1971)

Talent Scouts (with Arthur Godfrey) (1948–1958)

Texaco Star Theater (The Milton Berle Show) (1948–1956)

The Garry Moore Show (CBS, 1950–1964).

The Jack Benny Program (1950–1964; 1964–1965),

What's My Line? (1950–1967)

Dragnet (1951–1959)

I Love Lucy (1951–1957)

American Bandstand (1952–1989)

The Jackie Gleason Show (1952–1959)

Alfred Hitchcock Presents (1955–1962)

Gunsmoke (1955–1975)

The Mickey Mouse Club (1955–1959)

The $64,000 Question (1955–1958)

The Steve Allen Show (1956–1960)

Have Gun, Will Travel (1957–1963)

Leave It to Beaver (1957–1963)

Wagon Train (1957–1965)

Television Programming

American television, the most popular mass medium ever, reflected contemporary culture, but it presented a distorted picture of that culture. For most of the decade, the daily and nightly schedules called for shows about white middle-class characters, a narrow, one-dimensional picture of modern society.

Slightly more than a third of the 1950s TV schedule was devoted to the wide category of "drama." This included crime and detective shows, dramatic series, original teleplays, and westerns. Another quarter to a third of all programming presented music, comedy, and variety shows, although toward the end of the decade, that percentage dropped. Quiz shows, long a staple of the television day, occupied roughly 15 percent of the schedule. Children's programming accounted for just less than 10 percent. News and information (weather, sports, interviews, and the like) usually garnered 7 percent. Finally, about 5 percent of the TV schedule, classified as "miscellaneous," included programs like movies, specials of various kinds, and some cultural offerings.[15]

Live Broadcasting

Unlike most television today, live broadcasting characterized the pioneer period of the medium. Instead of using film or videotape, over three-quarters of all productions were broadcast directly from a studio, or "live." As a result, most of the visual record of the early formative years (1947–1951) of commercial television has been lost forever. Since few shows could afford the costs of elaborate film production, they sometimes synchronized a regular movie camera with the flickering, on-screen television image. The resulting film, called a "kinescope," served as an inferior copy of the original production. So poor was the reproduction quality that few kinescopes were made; except for some rare but grainy pieces of film, priceless performances will never again be seen.

In 1951, magnetic videotape came on the market. It proved vastly superior to kinescopes, but early videotapes hardly equaled later ones. It took several more years of constant refinement to achieve quality reproduction. As the technology improved, most production shifted over to the

new format, one that allowed editing of the final image. By the end of the decade, less than 30 percent of all television remained live. Purists might argue that TV lost spontaneity with the advent of videotape, but most audiences enjoyed watching smooth, polished productions without glitches.

Packaged Television

As American television strove to find technical and aesthetic standards for itself, the networks and sponsors shared in developing and producing much prime-time programming. Although this level of control sometimes led to abuses (see Advertising of the 1950s), it also meant American television frequently displayed more diversity and variety than would later be the case. For example, *Omnibus* (CBS, 1952–1956; ABC, 1956–1957; NBC, 1957–1959) was perceived as a "highbrow" show that appealed to audiences with education and money. As long as sponsors had control of *Omnibus,* this limited, niche audience fit their marketing strategies. Consequently, *Omnibus* enjoyed a long run, even though it never achieved great ratings.

The second half of the fifties saw the networks airing almost 50 new shows each and every season. Only about 20 or so of these new entries made it to a second season; many were canceled after just a few episodes. Neither the networks nor the sponsors could turn out new material at such a rate, and so companies known as packagers stepped in. Packagers would bring an idea for a show to the network or sponsor. The packager would create a pilot, or a sample program, assembling writers, actors, and any technical facilities that might be required. The packager would next oversee the actual production of the show in question. Using this process, packagers produced almost two-thirds of network programming by the end of the decade. Sponsors and advertising agencies bought time, not the production itself, and thus had much less say about any aspect of the shows they financed.

For the packagers, syndication emerged as a profitable sideline. Once a show had run its course and no longer appeared in the regular schedules, the packager could rent it to any station for a fee. As a result, popular 1950s series like *Dragnet, Leave It to Beaver,* and *I Love Lucy* could seemingly go on forever in syndication, creating handsome residual payments.

Another way to satisfy television's insatiable demand for shows involved lengthening them. The early fifties had 15-minute and half-hour productions, a carryover from radio, but 1955–1959 saw the hour show move into dominance. By the end of the decade, hour-and-a-half and two-hour productions were not unusual.

Variety and Comedy Shows

Commercial television early on established itself as a vehicle for comedy. At the beginning of the decade, NBC granted comedian Milton Berle a 30-year, multimillion-dollar contract. Already a veteran of the last days of vaudeville, Berle took to television naturally, and his *Texaco Star Theater* (1948–1956) quickly became a favorite among those with receivers.

The Texaco Star Theater reached its zenith in the early fifties, and Berle was dubbed "Mr. Television." As one of the first comedy/variety shows, *The Texaco Star Theater* established many of the standards for subsequent TV comedy. Berle's visual comedy appealed to audiences because of his lack of restraint. Pies in the face and banana peels worked well in the early days of the medium. In time, however, audiences looked for something a bit more sophisticated, and in 1956, NBC canceled both his show and his aforementioned contract.

At the same time NBC introduced *The Texaco Star Theater,* rival CBS launched a variety show called *Toast of the Town* (1948–1971). Working on an initial budget of only a few hundred dollars, the show's host, syndicated newspaper columnist Ed Sullivan (1901–1974), brought together a collection of performers that might have reminded audiences of the days when vaudeville was king. The formula worked, despite the obvious unease Sullivan exhibited under the unblinking eye of the television cameras. *Toast of the Town* (renamed *The Ed Sullivan Show* in 1955) became an early TV hit and reigned supreme among variety shows for years. Sullivan himself remained stiff and ill at ease throughout its celebrated run, perhaps a part of the show's success.

Throughout the fifties, *The Ed Sullivan Show* meant show-business variety, a traditional revue. From trained animal acts to current superstars to European opera personalities, his hour-long program featured them all. Any entertainers desiring national exposure had to, at some point in their careers, appear on the *Sullivan* show. In 1956, Elvis Presley made the first of several appearances there. The reaction was electric; Presley's on-screen gyrations triggered sensational record sales and denunciations from many a pulpit. But the reaction also demonstrated how deeply television had penetrated American lives by 1956. Sullivan may have seemed stilted and inarticulate on camera, but he was the premiere star-maker in the country.

Cavalcade of Stars (1949–1952), another entry in the catalog of TV variety shows, starred comedian Jackie Gleason. He created a number of comic characters, the best known of whom was Ralph Kramden, the main figure in a running skit within the show titled "The Honeymooners." It proved so popular that CBS lured him away from the DuMont network, and the resultant *Jackie Gleason Show* (1952–1957) is remembered today as one of the most imaginative offerings ever to appear on television.

Other comedy/variety shows worthy of note included: *Your Show of Shows* (NBC, 1950–1954), *The Colgate Comedy Hour* (NBC, 1950–1955), *The Jack Benny Program* (CBS, 1950–1964; NBC, 1964–1965), and *The Garry Moore Show* (CBS, 1950–1964). By the late 1950s, the big, multitalented variety show went into decline.

Situation Comedies, or "Sitcoms"

An outgrowth of radio comedy, the sitcom endured fewer changes than any other format in TV. As television productions grew ever more expensive, the sitcom remained the only genre that held to the familiar half-hour format.

One sitcom in particular dominated the 1950s: *I Love Lucy* (1951–1957). This all-time favorite premiered on CBS in October 1951 and became the weekly comedy show by which all others were judged. By 1952, *I Love Lucy* ranked as the most popular show on television, a position it would hold through much of its six-year run.

The series featured Lucille Ball (1911–1989), her real-life husband Desi Arnaz, and costars William Frawley and Vivian Vance. Everyone involved was very talented, but Lucy dominated the show.

Though few realized it at the time, *I Love Lucy* proved instrumental in the death of live television. Until then, most situation comedies and other TV fare were televised live, with no retakes when mistakes occurred and no editing. One of the first shows to use film, both Ball and Arnaz believed they would have greater control of the production process in that format. *I Love Lucy* had a studio audience, and no one seemed to mind that the show combined live television and traditional movie techniques. The comedy ran through the 1957 season and soon thereafter went into network and syndicated reruns, thanks to its being preserved on film. A knowledgeable businesswoman, Ball insisted on residuals—set fees for repeated airings—something few others did in those early days of television. Because *I Love Lucy* remained in constant syndication, Ball and Arnaz became wealthy in a short period of time.[16]

For many, the sanitized view of family life many 1950s sitcoms provided has evolved into a kind of collective nostalgia for a way of life (white, middle-class, suburban) that never accurately represented America. Certainly, *I Love Lucy* presented a picture of strong middle-class aspirations and familial bonds, a recurring theme



I Love Lucy (CBS). Shown from left: William Frawley, Vivian Vance, Lucille Ball (as Lucy Ricardo), Desi Arnaz, 1956. Courtesy of Photofest.

found in much of the television fare of the day. In the show, Lucy had little to do except concoct schemes while husband Desi held down a regular job. The humor came from the portrait of Lucy as a harebrained, forgetful, cute, but harmless wife. It was hardly a flattering picture, but the humor kept it from becoming a mean-spirited stereotype. This characterization of women received reinforcement in other sitcoms. In *The Burns and Allen Show* (CBS, 1950–1958), Gracie Allen revived a character she had successfully developed in radio comedy in the 1930s. The real-life wife of George Burns, her comedic "Gracie" was, like Lucy, a scatterbrained woman who constantly befuddled her more conventional husband. Both Lucille Ball and Gracie Allen were such brilliant comedians, however, that the artifice worked and no one took any offense.

Father Knows Best (radio: NBC, 1949–1953; television: CBS, 1954–1955; NBC, 1955–1958; CBS, 1958–1962; ABC, 1962–1963) looked to the other half of marriage in presenting a patient, wise, warmhearted, and wonderful husband-father figure in Jim Anderson, portrayed by actor Robert Young. Anderson was a man who calmly oversaw his family and provided the solid rock they all leaned on. Their home fit a suburbanized ideal, and actress Jane Wyatt as Margaret, his sweet and lovely wife, served as the antithesis of the Ball/Allen characters. Always smartly dressed, including heels and a crisp, spotless apron, she existed solely for her family, leaving wage-earning and decision-making to her spouse.

Another show that first found its niche on radio was *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* (radio: CBS, 1944–1948; NBC, 1948–1949; ABC, 1949–1954; television: ABC, 1952–1966). A success on radio, it went to greater fame as the longest-running sitcom ever. Ozzie Nelson played himself in the husband-father role, and his wife Harriet (Hilliard) Nelson enacted her real-life role as spouse and mother. The couple's two sons, David and Rickie, played themselves, and audiences watched them grow. For everyone the roles remained clear: Ozzie, despite a bumble or two, remained at the head of the table, and Harriet was the immaculate wife, always at home for her men. Ozzie appeared to hold no job, and seemed to be a stay-at-home dad, dispensing paternal wisdom and guiding his sons through childhood and adolescence.

The focus shifted to the offspring of these happy matches in the popular *Leave It to Beaver* (CBS, 1957–1958; ABC, 1958–1963). The idyllic families portrayed in these domestic comedies looked at the decade through the rosiest of glasses, and they painted a lasting picture that some nostalgia buffs persist in viewing as the correct and accurate one for the period.[17]

Music and Television

Music of all kinds provided a backdrop for most commercial TV productions. For example, Perry Como, a popular 1950s crooner, had success both with recordings and television. He headlined *The Chesterfield Supper Club* (NBC, 1948–1950; CBS, 1950–1955), a 15-minute mix of music and patter that grew into *The Perry Como Show* (NBC, 1955–1963), a big-budget, hour-long music and variety series that endeared him to millions of viewers. Similarly, singer Dinah Shore parlayed her vocal talents into the long-running *Dinah Shore Show* (NBC, 1951–1962). Her show grew into an hour-long variety package in 1957. Faithfully sponsored by Chevrolet throughout the decade, her theme song, "See the U.S.A. (in Your Chevrolet)," doubtless contributed to Chevrolet's strong sales position during those years.

A mediocre pianist with a gift for flamboyant showmanship first appeared on home screens in 1951. Born Wladziu Valentino Liberace, he became an instant hit as Liberace. By 1952 he had been picked up by NBC for a summer series, and from there he moved into syndication. Innumerable stations ran his show, and he returned to ABC for the 1958–1959 season.

Liberace's show featured a trademark candelabrum that rested atop his grand piano as he played, and he costumed himself in an ever-changing, outlandish wardrobe made from gold lamé, sequins, and anything else he thought might catch the audience's eye. His enormous success surprised everyone, but his mix of kitsch and homogenized light classics captivated viewers ready for something new and different.

Another new musical series that made no pretense of presenting "great" compositions was *The*

Lawrence Welk Show (ABC, 1955–1971). Hosted by a folksy bandleader who featured polkas, waltzes, and "champagne music" (popular favorites played in a "bubbly" manner), it found a large and appreciative audience among older Americans looking for an escape from a constant stream of Top 40 pop. At one point during the 1950s, Welk had three different shows on ABC, but they all featured his innocuous blend of musical styles. The success enjoyed by his orchestra pointed up the lack of programming for adults outside the usual 21–40 age demographic.

Television Drama

During the period 1950–1955, countless dramatic shows proliferated across the TV dial as intense, one- or two-hour live, original dramas. The stories exploited the camera's ability to create gripping characters without the benefit of sweeping scenery or special effects. During the 1950s, the networks moved many of their operations from New York City to Los Angeles. Filmed performances supplanted live ones, and the "anthology" concept of individual and original dramas came briefly into vogue. These stories bore no relation to preceding or succeeding ones and eventually were replaced by continuing series with familiar characters and settings that carried over from week to week.

Because so many anthology dramas appeared on television, their quality was uneven. For every "Our Town" *(Producer's Showcase,* 1955, with Paul Newman and Frank Sinatra), or "The Miracle Worker" (*Playhouse 90,* with Patty McCormick and Teresa Wright), plenty of utterly forgettable dramas also came on the air.

In a significant reversal of tradition, some of the best of the new television dramas later made the transition to the movie screen. Distinguished teleplays like Paddy Chayefsky's *Marty* (TV, 1953; movie, 1955), Reginald Rose's *12 Angry Men* (TV, 1954; movie, 1957; remade as television movie in 1997), Rod Serling's *Patterns* (TV, 1955; movie, 1956) and *Requiem for a Heavyweight* (TV, 1956; movie, 1962) can be counted among a number of such productions. Some critics would argue that the originals surpassed their cinematic versions.

Television Soap Operas

Recognizing both the popularity and profitability of radio "soaps," television producers early on decided to create their own serials. With the appearance of more and more TV soap operas during the afternoon hours of the broadcasting day, one of the last bastions of network radio fell into cancellation (see "Radio" this chapter).

A remarkable thing about soap operas is how many have been attempted. In 1954 alone, the networks launched thirteen new serials, and as the titles show, only three survived beyond that opening season. But the industry remained undeterred; every year new soap operas appeared, with just a few enjoying any success. Six CBS soaps stayed on the air for twenty years or more: *As the World Turns, Edge of Night, Guiding Light, Love of Life, Search for Tomorrow,* and *The Secret Storm.* Such longevity continues to be almost unheard of in the competitive world of commercial television, a world that considers most new offerings lucky to last their first season.

The afternoon soap operas tempted audiences with daily commentaries on the manners and mores of contemporary America. Working on small, confined sets, the TV cameras relied on intimate close-ups of the characters, thereby exaggerating their emotional responses to ongoing events. The plots moved at a molasses-like pace so viewers could miss an episode or two and not lose any continuity, a device taken directly from their radio counterparts. The black-and-white world of the soaps—both technically and morally speaking—reflected a period searching for some absolutes. Their stories punished adultery, seldom presented divorce as an option, condemned pregnancy outside marriage, and tended to portray all men as emotionally weak and all good women as strong and resourceful. But femmes fatal lurked everywhere, and only the most solid families could resist their temptations.

The TV networks liked the low staging costs of the serials, and their dominance of afternoon programming guaranteed high ratings, which in turn meant sponsorship never became a problem. When soap operas first made the move from radio to TV, they retained the old 15-minute length. But production pressures, along with the need to air

more commercials, led most TV soaps to go to a half-hour format in the mid-1950s.[18]

Westerns

In the second half of the 1950s, westerns began to appear nightly on the nation's television sets. Long a favorite of the movies, many felt that the expansiveness of the western would not translate well to the small screen. These prognosticators, however, were proved wrong. The stampede began modestly with *Hopalong Cassidy* (NBC, 1949–1951; syndication thereafter). Shortly afterward, radio's long-running *Lone Ranger* began to share time with a television counterpart (radio, 1933–1954; ABC, 1949–1957). Traditional shoot-'em-ups like *The Roy Rogers Show* (NBC, 1951–1957), *Wild Bill Hickok* (syndicated, 1951–1958), *The Cisco Kid* (syndicated, 1950–1955), and *Death Valley Days* (syndicated, 1952–1970) also found audiences. Their success led to new series, designed more with the small screen in mind. Walt Disney's *Frontierland* (a spin-off of his own *Disneyland,* ABC, 1954–1961) produced a brief series on Davy Crockett during the 1954–1955 season. The success of all four episodes, usually considered more children's shows than serious western fare, gained the networks' attention.



The Lone Ranger (ABC) 1949–1957. Shown from left: Clayton Moore (as The Lone Ranger), Jay Silverheels (as Tonto). Courtesy of Photofest.

From 1955 on, the industry produced some 50 different television western series. These new shows may not have been cinematic epics, but their tight, character-focused plotting found millions of at-home viewers. First and foremost among this genre was *Gunsmoke* (CBS, 1955–1975), a deftly plotted series that became the archetypal television western. One of the few radio successes of the 1950s, *Gunsmoke* had begun on CBS Radio (1952–1961), with gravel-voiced William Conrad playing Marshall Matt Dillon, a stern lawman ensconced in Dodge City, Kansas. James Arness played Dillon in the TV version, and his selection for the part proved perfect typecasting. Tall and rugged-looking, Arness embodied John Wayne, Gary Cooper, Henry Fonda, and a host of other actors often associated with westerns. (Wayne was actually offered the role but turned it down and suggested Arness.) Each episode involved intense character studies instead of sprawling action scenes. It befell the marshal to resolve conflicts, which meant lots of talk and limited physical activity. Occasionally, the producers incorporated stock footage of the Kansas prairies, but most of the action consisted of interior shots or exterior ones on the carefully bounded main street of the Dodge City set.

The show became a hit, displacing *I Love Lucy* and dominating the ratings throughout the late 1950s. *Gunsmoke* remained on the air until 1975, making it one of the longest-lived series of any kind in prime time.

By the 1959–1960 season, audiences could choose from 30 westerns. The stories featured strong male leads who suffered identity crises, resisted discrimination, and generally fought against dishonesty and persecution. The old standbys of rustlers, stagecoach robbers, and gold thieves—not to mention cowboys and Indians—had virtually disappeared as subjects.

The networks happily adopted the term "adult western" to identify their hot new offerings. In no time at all, their rosters had grown to include titles like those listed below in "Adult Westerns of the 1950s."

Adult Westerns of the 1950s

ABC	CBS	NBC
Cheyenne (1955–1963)	*Gunsmoke* (1955–1975)	*Bat Masterson* (1958–1961)
Colt .45 (1957–1962)	*Have Gun, Will Travel* (1957–1963)	*Bonanza* (1959–1973)
The Lawman (1958–1962)	*Rawhide* (1959–1966)	*The Californians* (1957–1959)
Maverick (1957–1962)	*Tales of the Texas Rangers* (1955–1957)	*Laramie* (1959–1963)
The Rifleman (1958–1963)		*Tales of Wells Fargo* (1957– 1962)
Sugarfoot (1957–1960)		*Wagon Train* (1957–1962; ABC, 1962–1965)

Note: Listed alphabetically by network.

The emphases placed on character and psychological motivation differentiated this new breed of western from the traditional movie version. The sweeping scenery so characteristic of a movie western was lost on the small screen. Because virtually all television production used black and white during the 1950s, directors could film in color. Indians on the warpath, cavalry charges, stampedes, isolated forts, and all the other icons associated with the genre had to be replaced with new methods of storytelling.

Taking their cue from the many dramatic shows already running on television, producers employed close-ups and many interior shots. They filmed most of the shows on studio back lots, and budget constraints meant few large-scale sets. So the television western evolved into an intimate dramatic form that owed as much to traditional theater as it did to the movies.[19]

Television Quiz Shows

Led by *The $64,000 Question* (CBS, 1955–1958) and a handful of other big-money productions, television quiz shows attracted an unusually receptive audience. *The $64,000 Question* grew out of a successful radio quiz called *Take It or Leave It* that had run on CBS from 1940 to 1947. At that time, NBC took over the show, renaming it *The $64 Question,* a reference to its top prize. Contestants started at $1 and kept doubling their money ($1-$2-$4-$8-$16-$32-$64) through a sequence of seven questions. It ran on radio until 1952 and contributed the phrase "the sixty-four dollar question" to the language.

Television producers wanted big jackpots to draw big audiences. Contestants became overnight celebrities on these extravagant shows. Columnist and psychologist Joyce Brothers won $64,000 on *The $64,000 Question* late in 1955; scholarly Columbia College professor Charles Van Doren won $129,000 on *Twenty-One* the next season. That was just the beginning. A 10-year-old, Robert Strom, amassed a record $242,600 on *The $64,000 Challenge* in 1958, but Teddy Nadler shortly surpassed him, becoming the biggest



The $64,000 Question. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Selected Television Quiz Shows of the 1950s

ABC	CBS	NBC
**Break the Bank* (1948–1949 and 1954–1956; NBC, 1949–1952; CBS, 1952–1953; NBC, 1953)	**Beat the Clock* (1950–1958; ABC, 1958–1961)	*The Big Surprise* (a.k.a. *The $100,000 Big Surprise*, 1955–1957)
Treasure Hunt (1956–1957; NBC, 1957–1959)	*Dotto* (CBS [daytime] and NBC [nighttime], 1958)	*Break the $250,000 Bank* (1956–1957)
	**I've Got a Secret* (1952–1967)	Masquerade Party (1952, 1957, 1958–1959, and 1960; CBS, 1953–1954; ABC, 1954–1956; CBS, 1958; CBS, 1959–1960)
	Pantomime Quiz (1949–1951, 1952–1953, 1954 and 1955–1957; NBC, 1952; DuMont, 1953–1954; ABC, 1955; ABC, 1958–1959)	*The Price Is Right* (1956–1963; ABC, 1963–1965; CBS, 1972–present)
	The $64,000 Challenge (1956–1958)	**Queen for a Day* (1956–1960)
	**The $64,000 Question* (1955–1958)	**The Quiz Kids* (1949–1952; CBS, 1953–1956)
	To Tell the Truth (1956–1968)	*Tic Tac Dough* (1956–1959)
	**Truth or Consequences* (1950–1951; NBC, 1952–1965)	*Twenty-One* (1956–1958)
		**Twenty Questions* (1949; ABC, 1950–1951; DuMont, 1951–1954; ABC, 1954–1955)
		**Two for the Money* (1952–1953; CBS, 1953–1957)

Note: Listed alphabetically by network. An asterisk (*) indicates the show was also broadcast in a radio version.

winner of them all, with a total of $252,000 on the same show. When a popular contestant, such as Brothers or Van Doren, seemed on the verge of winning big money, ratings ran high, often eclipsing such powerhouses as *I Love Lucy* or one of the increasingly popular adult westerns. The shows proved cheap to produce, sponsors liked their simplicity, and no one seemed to grow tired of them. Some of the better-known network quiz shows are listed in "Selected Television Quiz Shows of the 1950s."

The sky seemed the limit, but later in 1958 a grand jury investigation revealed that many contestants had been supplied hints or outright answers for shows like *Dotto, Twenty-One,* and *The $64,000 Challenge.* During congressional hearings conducted in 1958 and 1959, Van Doren, the darling of the audiences, admitted receiving assistance, and his testimony helped axe any remaining series. Overnight, audience faith in quiz shows evaporated.

Although the boom for big-money quiz shows fizzled out, a number of more innocuous variations survived. For instance, *The G.E. College Bowl* premiered in 1959 on CBS amid all the scandal, and *What's My Line?* (CBS, 1950–1967), a long-running series, quietly endured. With no prizes, the rewards were more cerebral. The humorous patter of moderator John Charles Daly and panelists Dorothy Kilgallen, Arlene Francis, Bennett Cerf, and a weekly visiting panelist, constituted the proceedings. A devoted audience faithfully followed the witty conversation as the group attempted to identify unusual professions or trades pursued by a succession of guests.

Another unique quiz show was *You Bet Your Life* (NBC, 1950–1961), a carry-over from radio (ABC, 1947–1949; CBS, 1949–1950; NBC, 1950–1956)

hosted by the irreverent comedian Groucho Marx. Moderator George Fenneman served as the perfect foil to Groucho and his barbs. Throughout both its radio and television incarnations, *You Bet Your Life* awarded modest cash prizes as contestants took their chances with Groucho and a series of easy questions.

Crime Shows

Faced with the overwhelming success of westerns and quiz shows, the old reliable crime, police, and private-eye shows virtually disappeared from the nightly schedules for much of the decade. Jack Webb's *Dragnet* (NBC, 1951–1959; movie version in 1954) and Erle Stanley Gardner's *Perry Mason* (CBS, 1957–1966) proved to be exceptions. *Dragnet,* a police procedural, was unique: it had a radio twin that debuted on NBC in 1949 and lasted until 1957. Thus, the two—radio and TV broadcasts—ran simultaneously and featured virtually the same casts. *Perry Mason* starred actor Raymond Burr as a lawyer who behaves more like a private detective. It, too, enjoyed a radio run on CBS from 1943 to 1955. No overlap existed between the two media, since actor John Larkin portrayed the radio Mason during the 1950s. A perennial favorite, *Perry Mason* remained a weekly television offering well into the 1960s, whereupon it enjoyed a second life in a long series of made-for-TV movies that lasted until 1993.

In 1958, in the midst of the quiz show debacle, ABC premiered two new crime series, *Naked City* (1958–1963) and *77 Sunset Strip* (1958–1964), moves that reinvigorated the genre. ABC introduced *The Untouchables* in 1959, a crime series that brought the life and legend of G-Man Eliot Ness to the small screen, along with the familiar voice of columnist Walter Winchell as narrator. *The Untouchables* ran until 1963, and enjoys the dubious honor of ranking among the most violent series ever made for network TV.

News

The 1950s saw news and information emerge as important components of the television broadcast day. In 1948, CBS had introduced *Douglas Edwards with the News,* a show Edwards would anchor until 1962. The next year, NBC premiered *The Camel News Caravan,* a similar news show hosted by John Cameron Swayze. He remained in that spot until 1956, when the team of Chet Huntley and David Brinkley took over with *The Huntley-Brinkley Report,* a program that continued for the next 14 years. Both audiences and critics praised the effectiveness of the duo at the 1956 political conventions, but NBC decided to replace the rather bland Swayze. It proved a wise decision; for the remainder of the decade, *The Huntley-Brinkley Report* grew in popularity, finally overtaking perennial front-runner CBS during the 1959–1960 season.

In 1952, ABC inaugurated *All-Star News,* an hour-long evening newcscast (the CBS and NBC counterparts ran 15 minutes). ABC replaced it in early 1953 with *ABC News,* a more conventional quarter-hour offering hosted by John Daly (also the host for *What's My Line?*). These early network newscasts played like glorified radio broadcasts, and all the anchors came from radio backgrounds. At first, the newscasters read scripts directly into the camera. Very few film clips were employed—most visuals consisted of still photographs projected onto the screen.



Edward R. Murrow. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

EDWARD R. MURROW

In the early 1950s, the most renowned newscaster on television was Edward R. Murrow on CBS. Murrow had made a name for himself in World War II with dramatic radio broadcasts from London and Europe. Upon his return to the United States, he and his CBS colleagues put together a powerful news team.

Murrow created two innovative shows, *See It Now* (CBS, 1951–1958) and *Person to Person* (CBS, 1953–1961). *See It Now* was adapted from a program he had created for CBS Radio titled *Hear It Now* (1950–1951), which he had in turn taken from a series of phonograph recordings made for Columbia Records called *I Can Hear It Now*. The success of these endeavors led to weekly television broadcasts featuring in-depth research on current events. Public affairs programs, *See It Now* focused on reporting and *Person to Person* consisted of wide-ranging interviews with people in the news. On *See It Now* in 1954, Murrow exposed Senator Joseph McCarthy as an unprincipled bully and therein brought about the downfall of the Wisconsin politician.

See It Now inspired many later investigative shows. CBS, although immensely proud of the series, also saw it as a liability. A prime-time offering, *See It Now* did not draw as many viewers as competing comedy and quiz shows. In 1955, CBS replaced its weekly broadcasts with six to eight specials a season. Finally, in 1958, CBS canceled the series outright. Embittered over what he perceived as the sacrifice of good reporting for commercial gain, Murrow himself appeared less and less on television for the remainder of the decade and left commercial TV in 1961.

A show that predated the regular network newscasts was NBC's *Meet the Press,* a lively discussion of current events that premiered in November 1947. Still going strong at this writing, *Meet the Press* ranks as the oldest news program on network television. *Meet the Press* invites top journalists and guests to discuss issues, a format that usually allows reporters to grill the guests.

In 1952, both the Republican and Democratic national conventions were televised; for the first time, Americans witnessed the whole presidential nominating process. Compared to more recent convention coverage, the 1952 events seemed awkward affairs, if for no other reason than the difficulties encountered by reporters as they lugged around bulky equipment. President Eisenhower in 1955 allowed TV cameras to tape his press conferences. Eisenhower's staff had editing privileges, but the footage presented the public with an image of its president at work. He also permitted radio microphones, along with the same editing provisos. For many Americans, the television tapes reinforced Eisenhower's persona as a paternal leader, the first inkling of TV's image-making capabilities.

As the public grew accustomed to getting news from television—instead of from newspapers, magazines, or radio—the perception of how to interpret the steady stream of information went through a significant shift. People saw TV as immediate journalism, news of and on the hour. It might not have been reflective, but it provided a stream of images that changed almost constantly.

Sports

In the early days of television, the heavy cameras and associated equipment made any kind of mobility difficult. As a result, sports telecasting consisted of those activities in which a stationary camera could be set up and easily follow the action. This helps to explain the popularity of wrestling, boxing, and even roller derby in the early 1950s. The ring and the track provided limited spaces the camera could cover without trouble. Although earlier attempts had been made to televise baseball, football, basketball, and tennis, the constant movement and the large areas required by these sports created problems for camera crews.

Television technology, however, evolved quickly in the fifties, and soon cameras became smaller and more portable. Because of the newness of TV, and the belief that it would hurt attendance, many teams resisted the medium. They had come to terms with radio, and they tended to receive substantial payments from stations for

the privilege of broadcasting. It would take time before the networks worked out similar television contracts to everyone's satisfaction. But once TV gained a foothold in sports, radio's position weakened commensurately. Soon, only local radio stations carried sports, and they usually broadcast their small home teams, not the big games or professional sports events that television was taking over.

As many had feared, attendance at major sporting events took a plunge in tandem with TV's growing coverage. Many communities blacked out broadcasts of games played locally in an effort to lure people back to the stadiums and arenas. But with so much being offered on the television schedule, attendance continued its drop. During the decade, minor league baseball suffered a 60 percent decline in patrons; boxing saw an even greater loss of fans at live events.

Between 1950 and 1959, the amount of money paid for telecasting rights skyrocketed as teams and leagues demanded ever-larger payments from the networks. At the same time, Americans demonstrated an insatiable demand for televised sports, so the networks paid the asking prices.

Children's Programming

From the beginnings of commercial television, children have been recognized as a vast potential audience. *Kukla, Fran and Ollie* (NBC, 1948–1954; ABC, 1954–1957), *The Soupy Sales Show* (ABC, 1955–1960), *Paul Winchell and Jerry Mahoney* (NBC, 1950–1956; ABC, 1957–1961), and a host of other children's shows attempted quality programming aimed at younger audiences. Sponsors loved the dedication of these youthful viewers, making most series profitable. NBC's *Howdy Doody* (1947–1960) became one of the most successful of the early children's shows. The show featured a cowboy marionette and the zany citizens of Doodyville, including Buffalo Bob and Clarabell the Clown, and captured the hearts of American youngsters. *Howdy Doody* avoided the



Captain Kangaroo. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

satire and occasional cynicism of later children's programming, projecting instead a naïveté that charmed parents and enthralled their offspring.

In 1955, in response to the success of *Howdy Doody,* CBS launched a successful morning children's show called *Captain Kangaroo* (1955–1984). Featuring Bob Keeshan (who had formerly played Clarabell on *Howdy Doody*) as a kind and amiable man who happened to have a collection of equally gentle friends, the long-running series spoke directly to children and never patronized them. ABC, perennially in third place among the Big Three networks, signed a contract with Walt Disney Productions to present some of their family-oriented programming. This decision resulted in the evening *Disneyland* (1954–1961; title changed to *Walt Disney Presents,* 1958–1959, and then *Walt Disney's World,* 1959–1961). The deal to produce *Disneyland* included an afternoon offering titled *The Mickey Mouse Club* (1955–1959). The overwhelming popularity of these shows made ABC much more of a competitor for the remainder of the decade.

The Mickey Mouse Club proved so successful that *Howdy Doody* moved from weekday afternoons to Saturday mornings the following year. With children's TV programming commanding the late-afternoon time slot, the last of radio's old-time adventure serials finally ceased production.

The content of *The Mickey Mouse Club* consisted of items borrowed from the Disney Studio's vast vaults, such as cartoons and documentaries. The Mouseketeers, a group of child performers who sung and danced their way through each afternoon show, enchanted legions of devoted viewers. *The Mickey Mouse Club* actually carried over from similar clubs founded during the 1930s. The Mouseketeers, all wearing their little black beanies with mouse ears, chanted "M-I-C-K-E-Y M-O-U-S-E" like a ritual. Adults remained conspicuously absent from most productions, except for genial Mousketeer leader Jimmie Dodd and sidekick Roy Williams, who drew caricatures and cartoons during the show.

Experimentation

In a different realm, NBC's Sylvester "Pat" Weaver created *Today* and shared with others in the development of *The Tonight Show.* Unique for their use of short, unconnected pieces, both *Today* and *The Tonight Show* initiated a new kind of television format. *Today* made its debut in January 1952 with host Dave Garroway, a role he would retain until 1961. An early-morning mix of news, weather, features, and interviews, the network attempted to capture a new segment of the audience. *Today* got off to a shaky start, experiencing difficulties in picking up sponsors and affiliates, but growing numbers of viewers began turning on their TVs when they arose from bed. When a chimpanzee named J. Fred Muggs joined the cast in 1953, children also began to watch, and the ratings soared; the chimp remained a regular until 1957. Patching in local news and weather every half hour gave the show regional appeal, and *Today* emerged as a consistent moneymaker for NBC. It has become one of the longest-running shows in the history of television, and its popularity dealt another blow to radio, which until then felt assured of the morning audience.

The history of *The Tonight Show* is not nearly as simple as that of *Today.* NBC had experimented with late-night programming, but none of its efforts attracted big audiences. Finally, *The Tonight Show* took form as a local New York City telecast in 1953; it joined the national network in 1954 with the versatile Steve Allen as host. The 90-minute show, a kind of late-night comedy version of the early-morning *Today,* gained a significant audience almost immediately. Allen left in 1957, but comedian Ernie Kovacs took the reins of *Tonight* two evenings a week from October 1956 to January 1957. Then came *Tonight! America After Dark* from January to July 1957, a dismal failure. Finally, Allen's permanent replacement, Jack Paar, came on board that summer. Ratings soared, and Paar hosted until 1962.

THEATER

Although much theatrical activity took place on the local and regional levels throughout the 1950s, New York City's Broadway remained the home for most major productions. For most people, seeing a hit play with big-name performers meant seeing the movie adaptation. Fortunately, the film

industry did just that, quickly translating Broadway's best into a string of movies.

Musicals

The biggest theatrical box office grosses came from musicals, most of which soon came out as movie versions.

Many of these musicals have become perennial favorites for local and regional theater productions, and many high school and college drama groups have attempted them as well. *Guys and Dolls, The King and I,* and *The Music Man* can claim countless amateur productions, and *My Fair Lady* and *West Side Story* have become true American classics. In addition, these musicals have crossed the line from being plays seen by an essentially white, middle-class audience living in or near New York City, to plays known by all, from rural to suburban to urban, all races, and all economic classes. They have become part of the collective culture of the nation and certainly qualify as products of popular culture.

Through extensive and well-promoted media interplay, public awareness of Broadway and its top-drawing productions achieved high visibility during the 1950s. The addition of names like Rodgers and Hammerstein, Cole Porter, Irving Berlin, and Lerner and Loewe assured box office success. As soon as rights could be secured, Hollywood brought out glossy film versions of musicals that had even a modicum of popularity (see "Movies" this chapter). In the meantime, record companies released original cast albums, usually with extensive liner notes. Vocalists and musical groups, especially in the realm of jazz, created interpretative albums of specific musicals, further increasing the listenership of the scores. This flurry of recording activity carried over into radio. Disc jockeys pushed individual songs, and many a composition achieved hit status, both in its original form and in its many adapted versions.

NOTABLE THEATER

Guys and Dolls, 1950 (1,200 perfs.)
The King and I, 1951 (1,246 perfs.)
The Seven Year Itch, 1952 (1,141 perfs.)
The Teahouse of August Moon, 1953 (1,027 perfs.)
The Pajama Game, 1954 (1,063 perfs.)
Cat on a Hot Tin Roof, 1955 (694 perfs.)
Damn Yankees, 1955 (1,019 perfs.)
Inherit the Wind, 1955 (806 perfs.)
My Fair Lady, 1956 (2,717 perfs.)
The Music Man, 1957 (1,375 perfs.)
West Side Story, 1957 (732 perfs.)
Gypsy, 1959 (702 perf. perfs.)
The Miracle Worker, 1959 (719 perfs.)
A Raisin in the Sun, 1959 (530 perfs.)
The Sound of Music, 1959 (1,443 perfs.)

"Serious" Plays

Dramatic plays were also offered to playgoers during the fifties. T. S. Eliot's *The Cocktail Party* (1950) introduced British actor Alec Guinness, destined to make a popular name in films like *The Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957); unfortunately, few saw him in Eliot's play. Arthur Miller's *The Crucible* (1953), and Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* (1956) also received raves from critics but did not reach truly national audiences.

In particular, Miller's *The Crucible,* ostensibly about the Salem witch trials, concealed a thinly veiled attack on another kind of witch hunt, McCarthyism and the methods of the House Un-American Activities Committee. For its limited Broadway audience, it proved an immediate hit, but Hollywood didn't make a film version until 1996, and regional theater groups mounted few productions of the drama.

Taking a cue from its television success in 1957, Broadway staged William Gibson's powerful *The Miracle Worker* in 1959, starring Anne Bancroft and Patty Duke in the story of the life of Helen Keller. It provided vibrant theater, but only when Bancroft and Duke re-created their stage roles in a 1962 movie did the true mass audience experience this drama.

DANCE

Some elements of modern dance captured a significant audience during the 1950s. Many TV variety shows featured individual dancers or

dance troupes who performed routines that could be considered more modern than traditional.

The popularity of musicals, both on stage and on film, allowed for occasional forays into modern dance. Gene Kelly, a popular star in many movie musicals, was an outstanding dancer and choreographer. His roles in the hugely successful *An American in Paris* (1951) and *Singin' in the Rain* (1952) gave him the artistic freedom to direct and star in *Invitation to the Dance* (1956). The picture did not do well at the box office, but it did provide an inventive approach to modern dance. In a technological and editing tour de force, Kelly performs with characters taken from the popular Hanna-Barbera cartoons of the period.

On a more popular front, people attempted to master the mambo, along with other Latin-influenced dances such as the rumba and the merengue. The Cuban cha-cha and the West Indian calypso also attracted dance fans and spawned a number of best-selling records. Old-fashioned square dancing reappeared as the anything-early-American fad spread into leisure activities. *The Arthur Murray Party* (all networks, various dates, 1950–1960) offered more formal instruction. Hosted by Arthur and Kathryn Murray, two successful and popular dance instructors, the show consisted of a mix of teaching, exhibition, and salesmanship for their studios. Despite its blatant commercialism, the series introduced viewers to ballroom dancing, along with many new novelty steps.

More in keeping with the changing times, Dick Clark's Philadelphia-based *American Bandstand* (ABC, 1957–1987) ran on afternoon network television. Teen-oriented, the show quickly showed national audiences that young people had developed a complex body of dances to accompany rock 'n' roll. The show allowed teens—and probably a healthy number of adults—all across the country to learn the latest dance steps. (See Music of the 1950s.)

Fashion

of the 1950s

In the postwar years, via insistent marketing and advertising, manufacturers convinced consumers of the necessity of updating their wardrobes. New items constantly appeared on the racks, rendering their once stylish predecessors obsolete. In a similar manner, products ranging from automobiles to waffle irons went through model changes, making the 1950s the first true era of planned obsolescence. With more disposable income than ever before, however, Americans accepted this obvious manipulation.

SYNTHETIC FIBERS

In the 1950s, technology and creativity combined to make life easier and better. For clothing manufacturers, this meant an array of synthetic fibers that would be adaptable to any kind of apparel. Led by the giant DuPont chemical corporation ("better things for better living" read the company slogan), acrylics and polyesters came on the market, revolutionizing what people wore. Orlon, a DuPont acrylic, went into production in 1952 and emerged as the material of choice for sweaters and other casual wear; it felt soft and resisted pilling. Thanks to Dacron, DuPont's name for a polyester fiber introduced in 1953, shirts, blouses, suits, and dresses, could be tossed in the washer and hung to dry, emerging fresh and crisp in a matter of hours.

These man-made fibers made possible significant changes in fashion, and because they were synthetic, they could be mass-produced in bold, fluorescent colors, a trend that carried over into bright costume jewelry. Consumers discovered a few disadvantages with these early synthetics: if not cleaned regularly, they took on an unpleasant chemical odor. And, for some, polyesters and acrylics possessed a cheap, artificial look—too crisp, too bright—but most people shopped eagerly for "no-iron, drip-dry" clothing.

In the late 1940s, a Swiss hiker named George de Mestral became annoyed with the various burrs that clung to his clothing when he was outdoors. He noted that the burrs used an ingenious hook-and-loop locking process to catch onto clothing, and from this came Velcro. By the mid-1950s, he had a nylon locking tape in production. He chose "vel" from "velvet," and "cro" from "crochet," and a new fastener came on the market.[1]

WOMEN'S FASHION

Following trends established during the depressed thirties and wartime forties, few American women looked to Europe, much less France, for fashion inspiration. A growing number of young and energetic domestic designers provided plenty of attractive designs, most of which were



An advertisement for Orlon, made by DuPont, showing the benefits of the easy-to-care-for fabric. Courtesy of the Hagley Museum and Library.

quickly translated into inexpensive, ready-to-wear items available at the nearest dress shop or department store. These styles gained a name of their own: the "American Look."

European designers continued to have a limited impact among more wealthy clients. The French design houses, especially those of Christian Dior and Givenchy, along with the Spanish Balenciaga, exported the "New Look" in the early years of the decade. Cinched waists and billowing skirts characterized this import, and costly materials and complex construction placed the New Look out of the financial range of many women. In 1956, the "sack dress" (or chemise dress) appeared on American shores. Initially a subject of ridicule because of its basic shapelessness, women nonetheless bought the design, often in inexpensive knock-offs manufactured domestically. In the later fifties, manufacturers began labeling it a "shift," betting this term would be more acceptable and less liable to ridicule than "sack." The sack/shift/chemise continued as a favorite for women around the nation, becoming an enduring part of American popular fashion for years.

In the early 1950s, a career woman wore tailored wool suits over silk blouses when going to work. She also donned gloves and a hat, both fashion carryovers from earlier times. To be "dressed up," no woman would think of leaving the house without the proper accessories. The pillbox hat dominated throughout the decade. Her shoes, equally dressy, often came with thin stiletto heels. In cool



A typical outfit for a well-dressed woman in the summer of 1956: a polka dot sun dress, straw hat, and heels. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

weather, a clutch coat finished off the ensemble. The simple frocks worn by Mamie Eisenhower more accurately represented the mass market. Despite derision by many fashion commentators, the president's wife epitomized middle-class tastes and values, and her simple wardrobe illustrated the conservative fashions most women chose to wear.

Business executive or housewife, women still found themselves saddled with heavy and constricting underclothing. Bras had wires, complex stitching and padding. Virtually all women wore girdles or corsets. At the beginning of the decade, these "foundation garments" tended to be cumbersome and uncomfortable, but synthetics made possible new, streamlined girdles that allowed for tight, straight, slim skirts and slacks. Garter belts, panties, stockings, liners, slips, and possibly even a large number of petticoats, starched and stiffened, added to the burden.

Films and Fashion

Even with the triumph of the American Look, Hollywood remained infatuated with the mystique of Paris and high fashion. Such frothy movies as *Lovely to Look At* (1952), *The French Line* (1954), and *Funny Face* (1957) allowed endless displays of designer styles. For example, the high-powered casting of Audrey Hepburn and Fred Astaire in *Funny Face* caused the film to do well at the box office, not its costuming.

A contrast between the New Look and the American Look could be seen in the styles worn by actresses Audrey Hepburn (*Roman Holiday* [1953], *Sabrina* [1954], *Love in the Afternoon* [1957], etc.) and Marilyn Monroe (*Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* [1953], *The Seven Year Itch* [1955], *Some Like It Hot* [1959], etc.). The former represented innocence, while the latter exuded glamour. Hepburn was chic; Monroe was Hollywood.

On the glamour side, Monroe presented an image of sex, using her well-endowed figure—even behind costumes—as part of her movie presence. Revealing décolletage and tight outfits was her stock in trade, styles that few American women would, or could, imitate. On the innocent side, the basic black dresses and sailor tops Audrey Hepburn wore became the most copied of all Hollywood costumes during the fifties, fitting in nicely with the simplicity that characterized the American Look. Marilyn Monroe might have had her legions of fans, but the appearance most women strove for emulated Hepburn's gamine/pixie appeal.

Singer-actress Doris Day mediated between Audrey Hepburn and Marilyn Monroe. In a series of successful comedies—*Lucky Me* (1954), *Teacher's Pet* (1958), *The Tunnel of Love* (1958), *It Happened to Jane* (1959), and *Pillow Talk* (1959)—Day came to epitomize the 1950s American woman/girl. Immaculately dressed and coiffed, but in very American fashions that neither glamorized nor hinted at high styles, Day usually played an attractive young woman who, despite the best intentions, got herself into goofy or difficult situations. But she also got out of them, with her honor always intact.

Women's Hair Styles

Younger women frequently wore their hair pulled back in a manner dubbed a "ponytail." Many others, however, wore their hair cut short in a "poodle cut," the perfect clip to accompany a poodle skirt. Both the ponytail and the poodle cut emphasized a girlish appearance, but the poodle cut required bi-weekly trims and many curlers at night. In honor of Mamie Eisenhower, the president's popular wife, and her long-established style of bangs on the forehead, "Mamie Bangs" became an overnight sensation for many women.

Both Toni home permanents and Miss Clairol hair coloring came along in 1950. The famous Clairol advertising slogan, "Does she or doesn't she?" appeared in 1956. Because of their impact, beauty shops across the nation noted a fall-off in business. The enormously successful *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (1953) cast Marilyn Monroe (the blonde) alongside Jane Russell (the brunette), suggesting that gentlemen did indeed prefer the blonde look and resulting in 3 out of every 10 brunettes dying their hair blonde.[2] In the late 1950s, bouffant hairdos became popular. The "Bouffant Look" involved putting one's hair in elaborate curlers, or rollers, and applying generous amounts of hairspray to preserve the style. The lacquered hair stood out from the head and could be arranged in numerous styles. Bouffants,

however, took patience, and they were somewhat fragile. For women with the time and inclination, however, the bouffant marked a change from all the girlish, natural styles that had flourished earlier in the 1950s.

The rise of the bouffant meant the decline of the hat. As long as a hairstyle remained uncomplicated, a hat could be worn. But the fragility of a bouffant almost always precluded a hat. Only the simplest berets and pillboxes survived, and even they often looked strange atop mounds of lacquered hair.

In the areas of hygiene and makeup, roll-on deodorants gained an immediate following in 1955; "no-smear" lipsticks also came out in 1955 and sold well. Throughout the decade, Max Factor had legions of cosmetic customers; the firm's pancake foundation emulated Hollywood, giving a woman an unblemished appearance. Eye shadow and eyeliner also became commonplace applications.

FASHION TRENDS OF THE 1950s

Clothing continued to become more casual during the fifties. Jeans became popular among men and women, and teens began wearing their own styles, rather than smaller adult clothing.

Women: Separate skirts and blouses; high-waisted slacks end above ankles; sweaters worn over pointed bras; beaded necklaces; patterned fabric; straight line dresses with a matching jacket or cardigan; shorter hair in the early fifties; by end of decade, bouffant and hair in loose waves brushed full at the sides.

Young women: Sheath dresses fitted from bust to hip; full skirts; poodle skirts with appliquéd poodle at or near hemline; sweater sets; saddle shoes; rolled up jeans or Capri pants with Dad's shirts; pony tails.

Men: Popularity of hats drops; sports jackets and sport shirts gain in popularity; crew cuts.

Young men: Duck tail or flat top haircut; Marlon Brando look: black boots and black leather motorcycle jackets; James Dean or "greaser" look: tight blue jeans and t-shirts; pack of cigarettes rolled in sleeve.

MEN'S FASHION

Traditional Attire

American men tend to be traditional in their clothing choices, and the 1950s proved no exception. The conservative, three-button suit dominated business wear. It had narrow lapels, straight legs with cuffs, and often featured shades of gray or other somber colors. Shirts generally came in white or pale blue broadcloth, either in button-down or spread-collar styles.

Narrow ties decorated with subtle patterns or stripes usually accompanied these sedate suits, although equally sober bow ties might have been worn instead.

A plain and serviceable tan or beige raincoat reinforced the uniform look that so characterized male fashion. Rain or shine, a hat completed the outfit, usually a felt fedora for most weather and maybe a Panama style when temperatures rose. Snap-brim hats (the brim was smaller and less pronounced than fedoras) were also in vogue, as were tweedy and velour hats, both variations on the snap-brim design. Regardless of what he wore, the properly dressed man in the 1950s still had to don a hat.

Men's Casual Wear

For the more casual male, Bermuda shorts gained acceptance as warm-weather alternatives to long trousers. Until 1953, such a clothing item would not have been found in a man's closet, but, for some reason, staid, conservative American males liked them. A few daring souls even showed up at the office in jacket, tie, and Bermudas, but that went too far in the minds of most men. By 1959, however, most people considered them entirely appropriate as leisurewear, just another item in any well-stocked closet.

As the decade drew to a close, more and more men's slacks, both casual and dress, lost their bagginess, and the unpleated, cuffless look dominated.

The success and acceptance of rock 'n' roll, especially as personified by Elvis Presley, helped usher in denim as an adult leisurewear fabric. Denim jeans, also called blue jeans or dungarees, had long been associated with low-paid laborers



Man wearing a single-breasted grey flannel suit and hat, popular in 1953. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

and juvenile delinquents. Schools forbade them, commentators railed against their bad influence, and adolescents everywhere wanted them. Seen increasingly in movies and on television, jeans continued to carry their negative connotations for many, but for an equally large number they represented freedom from dress codes. By the end of the decade, the stigma attached to blue jeans was wearing off, and more and more men had taken to adding denim to their leisure wardrobe.[3]

Male Hair Styles

Throughout the decade, short hair dominated—crew cuts, flattops, butch cuts (the last thought to go with a tough-guy image), or just simple short haircuts. The crew cut required some attention; many men applied moustache wax or pomade to their hair to keep the cut erect for the day.

Sideburns were often equated with gangsters and hoodlums. But when Elvis Presley and a number of other rock 'n' roll stars sported sideburns, some men quickly adopted them. Overall, though, the hair remained short. As the decade drew to a close, more hair "on the sides and top" became fashionable, pushing aside the crew-cut look.

THE YOUTH MARKET

Unlike prior decades, young people in the fifties constituted a formidable consumer force. They had money and few qualms about spending it, making teenage and young adult fashions one of the most profitable postwar lines of attire. Styles for both children and adolescents became ever more elaborate and varied as manufacturers awoke to the potential market before them.

Instead of owning outfits that mimicked adult styles, young people in the fifties delighted in putting on clothes they could call theirs and theirs alone. For the first time, a unique, identifiable style emerged, and designers jumped at the opportunities presented by this prosperous youth culture.

Young Men's Clothing

Two primary styles evolved for young men in the fifties: the conservative or "preppy" Ivy League look, and the cool "greaser" look. Class and economic lines often determined the choice.

Those bound for college or white-collar jobs opted for the Ivy League style. For formal, dress-up wear, the suit possessed three buttons, often included a vest, and the trousers had unpleated fronts and straight legs. The shirt was an oxford button-down; the tie featured rep stripes or a

muted paisley, and the shoes tended to be businesslike wing-tips. The trend as a whole aimed at a kind of elegance, from close-cropped hair to the flawlessly tied Windsor knot on a narrow tie. In fact, the young men of the fifties frequently attired themselves more carefully than did their fathers, who persisted in wearing versions of the nondescript suits of the thirties and forties.

The preppy casual look included tweedy sport coats, unpleated cotton khaki slacks, and oxford-cloth button-down shirts, usually in a solid pastel such as pink, a particular favorite. Some might have fancied a bold waistcoat or vest. These tended to be two-sided reversible garments, with a bright paisley on one side and a more conservative solid color on the other; they were worn with ties and never left open. Sweaters featured either a V-neck or crewneck. Penny loafers (so called because a shiny penny could be inserted into the space on the leather instep), carefully scuffed white bucks or "dirty bucks" (the leather came in a tan or light brown color) completed this studied casualness.[4]

Many junior and senior high school-aged males, along with those who decided against college or engaged in blue-collar trades, bowed to the imagery found in much mass media, choosing the "greaser" or "hood" look. Although it has come to be associated with working-class youth, it also signified rebellion against parental and societal restrictions imposed on youth in general. Nevertheless, fashion rebellions could only go so far. Males still wore neckties for most social affairs. The greaser look included shaped suits and sport coats that often came in charcoal gray or pastel tones and emphasized long lapels that plunged dramatically to the waist; the jacket closed with either a single or double button slightly below the belt line. Slacks, often called "rogue trousers," occasionally sported set-in side seams of contrasting colors; most featured double and triple pleats and pegged bottoms (taken in at the cuff). Highly polished shoes, preferably cordovans (an expensive leather then much in vogue), finished the outfit.

Often a billowing roll collar highlighted dress shirts, and French cuffs with huge, showy cufflinks added the finishing touch. For the truly stylish, these shirts came in bright pink or black, graced by a slender red or black necktie.

More memorable, however, was the casual dress of the hoods and greasers, a look that swept through the ranks of American adolescents. Tight blue jeans, T-shirts, leather motorcycle jackets, wide belts, boots, slicked hair often styled in a ducktail (so called for its resemblance to the tail feathers on a duck), and sideburns characterized the look. The more radical, controversial hood costume included such touches as rolling up a pack of cigarettes in the sleeve of a T-shirt and wearing chains and studs. Its most famous manifestations came in 1954's *The Wild One,* a teen-oriented movie starring Marlon Brando and in 1955's *Rebel without a Cause,* starring the soulful James Dean. The outfits worn on screen evolved into a virtual uniform for everyday wear, and critics associated such dress with juvenile delinquency and a host of other social ills.

School administrators around the country attempted to ban the hood look. Connotations



James Dean in *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955). Dean, who was killed in a car accident in September 1955, was emulated by many young people. Courtesy of Photofest.

dictated that anyone wearing this garb was a rebel and a nonconformist, and to worried parents and officials looking tough suggested juvenile delinquency.

Singers Elvis Presley and Carl Perkins both had big hits with the same song, "Blue Suede Shoes," in 1956. The result was a rush to buy suede shoes, preferably blue, of course. Rockers like Presley, Little Richard, Jerry Lee Lewis, and Chuck Berry began influencing all sorts of trademark costumes that teens everywhere admired. Adolescents might not have emulated every item of clothing a star wore, but they were aware of the connections between fashion and music, especially rock 'n' roll.

Young Women's Clothing

Trendsetting magazines like *Vogue* and *Seventeen* helped to usher in the new teenage market by running constant features that stressed youthful fashions. In this way they targeted the growing number of teens in the country. Department stores stayed close behind, setting up teenage departments to cater to the new clientele.

Just like menswear, approaches to youthful fashions differed among various groups. Turned-up jeans accompanied by a white, untucked shirt too large because it belonged to Dad or Big Brother, together formed a virtual uniform for teenaged girls outside of school. They finished off the outfit with bobby sox and loafers or saddle shoes. In all, it served as a comfortable, inexpensive, and very popular style.[5]

The preppy look of the early fifties emerged as a major style success. It featured a full skirt with a tiny waist, its fullness emphasized by the starched crinoline petticoats underneath and at times even a four-foot diameter hoop to maintain its symmetry. The poodle skirt, a flaring skirt often constructed of felt with poodle appliqués and a cinched belt, also burst onto the scene. Though it proved only a momentary variation, it won many adherents. Popular footwear included flats, ballerina shoes that resembled slippers more than anything else. Some young women wore white bucks, as did innumerable males, but most carried a chalk bag to keep theirs spotless; the "dirty buck" look existed primarily for men.

A few teenaged girls took on the trappings of a feminine greaser look. Heavy makeup, tight sweaters over an obviously padded bra, and a general air of lawlessness characterized this appearance. Male or female, the greaser look served more as a statement about rebellion than about fashion.

Both men and women wore Bermuda shorts during the 1950s, and the style had many fans. As an alternative to Bermudas, shorter shorts, or even "short shorts," gained popularity for girls. By 1957, this new article of clothing aroused hot debate among school administrators and public authorities. It centered on what constituted "too short." Adolescents loved the squabble, and a music record, *Short Shorts,* by the Royal Teens briefly made the charts in 1958. Although the debate would continue long after the fifties were over, dress codes began to appear in junior and senior high schools across the nation.

Capri pants offered another choice. Pants that reached only to midcalf, Capris came in a variety of bright colors and could be worn with virtually



Boy in Davy Crockett "coonskin" cap and jacket. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

any top, qualities that quickly made them a hot seller. Capris were also called "pedal pushers" because they had no cuffs to catch on a chain when riding a bicycle.

Children's Styles

Durability and practicality characterized most children's clothing. Blue jeans, such the contentious item for adolescents, did not achieve widespread acceptance for kids until the 1960s. Instead, tradition ruled, and items like sun suits, jumpers, and overalls outsold anything new or controversial.

Hardly a fashion or a style, beanies mounted with plastic propellers became a fad for youngsters in 1952. Completely nonfunctional, the propeller rotated in a breeze or when the wearer walked or ran. (See Sports and Leisure of the 1950s.) With the growing popularity of westerns on television, it came as no surprise that cowboy outfits for boys and girls enjoyed a new life. Fringed jackets, embroidered shirts, jeans, vests, Stetson hats in kids' sizes, and cowboy boots all sold well, with Hopalong Cassidy, Roy Rogers, and Dale Evans ensembles particular favorites. But in 1954 and 1955, *Disneyland* (1954–1990), a popular and long-running show, ran a five-part miniseries depicting the life and times of Davy Crockett. Each segment entertained millions of viewers and set off a merchandising craze for Crockett-inspired items. By far the most successful was the coonskin cap reputedly worn by the woodsman. By 1956, the fad had run its course, but before it was over every little boy and little girl had to have one. Also in the Disney empire was the *Mickey Mouse Club* television show, which led to children clamoring to wear Mickey Mouse Club ears, that is, black beanies with mouse ears.

Food

of the 1950s

FOOD

After the belt-tightening of the Great Depression and the rationing of the war years, Americans felt ready for good food, and the prosperity of the postwar period gave them the freedom to indulge themselves. In response, food manufacturers and distributors offered a cornucopia of new tastes, new recipes, and new ways of preparing dishes of all kinds.

The Kitchen as Cultural Symbol

The 1950s may be remembered as the decade that rediscovered the kitchen, often making it the symbolic center of the modern house. With a return to peace, millions of women had been released from wartime work in order to make room for discharged servicemen, but this created the problem of making use of time once taken by a job. Writers, columnists, and advertisers sought to glorify the role of the housewife in this new society. They assumed that women would find their primary fulfillment in being mothers, wives, cooks, and hostesses. Endless articles claimed that the work that awaited women in the home provided far more rewards than any occupation they might have previously held.

One clever way to celebrate kitchen skills involved having competitions among homemakers. Pillsbury Flour inaugurated its annual Bake-Off in 1949. Designed to promote their flour products, these well-publicized contests also allowed cooks to show off their talents—a reinforcement of the idea that a woman's place was in the kitchen, even if she spent her time there creating new cakes and muffins for competition.

Cookbooks

The leading cookbooks of the period stressed creativity and modernity, urging the contemporary homemaker to take advantage of new technologies. The competent use of rotisseries, grills, blenders, immersible electric skillets, portable mixers, chafing dishes, electric can openers, and all the other postwar appliances flooding the market signified a modern, efficient kitchen. With the right equipment, a housewife could play canasta in the morning, go shopping in the early afternoon, chauffeur the kids after school, or do a dozen other personal chores and still put an attractive, nutritious dinner on the table.

With frozen and freeze-dried foods sometimes encompassing entire dinners and canned goods of every variety available, the old image of slaving

over a hot stove and laboriously preparing every dish from scratch lost validity, at least in view of a new generation of cookbooks. Even the traditional casserole was glamorized and modernized, thanks to recipes designed to take advantage of prepared ingredients and easy cooking.

Books like *Betty Crocker's Picture Cook Book* (1950; many editions), *The Complete Small Appliance Cookbook* (1953), and *The Complete Book of Outdoor Cookery* (1955), along with magazines like *American Home, Woman's Day,* and *Ladies' Home Journal,* featured shortcuts and practical hints on using the latest foodstuffs available at the local supermarket. They proved so popular that sales and circulations soared; *Betty Crocker's Picture Cook Book* alone had sold over a million copies by 1951. One best seller, 1952's *The Can-Opener Cookbook,* went through several revisions and editions during the decade, and its title spoke volumes about what modern cooks really wanted.

Incomes also rose rapidly during the 1950s, but the percentage budgeted for food rose even faster. Prepared foods, frozen dinners, snack items, and a wide range of exotic canned goods cost more than traditional groceries, but homemakers were willing to spend the additional dollars to save time.

Supermarkets

To accommodate increased spending for food—and to adapt to changing demographic patterns, especially the growth of the suburbs—new, more modern supermarkets sprang up across the land. Between 1948 and 1958, the number of supermarkets in the United States doubled to over 2,500, with most of the expansion occurring outside central cities. Affluent suburbs benefited most, because the middle-class families moving there tended to spend more on groceries.

At the beginning of the decade, American supermarkets, although in the minority among grocers, accounted for about a third of all sales. By 1959, they claimed roughly 70 percent of all sales, and yet still comprised only 11 percent of all grocery stores. At the same time, they grew in size: by the early 1950s, a typical supermarket carried about 4,000 items, or two to three times as much as they stocked just before World War II. Their usable floor space doubled during the decade, and their hours lengthened until some in more populous areas stayed open 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.[1]

Suburban supermarkets provided vast parking lots, air conditioning while shopping, bright fluorescent lighting, and huge inventories. It all seemed a far cry from the cramped, stuffy, mom-and-pop stores most consumers remembered from their days in the city.

The modern supermarket became an icon, a showcase for the abundance of America. When England's Queen Elizabeth II visited the United States in 1957, one item on her itinerary was a stop at a typical supermarket. Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev likewise wanted to see one during his 1959 tour. This modern day successor to the traditional grocery store had emerged as a weapon in the Cold War. To many, its vast array of goods symbolized the triumph of capitalism.

Barbeques

In 1951, Sears, Roebuck and Company offered a new item: a rectangular charcoal grill on an aluminum cart. The age of the home barbeque had arrived. A competing firm added a hood to the basic design; it protected the grill from the weather, while also reflecting heat for faster, more even cooking. By 1957, grills using gas instead of charcoal appeared, and a wondrous array of utensils, aprons, and cooking aids could be purchased. The grill moved cooking to the backyard, making this exterior space an extension of the house. But because cooking on the grass lacked sophistication and class, concrete or brick patios were designed for grilling sites. "Patio dining" and "cookouts" became stylish, and furniture makers rushed to design new lines of outdoor accessories to accommodate the fad.

Grilled food tended to be hearty fare, so the job of cooking all these steaks, sausages, and roasts fell to men, a chore they readily accepted. Males who would not be caught in a kitchen donned aprons, fireproof mitts, and chef's hats as they concocted secret sauces and marinades for their specialties. It proved a curious role reversal, but one most men enjoyed.

THE COOKOUT CRAZE

In 1950s America, one of the most popular recreational activities for middle-class Americans was the family cookout. The word "cookout" emerged between 1947 and 1949 to describe the new trend of the social barbecue, blending outdoor cooking with social networking. Evoking images of family and friends sipping cocktails around a backyard pool while hamburgers and steaks simmer over a grill, the cookout became an iconic American activity. Soon the industry expanded and, by the mid-1950s, companies were offering hundreds of products aimed at the cookout aficionado. From gourmet barbecue sauces and outdoor cocktail sets to stylish clothing for the backyard chef, the cookout developed into a nationwide craze. Cookouts were common in the films of the day, depicted as a glamorous social activity. While the trend was most common among middle-class Americans, it also infiltrated the upper echelons of society, and cookouts became popular among the celebrity set. Style and architectural magazines began emphasizing the backyard patio and poolside as important parts of the decorative environment, and companies produced a wide variety of equipment and furniture to help families set up the perfect cookout environment. While the fad eventually declined in intensity, the appeal of backyard gatherings never fully disappeared and many Americans in the twenty-first century still consider the cookout as an essential all-American pastime.

Popcorn and Other Snack Foods

Popcorn has been around for thousands of years. Native Americans reputedly ate the cooked kernels long before the arrival of Columbus, and it had been a familiar item for many years on American grocers' shelves. But the popcorn of the early 1950s also had its drawbacks: as corn loses its water content, it also loses its unique quality of expansion, or "popping." Consumers therefore expected a fair number of "duds" or "old maids," as unpopped kernels were (and still are) somewhat quaintly called. In 1952 an agronomist named Orville Redenbacher created a hybrid corn that retained moisture and thus popped more evenly. Redenbacher could not persuade any of the major popcorn labels to take on his new product, so he began marketing, under his own name, his improved version in the mid-fifties. An immediate success, it served as an ideal product for the new age of TV and snacks such as perennial favorite Chex Party Mix. Chex Mix came into being in the 1950s and was often made during the holidays. It consisted of a combination of the three cereals Wheat Chex, Rice Chex, and Corn Chex, mixed together with butter, Worcestorshire sauce, nuts, pretzels, and more and then baked. Potato chips and Fritos were also popular as party items, snacks to enjoy around the house. For special occasions, dried Lipton Onion Soup mix and sour cream became the perfect dip for chips.

Children and Sugary Cereal of the 1950s

In the late 1940s, Post Cereals introduced a product called Post Sugar Crisp, beginning a revolution in children's breakfast habits. Sugar Crisp was promoted, on the box and in advertisements, by cartoon bears named Handy, Dandy, and Candy. The use of such characters presaged nothing new—Little Orphan Annie, Buck Rogers, Donald Duck, Mickey Mouse, and many others had already promoted various foodstuffs—but the resulting onslaught of sugar-coated breakfast cereals could not have been predicted. Perhaps the wide availability of sugar, after its strict rationing during World War II, awakened a sweet tooth in the American public, and these new, candy-like concoctions helped satisfy it.

Rival manufacturers quickly climbed aboard the sugar bandwagon. Kellogg's Sugar Pops could be found on grocery shelves in 1950, followed closely by the same company's Sugar Frosted Flakes. Tony the Tiger served as the spokesman, telling kids everywhere that "they're gr-r-reat!" In case they missed any finicky children, Kellogg's continued with Sugar Smacks in 1953. By this time, the sugar content had reached 56 percent, and Cliffy the Clown smiled at youngsters from the box. Later in 1957, Smaxey the Seal was happy to invite children to eat Sugar Smacks.

Rocky and Bullwinkle, hits in a popular television cartoon series called *Rocky and His Friends* (1959–1961), touted Trix, a new General Mills cereal that boasted 46 percent sugar content. And, to be on the safe side, General Mills also had Frosty-O's, this time with the Frosty-O's Bear lending encouragement. The sugar sweepstakes intensified as the 1950s progressed, leading to such inventions as Kellogg's Cocoa Krispies and General Mills's Cocoa Puffs.

The rise in popularity of television brought out endorsements from many new TV celebrities. Hopalong Cassidy, a favorite cowboy in early television, represented Post Raisin Bran, the beloved Howdy Doody stepped in for Rice Krispies, and Tom Corbett, Space Cadet on television, promoted three Kellogg's brands: Pep, Corn Flakes, and Raisin Bran. Even Superman pushed Sugar Smacks, with Clark Kent urging the chief, Perry White, to try some in one commercial of the early 1950s.[2]

Pizza

Pizza had been introduced in America by the thousands of Italian immigrants who arrived in the late 1800s and early 1900s. However, it had yet to capture the American imagination en masse. In 1943, as Jean Anderson observes, Ric Riccardo and Ike Sewell began serving a new kind of pizza at Pizzeria Uno, their north side Chicago restaurant. They encased cheese, tomatoes, and sausage in a thick, high crust baked to golden perfection—they called their creation deep-dish pizza. People flocked to Uno's and before long other pizza makers began copying their pizza and by the end of the 1940s deep-dish pizza became nationally known as Chicago-style pizza.[3] In contrast, New York-style pizza differed in that it featured a thin crust that was only on the bottom of the pizza—it wasn't as yeasty a pie as its Chicago counterpart. But most people liked both kinds of pizza, and the dish became nationally loved. In its early incarnations, pizza was sometimes known as "tomato pie," and in the 1950s, more widely as "pizza pie." In the 1950s, pizza places began being franchised, a practice that, as evinced by the success of chains like Little Caesar's, Pizza Hut, and Domino's, continues to flourish in the twenty-first century.

Frozen Foods

Most of the problems associated with freezing foods and preserving their freshness and tastiness had been solved by the early 1950s. Thereafter, the frozen-food industry boomed, growing fourfold during the decade. Some 2,500 different frozen-food plans across the country offered home delivery of specified frozen foodstuffs. Participants checked off the desired fruits, vegetables,



An original Swanson's TV Dinner, left. In 1954, it originally sold for 98 cents in a package with a picture of a TV set with knobs. It became the first TV dinner, which changed American culture so much that the original package is now in the Smithsonian. A more recent version is pictured to the right. AP Photo.

TV dinners, desserts, and so forth, from handy lists, called in the order, and the items would be delivered to their doorsteps.

In 1951, the Omaha-based Swanson Company began selling frozen turkey potpies nationally. They had a surplus of turkey, and took a gamble that homemakers would like the convenience of a meal that required only heating before serving. The potpies did well, and in 1954 Swanson expanded their line to include a turkey dinner that came in a stamped aluminum tray divided into sections that held dressing, potatoes, and buttered peas along with the turkey. To reinforce the idea that this dinner had been designed for eating while watching television, the box it came in resembled a TV screen. The "picture" represented the meal inside, and the "knobs" allowed for product information. By the time the giant Campbell Soup Company bought Swanson in 1955, the Nebraska firm was shipping 25 million TV dinners a year.

When Swanson first started distributing its potpies and TV dinners, few dining rooms or kitchens contained television sets. The popularity of TV dinners in general prompted the design and mass production of TV trays—small, collapsible metal or plastic trays that could be set up in the living room in front of the television receiver. Consumers bought millions of them during the 1950s, which meant they ate supper while watching their favorite shows, a telling comment about both the impact of television and the growing informality that characterized the decade.[4]

FOOD HIGHLIGHTS OF THE 1950s

1950 High school dropout William Rosenberg opens a small doughnut and coffee shop in Quincy, Massachusetts, and calls it Dunkin' Donuts. He licenses the first of many franchises in 1955.

1950 *Betty Crocker's Picture Cook Book* (also known as "Big Red"), the first of more than 200 cookbooks written under the name of the fictional Crocker, is published.

1952 The Wiener Whistle—a bright red and yellow plastic whistle shaped like a hot dog—appears in packages of Oscar Mayer All-Meat Wieners as a promotional giveaway.

1952 Introduction of Cheez Whiz, a pasteurized processed cheese spread.

1954 Seventh-grade dropout Harlan Sanders founds Kentucky Fried Chicken.

1954 Swanson introduces Swanson TV Dinners.

1957 General Foods Corporation rolls out "a new instant breakfast drink discovery!," Tang, a powdered, orange-flavored drink mix added to water to make a beverage. In 1962, astronaut John Glenn drinks it in orbit during food experimentation, but contrary to popular belief, Tang was not invented by or for NASA. It does, however, become more popular after its link with the space program.

1957 Emerson Drug Company, maker of Bromo-Seltzer, introduces Fizzies, tablets that create an instant carbonated soda drink when dropped into water. Marketed to children as well as adults, the popular tablets are discontinued in 1969 when the cyclamates they contain are linked to certain types of cancer.

1959 Jiffy Pop, popcorn sold packaged in its own heating pan, hits the supermarkets.

Appliances and Other Kitchen Helpers

The 1950s not only witnessed a number of new foods and approaches to their preparation, but also a rapid expansion of kitchen technology. For example, Tupperware, a line of storage containers made from flexible polyethylene, took off in 1951 with the clever marketing ploy of the "Tupperware Home Party." The containers themselves, invented in 1940 by Earl S. Tupper, had been available in stores since 1945, but sales and interest lagged. In 1951, Tupper hired Brownie Wise to oversee home parties where Tupperware products would be sold directly to individuals. Wise capitalized on the idea of women working and socializing simultaneously. A uniquely direct selling system, known as the "Hostess Plan," used churches, clubs, and sororities, as well as friends and neighbors to sell to one another. Tupperware Parties became an overnight success, and soon the versatile plastic could only be obtained this

way—the pastel bowls with the tight lids had been withdrawn from stores.

The Tupperware Party symbolized the suburban 1950s, and in 1954, Wise became the first woman ever to appear on the cover of *Business Week*. Tupperware, available in popular 1950s colors, affirmed the machine aesthetic, a utilitarian product that could be economically mass-produced, and it caught the imagination of millions of consumers.[5] In 1952, the Dow Chemical Company introduced Saran Wrap. The first of many flexible plastic wraps, it gave an airtight seal around just about anything.

Faster cooking seemed to be on the horizon in 1954, when the Raytheon Company brought out the Radar Range, the first gasless, flameless cooking device on the market. The invention cooked foods by bombarding them with microwaves. The Radar Range's large, bulky size and high price tag made it practical only for commercial use. In the 1960s smaller, more affordable microwave ovens appeared in appliance stores, but these compact units, so new and so different, took a long time to gain public acceptance. It wasn't until the mid 1970s that households begin to buy them in significant numbers.

Refrigerators, on the other hand, had by 1950 become a standard appliance. The challenge for manufacturers involved how to render existing refrigerators obsolete in their owners' eyes. Here again the idea of planned obsolescence did not limit itself to the automotive field and yearly model changes; the enormous appliance market likewise entertained the concept. In 1951 Westinghouse introduced a line of refrigerators that automatically defrosted themselves. By 1954, General Electric advertised models available in several colors instead of just white.

Not to be outdone, Kelvinator introduced in 1955 the first side-by-side refrigerator, the "Foodarama." Instead of a freezer and a refrigerator served by a single door, their model featured a door for each function. Three years later Whirlpool extolled their first frostless model, a design so advanced that it eliminated defrosting of any kind.

An American chemist at the DuPont Company created Teflon in 1938, but not until 1948 did the company begin to employ it for industrial purposes. A French inventor perfected a way to make the plastic adhere to aluminum, and his discovery was marketed abroad as Tefal in the 1950s. Teflon-coated pans finally made their way across the Atlantic late in the decade, but the response to Tefal/Teflon remained tepid.[6]

Fast Food

As Americans moved to the suburbs, their jobs more often than not remained in the city. This trend may have added to the nation's mobility, but it also meant people traveled farther to work and spent more time on the road and less time with their families. Increased activities took young and old away from their homes, and a rush to eat began to characterize the typical suburban kitchen. No more sit-down dinners with everyone present; families ate frozen dinners and other prepared foods, often on the run or alone in front of a television set.

This speeding up of American life did not limit itself to the home; when on the road, people wanted restaurants that offered food in a hurry. In response, the restaurant industry promoted fast food, food that could be prepared and consumed, literally, in minutes.

In 1954, salesman Ray Kroc peddled a product called Malt-A-Mixer, or Multimixer, a device for making multiple milkshakes in restaurants. On a visit to the McDonald Brothers' hamburger stand in San Bernardino, California, inspiration hit: he envisioned a restaurant that mass-produced not just milkshakes, but all the other items that have come to be associated with fast-food establishments. The McDonald brothers had already franchised eight of their stands; after some negotiation, Kroc acquired future franchising rights to expand the number of McDonald's stands, although the brothers retained their original operations. Following some management disagreements, Kroc purchased the entire chain from the brothers in 1961, along with their name, and proceeded to create the hamburger empire that still calls itself McDonald's. The distinctive golden arches, the company trademark, had first appeared in 1953. Six years later, Ray Kroc had some 145 McDonald's stands across the nation, with thousands more to come.[7] (See Architecture of the 1950s.)

The Development of Some Prominent Fast-Food Chains during the 1950s

Year	Establishment	Location
1950	Dunkin' Donuts	Quincy, Massachusetts
1951	Jack in the Box	San Diego, California
1952	Church's Fried Chicken	San Antonio, Texas
	Kentucky Fried Chicken	Corbin, Kentucky
1953	Sonic (Top Hat Drive-In)	Shawnee, Oklahoma
1954	Shakey's	Sacramento, California
	Burger King (InstaBurger)	Dade County, Florida
1955	McDonald's (Ray Kroc)	Des Plaines, Illinois
	Mister Donut	Revere, Massachusetts
1957	Gino's	Baltimore, Maryland
1958	Pizza Hut	Wichita, Kansas
	Burger Chef	Indianapolis, Indiana

These new fast-food chains deeply influenced American eating habits. For example, the purchases of frozen potatoes, usually in the form of french fries, soared. In a similar manner, ketchup and pickle consumption also rose dramatically. Even iced tea and soft-drink sales were affected by this phenomenon. Burger, fries, and a Coke quickly emerged as standard fare for millions of Americans (see "The Development of Some Prominent Fast-Food Chains during the 1950s").

Haute Cuisine

As food grew increasingly convenient, the inevitable cost was taste. For many, that seemed an acceptable trade-off. A minority, however, opted for flavor and a more aesthetic approach to food. With so much kitchen technology available, why be merely a cook when one could be a chef?

The reasons behind this shift in attitude evolved slowly and often had little to do with food. For example, the 1950s saw transatlantic air travel become a reality available to many people. And, with broadened horizons and exposure, more and more Americans experienced true foreign foods, not their Americanized imitations. Popular travel books and guides devoted considerable space to dining abroad, with the result that larger supermarkets and specialty stores began to stock items from distant shores.

For both the traveler and the stay-at-home, magazines like *Gourmet* (founded 1941) offered exotic recipes and advertising that tempted both eye and palate. Their circulations rose, prompting the publication of Samuel Chamberlain's *Bouquet de France* (1952) and Fernande Garvin's *The Art of French Cooking* (1958), two cookbooks that appeared on best-seller lists. At the same time, newspaper and magazine columns brought food experts like James Beard and Craig Claiborne a measure of popularity, and their appearances on television cooking shows introduced more foreign fare to millions.

DRINK

Almost 20 years had passed since the repeal of Prohibition, and the opinions of Americans toward the consumption of alcohol had mellowed. In addition, millions of people served in the armed forces during World War II, exposing them to cultures with more permissive attitudes about drinking. At home, virtually everyone consumed soft drinks, and an overwhelming majority also drank coffee or tea.

Alcoholic Beverages

During the 1950s, hard liquors—whiskey, Scotch, gin, vodka, rum, and the like—gained widespread acceptance. Consumption of liquor in general rose from 190 million gallons to 235 million gallons between 1950 and 1960. Hollywood capitalized on the implied stylishness of drinking in movies like *All About Eve* (1950), *My Man Godfrey* (1957), and *Auntie Mame* (1958). These films vividly celebrated the conviviality associated with the use of alcohol, adding to the mystique surrounding liquor, fashion, and elegance.[8]

Overall, the cocktail epitomized drinking and the 1950s. As long as they did not seem too exotic or outlandish, cocktails ruled as the drinks of choice for the middle class and above. Martinis, manhattans, gimlets, old-fashioneds—were served in restaurants, classy bars, and even in suburban homes. For example, the martini, a potent concoction made from gin and vermouth, emerged as a status drink during the decade. To many, a well-made martini represented sophistication and the pursuit

of perfection. A popular assumption insinuated that those on the way up, or those who had already gotten there, drank martinis. And if media imagery had any validity, men and women in equal numbers consumed them. Cocktails, either at home or in a lounge, became an American ritual.

Throughout the decade, books, movies, recordings, and magazines regularly depicted drinking, an explicit endorsement of the practice. In *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951), J. D. Salinger's classic adolescent novel, even the youthful Holden Caulfield visits a cocktail lounge because he knows drinking signifies an important rite of passage in America. (See Books, Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics of the 1930s.)

In the film *The Big Hangover* (1950), star Van Johnson exhibited a peculiar weakness for alcohol, more an allergy than an addiction. One sip and he went out of control, which made for a silly commentary on imbibing, but the point about the dangers inherent in alcohol consumption was nonetheless driven home. "Days of Wine and Roses," presented as an episode of television's *Playhouse 90* in 1958, took a much more serious view of problem drinking. Starring Cliff Robertson and Piper Laurie, the story involves an upwardly mobile young couple who descend into alcoholism. Sophistication slides into degradation as they find themselves powerless to fight their addiction. (*Days of Wine and Roses* went on to became a successful movie in 1962, starring Jack Lemmon and Lee Remick.)

Songwriters also addressed drinking issues, often memorably. In 1943, *The Sky's the Limit,* a movie starring singer/dancer Fred Astaire. Astaire sings "One for My Baby (and One More for the Road)," a mournful lament, but the song languished until 1954, when *Young at Heart* appeared in theaters. Frank Sinatra and Doris Day shared the leads, allowing Sinatra to croon "One for My Baby" and make it his own. Recorded a number of times during the 1950s, "One for My Baby" would henceforth be associated with Sinatra, lost love, and drowning sorrow in a bottle.



A cocktail party of the 1950s, given by millionaire Robert P. McCulloch at his impressive modern house. Photo by Loomis Dean//Time Life Pictures/Getty Images.

Not every piece of music dealing with drinking during the fifties focused on the lugubrious side of alcohol. The Clovers, a popular vocal group, recorded "One Mint Julep" in 1951. Bandleader Buddy Morrow cut an up-tempo instrumental version of the song in 1952 that became an instant hit. Many other areas of popular culture, especially print advertising, endorsed drinking. (See Advertising of the 1950s.)

Other Beverages

Coca-Cola completely dominated the soft-drink industry in the early years of the decade. *Time* magazine even had the Coke logo on its cover in 1950, and the accompanying article talked of its amazing popularity around the globe. The company claimed 69 percent of the U.S. market, whereas Pepsi-Cola could only attract about 15 percent. A strong television marketing campaign by Pepsi throughout the fifties did narrow Coca-Cola's lead somewhat, however.

Coca-Cola maintained its dominance in the highly competitive industry by utilizing stylized illustrations of wholesome pretty girls enjoying a Coke. These illustrations, usually unsigned, were recognizable to millions. Always decorous, they appeared around the world as the company expanded its bottling and franchising efforts during the 1950s.[9]

The ubiquitous red and white Coca-Cola colors could be found in insulated coolers, on board airliners in special carriers, and, of course, at the fast-food shops and drive-ins springing up around the country. In 1955, amid great advertising fanfare, the company introduced a variety of larger bottles and cans. With all this marketing, and bolstered by instant recognition, familiarity, and endless celebrity endorsements, Coca-Cola must be seen as one of the most successfully advertised products of the 1950s or any other decade. The pretty model holding up a refreshing Coke emerged as an American icon: life was good, and Coke made it better.

The rise of the supermarket cut into Coca-Cola's sales. While most of the smaller, more traditional grocery stores had for years carried only Coke products, supermarkets carried all brands. They granted equal aisle space to Pepsi and others, giving shoppers more choices. In another arena, the two giants competed for exclusivity clauses in the rapidly expanding fast-food chains. For instance, McDonald's served only Coca-Cola, whereas Burger King featured Pepsi products.[10]

In the early 1950s, scientists conducted experiments to find an efficient way to bottle beverages in steel containers. The war in Korea had created some steel shortages, slowing development, but progress was made toward perfecting an economical steel container that would not impart a metallic taste to the liquid within. Around 1955, steel cans appeared on grocery shelves, often with conical tops and screw-on caps to preserve carbonation. Three years later, the Coors Brewing Company introduced an aluminum beverage container for its line of beer. These early cans required a separate opener, or "church key" as some called them; the popular pull tabs would not appear until the 1960s.

In keeping with the move toward greater speed and ease in the kitchen, a host of new powdered beverages came on the market. In 1954, Carnation Instant Nonfat Dry Milk became available. Lipton Instant Tea, mixed with boiling water, provided the 1958 consumer a quick cup of tea; the following year, a glass of juice could be made by mixing Tang's orange drink powder with cold water.

Music of the 1950s

The fifties opened with American popular music in the doldrums. The big bands had disappeared, and smaller groups and vocalists suffered hard economic times. Recording and playback technologies changed, but as far as popular selections went, disc jockeys, already a well-established radio institution by the 1950s, controlled most programming. Not until the mid-fifties would pop music again emerge as a major force in American culture, powered by rock 'n' roll and its young fans.

POPULAR HITS AND TOP 40

At the onset of the 1950s, the public annually purchased about 189 million records, a respectable figure. But as the decade progressed, the numbers rose: 277 million by 1955, and an astounding 600 million by 1960. Rock 'n' roll changed the face of American popular music; the typical record-buyers of the late 1940s and early 1950s were in their early 20s, but by the close of the decade teenagers bought 70 percent of all records.[1]

The content found in most mainstream pop songs of the early fifties was exemplified by two number one compositions: "Cry" (1951) and "How Much Is That Doggie in the Window?" (1953). Singer and teenage heartthrob Johnnie Ray recorded "Cry," a slow lament about lost love. His producers, sensing a possible hit, included on the "B" side—or "flip side"—of the record another song about tears titled "The Little White Cloud That Cried"; it climbed to number two on the charts. Patti Page cut "How Much Is That Doggie in the Window?" two years later. Its title to the contrary, the lyrics involve a person traveling away from her sweetheart and wanting to get him a puppy as a companion and watchdog. Inserted throughout the tune are barks and "arfs."

Both songs illustrated the vapid sentimentality that characterized much popular music of the first half of the decade. Record producers envisioned a monolithic audience ready to accept their product without question. In reality, composers and musicians struggled with many new approaches to their craft, but their efforts tended not to register with a corporate mentality satisfied with the status quo.

Similarly, American radio dispensed throughout the broadcast day only the most noncontroversial music. Drama and variety shows, displaced by television, had virtually disappeared from network schedules by the end of the decade, and stations at first seemed content to play the Top 40 hits. Unscientific at best, these lists included all manner of music, from western swing to avant-garde jazz, but tended to be characterized by bland songs aimed at an unseen mass audience.

Distinctive patterns of musical transfer from one medium to another existed in the fifties. For

example, the background music to the TV detective show *Peter Gunn* (1958–1961) received almost as much popular acclaim as the series itself. A swinging band led by Henry Mancini tried to capture the ambience of smoky nightclubs and lurking danger. An RCA Victor album of soundtrack songs from *Peter Gunn* sold extremely well and made Mancini an in-demand composer, arranger, and conductor.

Because millions of people attended the movies every week, often a single song from a particular film could enjoy hit status. Adding airplay could draw an audience in excess of that which saw the picture itself. In 1952, Hollywood released a western titled *High Noon.* The movie became a big hit, and a song from the soundtrack soared to the top of the charts. "Do Not Forsake Me, Oh My Darling" featured country singer Tex Ritter, and its sad, rambling story attracted listeners and sales.

CHANGING TECHNOLOGY

To facilitate locating radio stations, preset buttons for car receivers appeared on dashboards in 1952. This handy device already existed in home sets. The transistor radio, first marketed in 1954 and adapted for cars in 1956, made music more portable. Stereo recording of music commenced in 1954; by 1958, stereophonic records had become available to the public. These innovations demonstrated the importance of radios and recordings in making the hits of the day readily available to listeners.

Disc jockeys and program managers emphasized playing only the most current and popular songs, so that audiences frequently heard the same numbers over and over, even if they chose to change stations. A fast pace characterized radio programming of the day; it provided the maximum amount of music and advertising. Identifying the station became as important as its selections, because listeners tended to return to specific stations if they thought they could catch their favorite music. The DJs repeatedly proclaimed call letters and frequencies in order to get listeners to return. The Top 40 formula attracted a broad audience, and over 1,000 such stations could be heard across the country at the end of the fifties.

Record Speeds and High Fidelity

Until the end of the 1940s, the 78-rpm recording completely dominated the market. The records themselves tended to be heavy and breakable; the relatively high speed meant faster wear and increased surface noise. Most of the records measured 10 or 12 inches in diameter, which meant about three to five minutes playing time per side.

Columbia Records had, in 1947, introduced the 33⅓ rpm recording. This slower speed allowed for much longer recording and playback times, as a result, new albums contained numerous songs, or tracks. The "33" or "LP" (for long playing) enjoyed huge success, but did not replace single-play recordings.

In 1949, RCA Victor introduced its 45-rpm singles, seven-inch records (one song per side) with a large, one-and-a-half-inch center hole. Manufactured with lightweight vinyl instead of the more brittle shellac of 78s, their slower speed meant clearer, less-scratchy sound and greater durability. RCA wisely marketed a single-speed 45-rpm player early in the fifties. Compact, portable, and virtually unbreakable, it featured a fat, one-and a-half-inch spindle that accommodated the new discs. An instant hit with teenagers everywhere, 45-rpm records and players took possession of the singles market, a fact reflected in steadily rising sales throughout the decade, accounting for 98 percent of all single sales by 1959.

With 78s, 45s, and 33s all on the market, consumer confusion resulted. The sales of 33⅓ albums soared throughout the fifties, but it would take time for record buyers to adjust to the new technologies of record reproduction for single discs. For many years, makers of record players had to make their units adjustable to three speeds (33⅓ rpm, 45 rpm, and 78 rpm) and two needles (one playback needle for the older 78s people still had in their collections and the other for the newer microgrooved 45s and 33s).[2]

SINGERS

Both male and female singers dominated the popular market during the early fifties. Among the men, the choices ran the gamut from relative old-timers like Bing Crosby ("True Love," 1956) and Frank Sinatra (*Songs for Swingin' Lovers*

album, 1956) to fresh-faced newcomers like Eddie Fisher ("Oh! My Pa-Pa," 1953) and Johnny Mathis ("Wonderful! Wonderful!" 1957), to the operatic arias of tenor Mario Lanza ("Be My Love," 1951). The women more than held their own: Teresa Brewer ("Let Me Go, Lover" 1954), Doris Day ("Que Sera, Sera," 1956), Connie Francis ("Who's Sorry Now?" 1958), Peggy Lee ("Fever," 1958), Patti Page ("The Tennessee Waltz," 1950), and Jo Stafford ("Shrimp Boats," 1951) could match any of their male counterparts in the competition for hits and sales.

Vocal groups, usually trios or quartets, also had their moments on the Top 40 charts. The Four Aces recorded "Heart and Soul" in 1952, and the Hilltoppers reached hit status with "P.S., I Love You" in 1953. On the female side, the Andrews Sisters continued a long string of successes with "I Can Dream, Can't I?" in 1950 and the McGuire Sisters made the charts in 1954 with "Goodnight, Sweetheart, Goodnight."

While singers (Frank Sinatra, Bing Crosby and others) who had started singing with bands gained even greater success in solo careers, the fifties witnessed the decline of the big bands, those large aggregations that seemed so invincible during the thirties and forties. Many orchestras simply disappeared; others broke up into quintets and sextets in an attempt to remain active, and a hardy few hung on, hoping for a renaissance that never materialized.

JAZZ

Constant experimentation and exploration marked the decade. The music clearly had a popular following, but the audience divided into various and competing preferences. Labels for schools of jazz abounded, such as Dixieland, cool, bebop, funk, progressive, and West Coast. Tommy Smalls, better known as "Dr. Jive," drew impressive audiences for his radio shows. What's more, he owned a nightclub, Smalls Paradise, in Harlem that was a favorite with rhythm and blues bands. His influence was such that even Ed Sullivan, the host of television's *Toast of the Town,* had him organize a segment that showcased the talents of many black entertainers who would otherwise not get such national coverage.[3]

Some of the most innovative jazz was improvised and played during the 1950s, by such performers as Miles Davis, Bill Evans, the Modern Jazz Quartet, Art Blakey, Charlie Mingus, John Coltrane, Ornette Colman, Thelonius Monk, and more, to name only a small number of outstanding performers and composers. Yet, despite all the experimentation in jazz throughout the period, the overwhelming majority of fans preferred mainstream music with a danceable rhythm and obvious melody.

The growing audience of jazz, albeit one divided into many niches, convinced producer George Wein to stage an outdoor festival at staid Newport, Rhode Island, during the summer of 1954. He featured musicians from all schools, and it attracted a sell-out crowd. The Newport Jazz Festival went on to become an annual event.

COUNTRY AND WESTERN

Although it lived on the fringes of true popular culture throughout the 1950s, country music did find a growing audience, both rural and urban. For the most part, the larger radio stations ignored it. When it finally gained precious airtime, it usually occurred on small, low-power stations located primarily in the Southeast, Midwest, and Southwest. In the more densely populated upper half of the nation it received little exposure. But the demographics that would eventually favor country tunes were changing. During World War II, a great many rural Americans had made the move to large cities to take jobs in the burgeoning defense industries; they brought with them a rich heritage of music that most of their new urban neighbors knew little about. As the postwar years progressed, increasing numbers of independent radio stations began to play this music as part of their daily broadcasting.

Hank Williams, the first musician in this genre to reach the big time, had a string of hits that virtually defined country and western for years to come. "I'm So Lonesome I Could Cry" (1950) and "Your Cheatin' Heart" (1952), with their stories of torment and suffering, inspired the later music of a generation of performers. Williams himself died in 1953, when he was just 29, having lived the life he portrayed in his music.

Patsy Cline got her break when she appeared on the popular television series, *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts* in 1957. Her theme song, "Walkin' After Midnight," soared to the top of both the country and the popular charts. Her success helped pave the way for both women and country artists in general to cross over successfully into the more lucrative field of pop music.

Two brothers, Don and Phil Everly, combined their talents and produced a string of country-tinged hits beginning with "Bye, Bye Love" and "Wake Up, Little Susie" in 1957. They followed those successes with "All I Have to Do is Dream" and "Bird Dog" in 1958. With a strong beat and a nasal twang, they expanded the parameters of popular music, leading to the amalgamation of country music, rock 'n' roll, and traditional song formulas, a mix usually called "pop rock."

HOW OTHERS SEE US

Cowboys: The New Samurai

The postwar occupation of Japan by the United States led to cultural mixing on a grand scale, especially when the unintended consequences of the occupiers' rules and regulations came into play. When, in an effort to short circuit Japan's martial traditions, General Douglas MacArthur decreed a ban on samurai stories, Japanese publishers turned to an American-based alternative: the western. By 1953, comic books aimed at young boys included the adventures of American cowboys like Tim Holt in translation, as well as original Japanese stories with Old West themes; radio serials featured characters like the Chakkari Kid shooting out of ambushes. Young Japanese boys could be seen at play in full western regalia, complete with pint-size cowboy hats and holstered toy six-shooters.

At the same time, country and western music surged to popularity in Japan, propelled in part by the pop crossover hits that country stars like Hank Williams were enjoying on the American hit parade. Japanese musicians formed bands with names like the Chuck Wagon Boys, the Western Ramblers, the Wagonmasters, and the Straw Hat Band. These groups incorporated American instruments like the banjo alongside the traditional Japanese samisen. With musicians dressed in high-heeled cowboy boots and ten-gallon hats, they attracted American G.I.'s and Japanese music fans alike.

FOLK MUSIC

Like country and western, folk music usually dwelled at the edges of popular American music. In 1958, however, a crew-cut, buttoned-down group of young men called The Kingston Trio began to inch up the pop charts with hits like "Tom Dooley" (1958) and "M.T.A." (1959). The trio resurrected old American melodies, as well as wrote their own compositions, and they added a bit of contemporary gloss to their arrangements, making them popular with a wide range of audiences. Their "Scotch and Soda" (1958) and "Sloop John B" (1958), demonstrated that folk songs could be melodic and fun, steering clear of the political or social overtones that marked much of the music by musicians who would follow them.

ROCK 'N' ROLL

The year 1953 marked a turning point in American popular culture. A certain band broke onto the music scene with a raucous number called "Crazy Man Crazy." They followed it with their hit version of "Shake, Rattle, and Roll" in 1954; this tune had originated with Big Joe Turner, an African American bluesman little known to white audiences at the time. The hit, the one millions of young people bought and knew, was performed by Bill Haley and His Comets. Their arrangement, along with the earlier "Crazy Man Crazy," electrified record buyers, most of whom had never heard music quite like this. The group added to their success with "Rock Around the Clock" (1954), another up-tempo number that helped make "rock" a part of the national lexicon. "Rock Around the Clock" also played on the soundtrack of *Blackboard Jungle,* a violent 1955 film about juvenile delinquency that equated rock music with antisocial behavior. (See Entertainment of the 1950s.)

Sensing a groundswell of youthful approval, Cleveland disc jockey Alan Freed decided to push rock 'n' roll on his popular radio series, *The*

HOW OTHERS SEE US

One, Two, Three O'Clock...

The first international rock 'n' roll hit was "Rock Around The Clock" by Bill Haley and His Comets, a Philadelphia-based country/blues band. The song was recorded and released in the United States in 1954, but it didn't make an immediate impact until it was chosen for use in a certain movie's soundtrack.

That movie was *Blackboard Jungle,* a story of disaffected inner-city teens and the teacher who reached out to them. Released in the spring of 1955 and starring Sidney Poitier and Glenn Ford, *Jungle* was a huge success with young audiences in the United States and around the world, and they took to the theme song as well. The driving beat of "Rock Around The Clock" caught their attention as it played behind the opening credits, and soon there were reports of teens dancing in the aisles of theaters as the movie began. Sometimes these impromptu dance parties morphed into violence and vandalism, it was said. That spring, "Rock Around The Clock" became the first rock single to hit number one on the American pop charts; in November, it went to number one in Great Britain; the song sold 100,000 copies in Australia shortly thereafter, breaking sales records.

By 1957, when Haley and his band became the first rock act to tour in Europe, young people in most of the continental capitals—including London, Stockholm, Berlin, and Vienna—were "jumping" to "this latest jazz development," as press reports described the new musical trend. (Parisians, it was said, remained immune to the driving beats.) And while some adults decried rock-loving teens as hooligans, barbarians, or worse, others shrugged off the fad as being "no worse than the Blackbottom and Charleston of yesteryear."

Moon Dog Show. His growing audience enjoyed it, and the ratings shot up. In fact, Freed would later claim that he created the term "rock 'n' roll," although many would say the phrase had long existed among veteran rhythm and blues players as a euphemism for sex. Freed emerged as a leading dance and record promoter as well as a powerful disc jockey. He moved in 1956 to New York City's WINS, where he inaugurated a late-night show that introduced still more listeners to rhythm and blues and rock 'n' roll. The program gained immediate success, and the rock format quickly became established on both national and local radio.[4] Parents, school administrators, zealous ministers and priests, and general upholders of civic virtue combined to attack rock 'n' roll in the waning years of the decade. Overall, the critics had little impact on the music, on sales, or on American teenagers. Rock 'n' roll continued to be the biggest-selling format in American pop.

As for the music itself, nothing terribly original distinguished the work of Bill Haley and his group; black bands had been playing similar music since the 1940s, but the white audience knew little about them. Radio stations, most of which were white-owned, had been effectively segregating music for years. "Race records," recordings aimed at a predominately black clientele, differentiated between white and black bands. Because of such practices, rhythm and blues, which characterized much of this music, went unheard and unappreciated by the majority of listeners.

By the later 1950s, the hybridization of rhythm and blues and rock 'n' roll led to hits like "Blueberry Hill" (Fats Domino, 1956), "Searchin'" (the Coasters, 1957), "Chantilly Lace" (the Big Bopper, 1958), and "Kansas City" (Wilbert Harrison, 1959). Significantly, most of these artists were black, and their success portended a major racial breakthrough in popular American music. Although most black musicians continued to labor in the shadow of their white counterparts, many black artists finally blossomed into recognizable stars in their own right. The era of white performers dominating the popular charts drew to a close. Chuck Berry (1926–), had some fame in the 1950s for such lasting hits as "Maybellene" (1955), "Roll Over Beethoven" (1956), "Sweet Little Sixteen" (1958), and "Johnny B. Goode" (1958), but it was not until decades later that his



Chuck Berry, 1959. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

contributions received the credit they deserved, with some ranking "Johnny B. Goode" as the best rock and roll song ever composed and performed, and Berry as the father of rock 'n' roll.

In light of this change, some white rock 'n' rollers attempted to incorporate a more authentic rhythm and blues element into their music. For example, in 1957 Jerry Lee Lewis struck a responsive chord with youthful audiences with his "Whole Lotta Shakin' Goin' On" and quickly followed that with "Great Balls of Fire." Together, his two records sold millions of copies. For many white artists, an easy approach to audience acceptance involved performing covers of songs popularized by black performers. For example, Ricky Nelson's "I'm Walkin'" (1957) grew out of the original by Fats Domino (also 1957); the McGuire Sisters' "Sincerely" (1955) came from an original by the Moonglows (1954); and the aforementioned "Shake, Rattle and Roll" (1954) by Bill Haley and His Comets was first recorded by Joe Turner, also in 1954. The numbers of such covers precludes any definitive listing, but it was obvious that the practice was widespread. The use of white artists to cover black performers represented a continuing fear among record producers: somehow black artists could not attract a large (i.e., profitable) white audience. They would be proved wrong, but it took much of the decade to convince them. In fact, one of the singular accomplishments of 1950s music involved the eventual success of integrating black performers into the previously all-white mainstream. In many ways, this blending of musicians and compositions served as a preview of the civil rights triumphs of the late fifties and early sixties. Popular American music moved far ahead of social change, and it helped open many doors previously closed to minority artists.

Teenagers deserved much of the credit for the integration of black and white musical forms. In their record purchases, concert attendance, and other measurable preferences, they displayed a remarkable lack of bias when it came to music—especially rock 'n' roll.[5]

Teenage slang, always a sure means of separating teens from adults unsure of the nuances of new meanings for old words, took on distinct black overtones. The jargon spoken by musicians, especially black jazz musicians—words like "cool," "hip," "crazy," and so forth—was quickly picked up by teens everywhere.

As is the way with adolescents, the more adults condemned rock 'n' roll, the more teens gravitated toward it. Record sales soared, concerts featuring any bands even vaguely connected to this new music sold out, and the movie industry geared up to make a glut of films featuring rock artists. A heady time for all, and no one personified the era better than a young man from Tupelo, Mississippi.

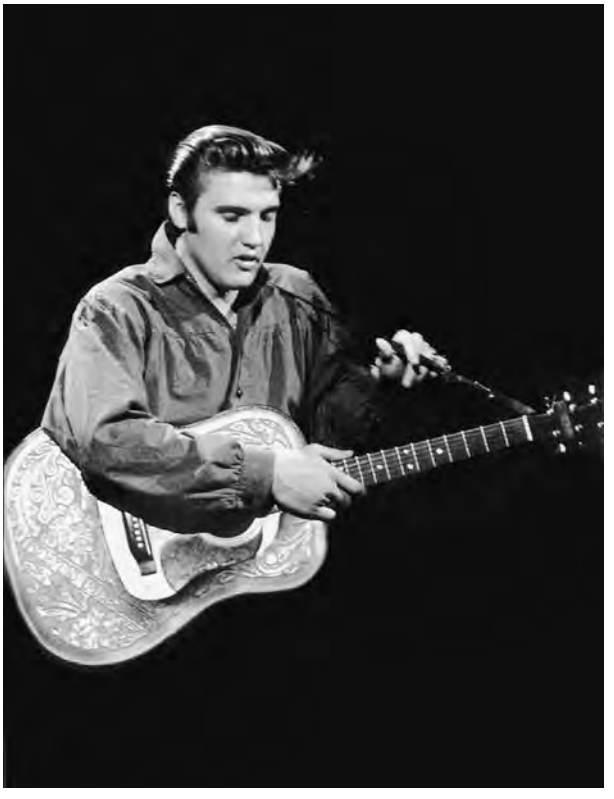
ELVIS PRESLEY

The career of Elvis Presley (1935–1977) began quietly. In 1953, he made a private recording of a song called "My Happiness." In 1954, he cut a series of tracks for tiny Sun Records in Memphis, Tennessee. His version of "That's All Right,

Mama" caught the ears of those whom he had previously failed to impress, especially Sam Phillips, the owner of the label.

Phillips had created Sun Records in 1952. He championed many of the best black blues artists of the day, since the segregated nature of the music business prevented them from getting contracts with the major recording companies. He looked for white singers who could approximate what black vocalists had been doing for years because he wanted to introduce the larger white audience to real rhythm and blues. His solution brought forth a hybrid music called "rockabilly."

Rockabilly blended white country ("hillbilly") music with black rhythm and blues. A dominant rhythm section, coupled with an uninhibited vocalist, created a mix that possessed a lively beat and urged listeners onto the dance floor. Phillips helped foster the early careers of Johnny Cash, Jerry Lee Lewis, Roy Orbison, Carl Perkins, and, of course, Elvis Presley. Unfortunately for Phillips, the success of these new artists meant they soon left Sun Records and headed for greener, more profitable pastures. He would never be a wealthy part of the rise of rock 'n' roll, but Sam Phillips would always be an integral part.



Elvis Presley. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

For Elvis Presley, the early Sun recordings led to a spot on the stage of the Grand Ole Opry radio broadcast in 1954. The positive response to that event led to regular appearances on the *Louisiana Hayride Show.* His star rapidly rising, Presley's career was taken over by "Colonel" Tom Parker, an astute manager if ever there was one. In fact, Parker deprived Sam Philips of his star singer. In November 1955, Parker engineered an RCA Victor recording contract for Presley that would result in an unprecedented string of hits in 1956: "Heartbreak Hotel" (the single sold eight million copies in six months), "Blue Suede Shoes" (Presley's version far outsold Carl Perkins's 1955 Sun recording), "Hound Dog" (first recorded by Big Mama Thornton in 1952), "I Want You, I Need You, I Love You," and "Love Me Tender," making him the hottest new star in popular music.

His RCA Victor album was called, simply, *Elvis Presley* (1956), and it broke all existing sales records. From January 1956 until his induction into the army in March 1958, Elvis Presley had 14 consecutive million-selling singles, an amazing achievement. The king of crossover, most of Presley's hits could be simultaneously assigned to the mainstream, country, rhythm and blues, and rock 'n' roll charts. His appeal was so great that virtually no other entertainer could match him on individual hits. A second RCA Victor album, *Elvis* (1957), likewise soared to the top.[6]

In 1956, Parker successfully negotiated a movie contract for Presley. His first release was to be called *The Reno Brothers,* but the inclusion of the ballad "Love Me Tender" convinced the producers to capitalize on Presley's soaring popularity as a singer. The movie was re-titled *Love Me Tender,* and it cashed in at the box office. Its success led to *Loving You* and *Jailhouse Rock* in 1957, both also titled after songs included in the films. A fourth film, *King Creole,* came out in 1958.

Presley's television appearances on *The Ed Sullivan Show* have become the stuff of legend. Parker worked long and hard to get Presley on the top-ranked variety show in the fall of 1956. He

had already appeared on several other programs by that time, but Sullivan ruled the ratings, and Parker knew that a few minutes on his show would introduce Presley to his largest audience ever. Time proved him right; over three-quarters of the American viewing audience tuned in to see him. An instant hit, he appeared three times. The gyrations of "Elvis the Pelvis" had upset enough viewers that CBS took no chances: by his third visit, cameramen had been instructed to shoot him from the waist up. But even the upper half of Presley attracted viewers, and the show drew a record audience.[7]

Elvis Presley projected a controversial image that troubled many Americans. From his rocker black slacks and pink jackets to his superstar satins and gold lamés, Presley delighted in costume. And it went beyond mere attire; his sideburns and brilliantined hair bothered some, and others decried his dancing as lascivious and degrading. But no one denied that his success, along with the acceptance of rock 'n' roll into American culture, announced the arrival of a new, probably unbridgeable, generation gap, along with a revolution in sexual mores. Although Presley would continue to be a superstar until his death in 1977, for the second half of the 1950s his name was synonymous with rock 'n' roll and the discovery of a new musical form.

Riding the crest of unparalleled success, Presley entered the army in March 1958. The greasy hair came off, and he disappeared into active duty. Upon his return from service in 1960, Presley would immediately reclaim his spot as one of America's top entertainers.

HIT SONGS OF THE 1950s

Songs and performers.

"The Tennessee Waltz" (Patti Page)—1950

"Unforgettable" (Nat King Cole)—1951

"You Belong to Me" (Jo Stafford)—1952

"Your Cheatin' Heart" (Hank Williams)—1953

"Sh-Boom" (The Crew-Cuts)—1954

"Rock Around The Clock" (Bill Haley and His Comets)—1955

"Maybellene" (Chuck Berry)—1955

"All Shook Up" (Elvis Presley)—1957

"At the Hop" (Danny and the Juniors)—1958

"It's Only Make Believe" (Conway Twitty)—1958

PAT BOONE

Despite the huge success of Elvis Presley, other singers managed to hold their own during the later fifties. Singer Harry Belafonte had back-to-back hits with "Jamaica Farewell" in 1956 and the "Banana Boat Song" ("Day-O!") in 1957; their success spurred a brief public clamor for calypso music. Nat "King" Cole ("Ballerina," 1957), Perry Como ("Dream Along with Me," 1956), Johnny Mathis ("Chances Are," 1957), and Andy Williams ("Canadian Sunset," 1956) epitomized the clean-cut vocalist performing syrupy ballads that offended and threatened no one.

A young vocalist named Pat Boone (1934–) was about the only male singer to challenge Presley with any regularity in the popularity sweepstakes. In 1957, he struck double gold with "Love Letters in the Sand" and "April Love." American teens were torn: the slow, sincere lyrics enunciated by Boone, or the suggestive, dangerous course plotted by Presley ("All Shook Up" and "Jailhouse Rock"). In typical adolescent fashion, Boone and Presley alternated with their respective hits.

Determined to win a broad audience, Boone turned to covers of black hits. In 1955, Fats Domino, a reasonably successful black singer, had recorded "Ain't That a Shame." Boone cut a much less "soulful" version of the song that same year, and it promptly reached number one. Little Richard, a colorful rhythm and blues performer, enjoyed a big hit with "Tutti Frutti" in early 1956. But Boone scored an even bigger hit on the same song; in fact, his 1956 cover of "Tutti Frutti" outsold Little Richard's original. Boone could take raunchy rhythm and blues songs, sanitize them, and have pop hits. Later in 1956, he again took a Little Richard number, this time "Long Tall Sally," and made it acceptable to parents and—more importantly—radio play. For many record executives, Pat Boone singing Little Richard's songs just seemed safer and more proper than hearing Little Richard performing them himself.[8]

TELEVISION AND POPULAR MUSIC

Two shows that chronicled the changes in American music were *Your Hit Parade* (NBC, 1950–1958; CBS, 1958–1959) and *American Bandstand* (local, 1952–1957; ABC, 1957–1987; syndicated, 1987–1989). Both attracted primarily adolescents and young adults.

An outgrowth of the enormously popular radio show (NBC, 1935–1937; CBS, 1936–1947; NBC, 1947–1953) of the same name, *Your Hit Parade* premiered on television in July 1950, and soon outshone its radio counterpart. It would flourish for much of the decade, but rock 'n' roll finally did it in at the end of the 1959 season.

What *Your Hit Parade* had accomplished so successfully was to chart the sales and appeal of a weekly list of the 10 top-rated popular songs. Starting at the bottom, the singers and orchestra worked their way up to number one, breathlessly announcing the title with just enough time to perform it. This approach generated audience suspense, and people enjoyed second-guessing the cast, trying to guess which title would hold the coveted position for that particular week.

Radio stations became specialized in the later years of the decade with jazz, classical, country, Top 40, rock, and a number of other varieties playing to niche audiences, and the show's choice of a number one hit no longer necessarily represented everyone's favorite.[9]

In the meantime, Dick Clark's *American Bandstand* made its national network debut in 1957. Prior to that, it had been a local show in Philadelphia, premiering in 1952 with film clips of older pop stars performing their hits. *American Bandstand,* from its inception, reflected an effort by one local television station—Philadelphia's WFIL-TV—to save some money and fill some otherwise empty hours. The networks provided soap operas in the early afternoon, but programming remained the locals' responsibility heading toward dinner time. Records and a disc jockey came cheap; because the shows were frequently simulcast on both radio and TV, a station could stand to make a modest profit in both mediums.

The early *American Bandstand* featured no dancing teenagers, that is, until low ratings drove the producers to innovate. They invited the audience to perform on camera and rate records for "danceability," while live singers lip-synched popular tunes. It looked amateurish and technical problems frequently arose, but viewers loved it. The best move, however, came with the introduction of a new host, Dick Clark (1929–), in July 1956. In no time, Clark emerged as the youthful voice of rock 'n' roll, first in Philadelphia and then across the country after ABC added the show to its late afternoon lineup. Always spiffy in jacket and tie, and blessed with boyish good looks, he reassured nervous parents of young viewers everywhere; he would go on to host *American Bandstand* until 1989.

In 1956, *American Bandstand* did not hesitate to televise blacks and whites together on the dance floor, a picture of diversity noticeably lacking on most home screens. ABC and the sponsors



American Bandstand, with the clean-cut host, Dick Clark, in coat and tie. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

expressed nervousness about this breach of unspoken racial rules, but the mostly adolescent audience appeared oblivious. Clark nevertheless had to be insistent about racial mixing from the outset, it being a time when TV still depicted blacks in stereotypical roles or not at all. He also made white America much more aware of black music and its composers and performers. By not backing down to network censors and commercial worries, he helped make rock 'n' roll a dominant musical form, and opened the audience's eyes to social change.[10]

CLASSICAL MUSIC

Classical music enjoyed modest popular success in the 1950s. The improved aural quality of FM enhanced orchestral compositions, and the development of the long-playing phonograph record in 1947 allowed these stations to play selections in their entirety. Unlike AM radio, the inherent limitations of a 3-minute song followed by a 60-second commercial did not drive FM programming. Fortunately, a number of FM stations enjoyed subsidies underwritten by universities and other groups, since a common perception existed among most radio producers that classical music could not draw large audiences. Since AM broadcasters relied on commercial support and usually lived on tight budgets, those lucky FM stations provided outlets for alternative musical programming.

Despite limited broadcasting, serious music, in reality, had a sizable listenership, something borne out by steady record sales throughout the decade. It might not have been popular culture on the scale of rock 'n' roll, but a handful of American composers like Samuel Barber, Aaron Copland, Howard Hanson, William Schuman, and Virgil Thompson found modest success both on FM radio and through recordings.

A young composer and conductor named Leonard Bernstein (1918–1990) emerged as a primary spokesman for classical music to millions of Americans. His compositions, ranging from film scores (*On the Waterfront,* 1954) to operas (*Trouble in Tahiti,* 1952) to blockbuster Broadway plays (*Wonderful Town,* 1953; *West Side Story,* 1957), along with his leadership of the New York Philharmonic, made him a man about music, and his face became familiar to many. Using the medium of television, he undertook to discuss music with shows such as *What is Jazz?* (1956), and introduced young people to the modern symphony orchestra. Bernstein's engaging mannerisms and openness to all musical forms helped the cause of serious music.

Just as Bernstein's star was rising, another major voice in American classical music allowed his to set. Arturo Toscanini, the tempestuous but popular conductor of the NBC Symphony Orchestra, retired in 1954 at the age of 87. For most Americans, Toscanini personified serious music; his recordings on the RCA Red Seal label outsold virtually all other classical offerings, and his weekly radio broadcasts went out to 200 NBC affiliates during the early 1950s. His farewell performance in 1954 drew a huge radio audience and resulted in a standing ovation from those in attendance. Radio would never again have a personality to match Toscanini's, and classical music virtually disappeared from the AM dial.[11]

On Christmas Eve 1951, Gian-Carlo Menotti, a young American composer, premiered an opera destined to become a seasonal classic: *Amahl and the Night Visitors.* Commissioned by NBC television, it proved melodious and accessible. Although Americans generally looked askance at anything vaguely operatic, *Amahl and the Night Visitors* quickly became established as a Christmas favorite and was performed live around the country.

Another event that kept some attention focused on the classical side of music involved cultural exchanges conducted between the United States and Russia. Despite the saber rattling of the Cold War, many in government strongly encouraged continued dialog by exchanging artists. This meant that American orchestras and performers would periodically visit the Soviet Union, and vice versa. Most of the time, though, the performers being exchanged were symphony orchestras, string quartets, and individual classical soloists; only on occasion did jazz musicians or popular performers receive State Department invitations.

Major groups like Bernstein's New York Philharmonic or the Philadelphia Orchestra would find themselves en route to Moscow, and their Russian counterparts would wing their way to New York City. It seemed a good way to establish and strengthen cultural ties between the two superpowers, and it also served as a kind of cultural blackmail: when a diplomatic breakdown occurred, artists would be forbidden to travel from one country to another. After the diplomats resolved their issues, the exchanges resumed.

Sports

and Leisure of the 1950s

SPORTS

Overall, the health of Americans had never been better than in the 1950s. By late in the decade, the increased use of antibiotics lessened the seriousness of many illnesses. For example, the Salk and Sabin vaccines diminished polio's damaging effects markedly. Still, doctors observed that American youth seldom did as well as their European counterparts in various tests of physical fitness and concluded that American kids were out of shape. These findings came to a head with the creation of the President's Council on Youth Fitness in 1957. This group helped spur the development of Little League teams and other kinds of organized sports.

In the realm of professional athletics, the American and National Leagues in 1950 agreed to allow the World Series to be televised. NBC, the network making the request, in turn paid the leagues $6 million for the privilege, thereby ushering in the era of big money, sports and television. At the same time, the 1950s witnessed the beginning of the end of racial segregation in most professional sports.

Baseball

In 1951, Willie Mays made his debut with the New York Giants, as did Mickey Mantle with the New York Yankees. Joe DiMaggio also retired, but the Yankee dynasty continued: from 1949 to 1953, the team won an unrivaled five straight World Series. In 1954, the Cleveland Indians made the record books by winning 111 games during the season; then, in an irony of ironies, they lost the series with four straight losses to the New York Giants.

During the 1956 World Series between the New York Yankees and Brooklyn Dodgers, Yankee Don Larsen pitched a perfect game (no hits, no runs), the first time this extraordinary event had occurred in World Series play, and only the second time in organized baseball since 1922.

The advent of cross-country air travel, especially by jet in the later 1950s, made truly national teams in any sport a reality. Improved transportation signaled the movement of teams westward, something that commenced in 1953 when the Boston Braves shifted to Milwaukee and continued in 1955 with the Philadelphia Athletics going to Kansas City. The St. Louis Browns, however, defied the trend and headed east to become the Baltimore Orioles in 1956. At the conclusion of the 1957 season, New York lost two of its three legendary franchises: "Dem Bums," the Brooklyn Dodgers, moved to Los Angeles, and the New York Giants transferred to San Francisco.

Despite the shifting allegiances of teams, baseball maintained its hold as the national pastime of millions of fans. And supporting a trend apparent



A happy President Eisenhower getting ready to throw out the first baseball to inaugurate the new season in 1956. Standing to the left is Washington Senators manager Charley Dressen and to the right is Yankees manager Casey Stengel. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

since the 1930s, Hollywood continued to produce films about the game. *The Jackie Robinson Story* (1950) found Robinson playing himself in a movie about his making history as the first black player in the major leagues.

Basketball

For the most part, basketball remained essentially regional in its appeal. In 1950, a number of leading college teams, including the University of Kentucky, Bradley University, and New York University, received stiff penalties for violating recruiting rules. The scandal dampened public enthusiasm for the sport and led to a Hollywood film entitled *The Basketball Fix* (1951). In an effort to speed up play, the relatively new National Basketball Association (formed 1950) adopted the 24-second shot clock in 1954. This rule stipulated that a team in possession of the ball must shoot within 24 seconds, thus cutting down on stalling and boring low-score games.



An illustration that shows the popularity of watching sports on television in the 1950s, especially baseball. Here, people outdoors are drinking beer and eating hot dogs while watching a World Series game on television. Illustration, Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

On a more popular level, the court and ball-handling wizardry of the all-black Harlem Globetrotters inspired two films, *The Harlem Globetrotters* (1951) and *Go, Man, Go!* (1954). Both relied on the comedy routines the famous team had made their own, giving audiences unfamiliar with the story of the Globetrotters a chance to see them in action. At a time when black actors had few chances in mainstream films, these two pictures did well at the box office.

Bowling

By 1950, bowling found itself the country's leading participation sport. It had moved from seedy alleys with human pinsetters, usually boys, to bright, modern establishments that featured fully automatic machines. As the decade wore on, it continued its growth, with leagues of every description forming across the nation.

Boxing

In a nationally televised bout, Jersey Joe Walcott became the oldest heavyweight champion in history by defeating Ezzard Charles in 1951. Thirty-seven at the time, he enjoyed a short-lived reign. In September 1952, Rocky Marciano, having brutally beaten an aging Joe Louis in 1951, knocked out Walcott and gained the heavyweight title. The victory marked Marciano's forty-third straight win with no losses. He held the championship for the next four years, finally retiring undefeated (49–0) in 1956, the first heavyweight champion to do so.

Although boxing fans traditionally paid the most attention to the heavyweight division, in the fifties the middleweights also captured headlines. Sugar Ray Robinson, a graceful and colorful fighter, won the crown in 1951. He proceeded to win and lose the title four times during the decade. But his presence, along with a number of other talented fighters in that class—Rocky Graziano, Jake LaMotta, Gene Fullmer, and Carmen Basilio—made the middleweights considerably more interesting and popular than the heavyweights.

The Joe Louis Story came out in 1953; it featured Coley Wallace as the most popular heavyweight

WORLD SERIES

1950 New York Yankees (AL), 4 games; Philadelphia Phillies (NL), 0 games

1951 New York Yankees (AL), 4 games; New York Giants (NL), 2 games

1952 New York Yankees (AL), 4 games; Brooklyn Dodgers (NL), 3 games

1953 New York Yankees (AL), 4 games; Brooklyn Dodgers (NL), 2 games

1954 New York Giants (NL), 4 games; Cleveland Indians (AL), 0 games

1955 Brooklyn Dodgers (NL), 4 games; New York Yankees (AL), 3 games

1956 New York Yankees (AL), 4 games; Brooklyn Dodgers (NL), 3 games

1957 Milwaukee Braves (NL), 4 games; New York Yankees (AL), 3 games

1958 New York Yankees (AL), 4 games; Milwaukee Braves (NL), 3 games

1959 Los Angeles Dodgers (NL), 4 games; Chicago White Sox (AL), 2 games

champion ever. The film did a modest job of recounting Louis's trials in private life and his glory in the ring. A more ambitious picture was *Somebody Up There Likes Me* (1956). Paul Newman played middleweight Rocky Graziano, portraying him as a complex, thoughtful person, instead of just a slugger. The film explored Graziano's Italian American roots, and a fine supporting cast raised the picture above the general run of boxing epics.

The Gillette Safety Razor Company, on its *Gillette Cavalcade of Sports* (1948–1960), spurred popular interest in boxing with televised bouts on Friday nights. The long-lived series had such a level of success that occasionally additional sponsored matches were telecast on weeknights. For a time, boxing occupied an important niche in prime-time television.

Football

During the 1950s, professional football surpassed college games in popularity for the first time ever. In December 1958, the Baltimore Colts defeated the New York Giants, 23 to 17 in overtime, to win the National Football League crown in a nationally televised game. With the popular quarterback Johnny Unitas leading the Colts, this game is thought by many to be among the greatest football contests ever. The ratings success of the broadcast did not go unnoticed, and professional football became a regular part of television sports coverage. People everywhere could follow their favorite teams, and individual players emerged as stars in the growing professional leagues. Because football consists of a period of planning followed by a burst of energy within a small, prescribed place, it proved a format ideally suited to television with its alternating schedule of shows and commercials.

In 1957, rookie Jim Brown of the Cleveland Browns began a systematic attack on the football record book, rushing for over 900 yards in his first season. The following year he almost doubled that figure, and continued to rush over 1,000 yards annually well into the 1960s. As a final note, Vince Lombardi, destined to become a football legend in his own time, took over the coaching responsibilities for the Green Bay Packers in 1959.

Golf

The fifties have been called the Ben Hogan era. His attention and devotion to golf brought legions of admirers to the sport. But it took a personable young player named Arnold Palmer to transform golf into the popular game it has become. Palmer led the Professional Golfers Association (PGA) in winnings during 1958; he collected over $42,000 for the year, a new high, and his easygoing manner made him the darling of fans and helped golf take its place as a major sport on television.

Tennis

Despite little public interest through much of the 1950s, tennis nonetheless enjoyed a few moments of popular acclaim. In 1953, American Maureen Connolly captured the women's "Grand Slam" by winning the Australian, French, English, and U.S. singles titles. In 1957, New Yorker Althea Gibson won both the Wimbledon Women's Singles and the U.S. National, the first black to win those crowns. Newspapers, however, devoted more space to Gussie Moran during the early 1950s. She shocked staid galleries by wearing an outfit that included lace panties. For women's sports attire, a new level of casualness had announced itself.

Horse Racing

In 1953, Native Dancer piqued public consciousness by winning the Preakness and the Belmont. Although "the Gray Ghost," as he was nicknamed, failed to win the Kentucky Derby and thus the Triple Crown, he endeared himself to millions. The photogenic horse played with kittens in his stall and seldom paid much attention to his jockeys. He won 21 of his 22 total starts. *TV Guide* magazine claimed he ranked next to Ed Sullivan as a television attraction, and fans plucked at his mane and tail to get some "souvenirs" whenever they had the opportunity.[1]

Track

As a rule, track generates little popular attention, but the early fifties witnessed unprecedented interest in the sport. Milers from many nations were inching up on a mark once considered

impossible to achieve: the sub-four-minute mile. Finally, in May 1954, Englishman Roger Bannister ran a 3:58.8 mile, the first to crack the four-minute barrier. With the feat finally accomplished, the under-four-minute mile became almost commonplace. Attention shifted from when to who would be the first American to do it. At last, Don Bowden salvaged some national honor with a 3:58.7 mile in the summer of 1957. No other American would repeat that feat during the 1950s.

Swimming

In a series of movies that revolved around her prowess as a swimmer, Esther Williams emerged as one of only a handful of noted swimmers during the decade. In her films, which relied on spectacle more than on plot, Williams dived, water-skied, and splashed her way to stardom. Her pictures included *Pagan Love Song* (1950), *Skirts Ahoy!* (1952), *Million Dollar Mermaid* (1952), *Dangerous When Wet* (1953), *Easy to Love* (1953), and *Jupiter's Darling* (1955).

As innumerable families moved to the growing suburbs, the home swimming pool became a popular status symbol. From just a few thousand installations in the late 1940s, well over 100,000 pools were gracing suburban homes by the end of the decade. Sometimes they served as well-used recreational accessories; for many, however, the swimming pool functioned as another emblem of material success. Regardless of purpose, the boom in home swimming pools can be traced directly to the 1950s.[2]

The Olympics

American Bob Mathias, just 17 and fresh out of high school, won the decathlon gold medal in the 1948 Summer Olympics in London. In 1952, the games moved to Helsinki, Finland, where Mathias repeated his feat, and the press promptly declared him "the World's Greatest Athlete," an unofficial title. Out of his success came a movie, *The Bob Mathias Story* (1954), starring the medal-winner himself in the title role. The film helped stir interest in the postwar Olympics and doubtless spurred a few young men to practice harder for the 1956 Melbourne games.

What captured the most public attention in Helsinki, however, involved the political overtones of the event. The Cold War was being fought on Finnish playing fields. The Communist bloc nations insisted on totaling points and accumulating medals, thrusting aside individual competition as unimportant. Most press coverage of the events focused on how many medals Russia or the United States would gain by winning the competition. It brought an unfortunate politicizing to the games, something that has carried forward ever since.

FADS

With the war behind them and industry back on a peacetime schedule, Americans relaxed, comfortable in their new prosperity and ready for novelties. The fads that characterized the fifties may seem silly to later generations, but they lacked the desperation and underlying anxieties of the outlandish stunts and daredevil antics that had marked the thirties and forties. The fifties, by and large, represented youthful high spirits.

College Pranks

Colleges across the nation weathered several fads that gained considerable press attention. First and foremost were the panty raids, a spring ritual in which male students "raided" the co-eds' dorms, expecting—and receiving—undergarments tossed from the windows as their trophies. The raids first emerged as a campus rage in 1952, and remained popular for the rest of the decade.

In the late fifties, instead of cramming for exams, students crammed into anything small, from telephone booths to Volkswagen Beetles. The idea involved getting as many people as possible jammed into an allotted space. The unofficial record for people in a phone booth claimed that 24 students had successfully wedged themselves into the tiny space.[3]

Flying Saucers and UFOs

People spotted UFOs (unidentified flying objects) everywhere throughout the decade. The trend began in 1947, when a pilot reported objects

that resembled saucers flying outside his plane. From there, the sightings multiplied. Between 1950 and 1959, citizens filed a yearly average of 650 reports. The U.S. Air Force spent over $500,000 investigating reports, although it never could definitively identify an extraterrestrial object. In a lengthy document issued in 1955, the government denied that flying saucers or other UFOs had ever violated U.S. airspace. Instead, authorities tried to explain them away as weather balloons and other scientific materials that happened to be seen by an anxious public.

The lack of proof served as little deterrent to the film industry. A spate of movies sharing the common thread of extraterrestrial visitors ensued, including *The Flying Saucer* (1950), *The Day the Earth Stood Still* (1951), *The Thing* (1951), *It Came from Outer Space* (1953), and *The War of the Worlds*. By the end of the decade, however, the UFO fad had exhausted itself.

Hula Hoops and Frisbees

The hula hoop and the Frisbee were introduced to an unsuspecting American public in 1957. Both products of the Wham-O Manufacturing Company, they proved runaway best sellers for kids of all ages. For a time, nothing came close to the hula hoop in sales; one cost only $1.98, and dealers could not keep them in stock. An Australian invention, hula hoops (bamboo rings, in this case) caught the eye of Wham-O, and the firm



At the height of the hula hoop craze, various techniques are demonstrated in Los Angeles on August 20, 1958, as children ranging from age 2 to 16 competed for prizes on Art Linkletter's *House Party* television show. Groups including the Girl Scouts, Brownies, Blue Birds, and Campfire Girls were represented. AP Photo.

fashioned their own models out of lightweight polyethylene plastic so they would float.

The Frisbee, on the other hand, did not enjoy as sensational a beginning as the hula hoop. It received its unusual name, so the story goes, from the Frisbee Baking Company of Bridgeport, Connecticut. Customers would sometimes keep the aluminum pie plates from the bakery, tossing them in the air for fun. Walter Morrison, a California carpenter, refined the pie plate concept into the plastic disc so familiar today. Wham-O bought out Morrison and attempted to market his disc as a "Pluto Platter," but the public persisted in calling it a Frisbee. After a year or so, Wham-O trademarked the word "Frisbee" in 1959, and the name has stuck.[4]

GAMES

As in all periods of American life, people enjoyed games. Indoor, outdoor, athletic or intellectual, for young or for old, new introduction or old favorite, games constituted an important part of the nation's leisure activities. A card game that found favor everywhere, canasta traced its roots to rummy, another popular game. The name means "basket," and refers to the tray full of discards that players vie to win. Canasta landed on American shores in 1949, an import from Uruguay, and gained legions of fans almost immediately. In 1950, Oswald Jacoby, a respected expert on many card games, published *How to Win at Canasta,* and it quickly climbed the best-seller lists. Enthusiastic players formed clubs, and canasta quickly surpassed bridge as the nation's favorite card game.

Canasta's dominance began to falter around 1952. The public was ready for something new, and a word game that had been developed in the 1930s waited in the wings. That game, of course, was Scrabble. It had never really caught the public fancy. The creation of Alfred M. Butts, Scrabble struggled from the time of its invention, until word of mouth and determined marketing finally got people excited about it 20 years later. In its early years, Butts called his invention "Lexico"; in 1938 he christened it "Criss-Cross."

In 1947, with no interest and no sales, Butts went into partnership with friend James Brunot, who renamed the game "Scrabble" in hopes of generating public curiosity. The word means to scratch or to scrape soil. In the game, players "scratch up" small wooden tiles with letters on them in hopes of creating combinations that form words. In 1952, for no apparent reason, the game suddenly took off. The two men could not keep up with demand, and Selchow & Righter, a large game manufacturer, took over, a move that paved the way for mass production. By the mid-fifties, millions of Scrabble games sold each year, with no end in sight.[5]

TOYS

A buying binge in the prosperous 1950s soon replaced the austerity of World War II. Toys of every description flooded a market grown accustomed to inferior cardboard and poorly cut wood imitations of the metal and cast toys of the past. Metal, rubber, and plastics, all materials in short supply during the war, became the materials of choice for the postwar market.

Toys and Television

The first toy ever heavily advertised on TV, Mr. Potato Head achieved runaway success in 1952. Made by Hasbro, Mr. Potato Head initially used a real potato (supplied by the consumer) for the head. Hasbro provided the eyes, mouths, ears, and other facial adornments. In 1953, Mr. Potato Head wed Mrs. Potato Head in a widely promoted ceremony. Offspring, or "small fries," soon followed. In 1964, the growing family became all plastic and no longer involved real potatoes.

The saturation advertising that Hasbro employed on television for all its products, especially on Saturday mornings when kids watched cartoons, brought about the toy's popularity. Their huge sales volume soon convinced other toy manufacturers to imitate this new promotional approach, making television the primary ad outlet for children's items.

Another illustration of the power of television in influencing buying patterns can be found in *Beany and Cecil* (1950–1955), a low-budget, syndicated children's show. Its stories revolved around the adventures of two hand puppets, one of whom, Beany, at times wore a beanie festooned

with a plastic propeller on the crown. The show's youthful audience seemed quite taken with this unique headgear, and its popularity soon achieved fad proportions.

Toy manufacturers began to produce them, and cereal giant Kellogg's offered propeller beanies to those who sent in a certain number of box tops. Soon, the caps could be seen everywhere, particularly in schoolyards atop the heads of proud boys. By the end of the 1950s, the craze had run its course, *Beany and Cecil* was canceled, and kids had turned to other interests. In 1962, the show was resurrected in an animated format.

Captain Video, a long-running (1949–1957) TV science fiction series, along with *Tom Corbett, Space Cadet* (1950–1955), inspired many toy manufacturers to work out licensing agreements with the two shows so they could capitalize on their popularity among children. Rings, flashlights, ray guns, rockets, and space vehicles of all kinds counted among the items released.

Hopalong Cassidy and Davy Crockett, however, proved more popular than Captain Video and Space Cadet. Introduced on the big screen in 1934, Hopalong (actor William L. Boyd), his white horse Topper, and crew moved to NBC-TV in 1949. At first, the network merely recycled the 65 old films, but in 1951 they began producing the actual television series, creating an additional 52 episodes. *Hopalong Cassidy* emerged as a marketing bonanza: a radio show, a syndicated comic strip, and merchandise galore. Hopalong Cassidy cowboy outfits become the rage for little boys, complete with six-guns, holsters, and spurs. Other toys, towels, raincoats, pajamas, rugs, bedspreads, candy, and miscellaneous items appeared bearing Hoppy's name. The pioneering television show carried on until 1954.[6]

At the end of 1954, *Disneyland,* Walt Disney's own show on ABC television, began a five-part series to tell stories about frontiersman Davy Crockett. Overnight, this character from the nation's past surpassed even Hopalong Cassidy. The episodes made a star of Fess Parker, and immediately captured the imaginations of young viewers everywhere. The show's theme, "The Ballad of Davy Crockett," was released as a single record and sold in the millions. Countless books recounting the hero's adventures enjoyed similar sales. Virtually anything that could be stenciled with the name "Davy Crockett" found a market, from toys to camping gear. In all, the Disney studios marketed over 3,000 items. Today, most people who lived during the 1950s recall the Davy Crockett hat, a replica of a coonskin cap, complete with a dangling tail. The hat used both real and imitation raccoon fur, and for a brief period any Crockett gear leaped to the top of children's wish lists. (See Fashion of the 1950s.)

In 1955, Hollywood rushed out *Davy Crockett, King of the Wild Frontier* and followed that with *Davy Crockett and the River Pirates* (1956). In reality, these movies consisted of the television episodes strung together into feature-length productions. By the end of 1955, *Disneyland* had moved on to other things and Davy Crockett disappeared from the lineup.[7]

TOYS OF THE DECADE

Numerous toys introduced during the 1940s didn't take off in popularity until the 1950s. Die-cast scale models of cars, trucks, and other wheeled vehicles, manufactured under the name of Matchbox Toys, first appeared in 1947, but sales did not soar into the millions until the 1950s.

The Slinky, in reality a 1945 toy, also took off in popularity during the next decade. The embodiment of simplicity, a Slinky consists of a flexible coil, or spring, that has provided endless entertainment for generations of kids and their parents.

Another surprise, Silly Putty was first developed in 1945 by the General Electric Company in the course of a search for synthetic rubber. No one quite knew what to do with it until a marketing expert sensed its potential as a toy. Tens of millions of egg-shaped containers of the putty sold between its introduction in 1949 and the end of the 1950s. After its initial appearance, however, Silly Putty came under criticism because of its tendency to stick to clothing and hair. Engineers revamped the formula so the silicone would no longer adhere to almost anything.

Powered Toys

Japanese imports began to appear with battery-powered motors during the early fifties. American

manufacturers, unable to compete with low Asian prices, began marketing their own imported lines, complete with motors and batteries. It marked a profound change for domestic companies that had once felt secure against foreign competition.[8] When Russia launched its *Sputnik* satellite in 1957, the toy industry responded with innumerable space-oriented offerings. Japanese manufacturers took the lead in futuristic toys. Robots, adapted from such hit movies as *The Day the Earth Stood Still* (1951) and *Forbidden Planet* (1956), proved especially popular. Robby, the clever robot in *Forbidden Planet,* emerged as something of an icon in the toy industry. Indeed, all manner of mechanical figures that could walk, move their limbs, and imitate other human behaviors fascinated children.

Barbie

Although her real impacts would not be felt until later decades, it is worth mentioning Barbie in the context of the fifties. This famous doll made her first appearance in toy stores at the beginning of March 1959, wearing distinctly fifties-style elegant and sophisticated clothing. The creation of Ruth Handler, one of the founders of Mattel Toys, Barbie became a favorite doll almost immediately.

HOBBIES

In a culture that valued work and productivity, the concept of spending time in worthwhile pursuits was strongly encouraged. A hobby was supposed to be a pleasurable activity, not the whiling away of precious time.

Do-It-Yourself

From a home-built fallout shelter in the backyard to a pine umbrella stand for the front hallway, do-it-yourself supported projects of every kind. So widespread was the idea of creating, building, modernizing, repairing, and sprucing up things around the home without professional help that *Time* magazine devoted its August 1954 cover story to the popularity of "doing it yourself."

Almost overnight, home workshops from simple to sophisticated became commonplace. The home itself emerged as a primary hobby—its proper upkeep and improvements occupied many a do-it-yourselfer's time. The sales of multipurpose power tools and simple power devices, like table saws, jigsaws, lathes, and drills enjoyed surging popularity, along with quality hand tools.[9] Lumberyards and home supply stores flourished, urging on the public with attractive displays of plywood, free how-to brochures and plans, in addition to much in-store advice. Advertising emphasized father-son bonding, but seldom did mothers or daughters appear, at least in the idealized workshop. Despite the gender bias found in most depictions of woodworking and carpentry, home improvement and the do-it-yourself craze ultimately transcended gender barriers when it came to projects outside the confines of the home shop.

To assist families, the home improvement industry brought out such laborsaving innovations



More and more people in the 1950s decided to do home repairs and remodeling without professional assistance, but as this picture shows (admittedly contrived), do-it-yourself work was never as easy as it was portrayed by those promoting it. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

as pre-pasted wallpaper and complete paper hanging kits. Paint rollers, patented back in 1869, did not come into widespread use until the early 1950s. Latex paint was introduced in 1949; its easy soap-and-water cleanup made it an instant hit with do-it-yourselfers. By mid-decade, most paint stores featured color-mixing machines.

Such traditional women's magazines as *American Home, Better Homes and Gardens, House & Garden, House and Home, House Beautiful, McCall's,* and *Woman's Home Companion* devoted considerable space to do-it-yourself projects of every kind. Now a woodworker could craft a frame to hold the paint-by-number canvas someone had patiently labored over for many hours. In fact, frame kits that would accommodate specific canvases could be purchased, and a home magazine might provide helpful hints about correctly hanging pictures on a living room wall. (See Art of the 1950s.)

Not just women's magazines supported the popularity of the do-it-yourself concept, however. *Popular Mechanics, Popular Science Monthly,* and *Mechanix Illustrated* moved from their traditional articles about science and mechanics to an increasing emphasis on how-to pieces. In no time, they watched their circulations rise. For example, 1951 saw the launch of a magazine called *The Family Handyman.* Within a few issues, it attracted over 200,000 readers. *The Better Homes and Gardens Handyman's Book,* first published also in 1951, quickly soared to number five on some nonfiction lists for the year.

Model Making

Model airplanes of every description came in easy-to-assemble formats. At first, old firms like Cleveland and Strombecker dominated the field, with kits made from wood, usually balsa, an extremely lightweight variety. A single-edge razor blade, glue, a handful of tissue paper, and patience allowed both kids and adults to construct aircraft, some of which actually flew with rubber bands or small gasoline motors. As the 1950s progressed, the introduction of effective glues usable on plastic permitted firms like Monogram and Revell to create hundreds of intricately detailed car, train, ship, and airplane models from all eras. Modelers forgot the traditional balsa and tissue models in the rush to assemble the precision replicas that flooded the market in the later fifties.

If planes and ships held no appeal, one could always turn to model railroading. By the early 1950s, more than 1,000 model railroad clubs existed in the United States. Just like model airplanes, people viewed it as a male pastime, with women and their daughters permitted only on "visiting days." The clubs existed more as fraternities, meant for male bonding.

Crafts

Women were not forgotten in the hobby boom. The makers of paint-by-number kits, buoyed by high sales, introduced other craft supplies that they marketed directly to women. (See Visual Arts of the 1950s for more information on paint-by-number kits.) Toleware, an old art involving lacquered or enameled metalware usually with an applied design, became a big seller. The hobbyist applied premixed paints directly to prepared metal plates, waste cans, clasp purses, and many other items to complete the design. A kind of elaborate version of paint-by-numbers, the toleware packages proved a popular hit.[10]

Mosaic sets, in which colored stones supplied in the kit were arranged according to a carefully rendered drawing, likewise flourished. This kind of do-it-yourself artistry constituted only a small part of a much larger 1950s phenomenon. The proliferation of kits of all kinds gave a little boost to those who might have been intimidated by a blank canvas or a metal plate with no design. In addition, the decade saw would-be artisans flock to woodworking classes, stained glass lessons, ceramics courses, and a host of other hands-on experiences.

Travel of the 1950s

Henry Ford may have introduced the mass production of motorized vehicles with his Model T Ford in 1908, but the car as a major component of popular culture did not become a reality until the 1950s. The Great Depression of the 1930s and the scarcities imposed by the war had combined to create a population anxious to purchase automobiles in record numbers. Everyone waited for Detroit to retool, to move from defense production back to consumer goods.

DRIVING AND AMERICAN LIFE

The prosperity of the 1950s created a boom for automakers the likes of which had never before been seen. By 1955, the number of cars on the road doubled from 1945. A big, powerful, showroom-new American automobile symbolized success; throughout the decade, dealers sold over seven million cars and trucks each year. By 1958, about 70 percent of all American families owned an automobile. Most people bought new models, and three-quarters or more of them had radios. The end of the fifties saw some 50 million cars on America's roads, or one automobile for every 3.58 persons.[1]

The move of the middle class to the suburbs was coupled with a desire for new cars. Almost overnight a new category of worker emerged: the automobile commuter. Around large cities like Boston, New York, and Chicago, commuting by railroad had long been in place, fostering the image of employees patiently awaiting a train to take them to their jobs.

In much of the country, however, the thought of being far from one's job still struck many as a novel idea. Even with rapid suburban growth, there were few attempts to connect outlying areas to passenger rail lines or bus systems. By mid-decade, mass transit no longer held a high place in anyone's list of priorities. This abandonment of commercial transportation left employees with only one choice: driving to work.

But if Dad took the family car to his job, what would Mom do about grocery shopping, schools, and clubs? The answer lay in the rise of the two-car family. Supermarkets located in a shopping center often miles from one's home displaced the corner grocery store. As school districts consolidated, the neighborhood school became a fond memory. Access to an automobile was deemed a necessity, and over 10 percent of all families possessed more than one car by the end of the decade. Parking emerged as an urban problem that grew out of suburban living. Each morning, millions of commuters descended on American cities, parked their cars, put in an eight-hour day, and then returned to the suburbs. Cities contemplated

building huge parking lots, and yet their downtown businesses saw little commerce. Shoppers flocked to the new, outlying malls springing up almost as fast as the housing developments they were built to serve. The 1950s marked the Age of the Automobile and all its concurrent problems.

Superhighways

By 1950, most roads in the United States proved woefully inadequate to handle all the new cars. The picturesque parkways of the 1930s, designed for recreational driving, no longer met transportation needs. But the freeways and expressways dedicated to speed moved millions quickly and efficiently. The prosperity of the 1950s allowed such construction to begin in earnest.

In the late thirties and early forties, the Bureau of Public Roads had come up with ambitious plans for an interregional highway system. The war put these plans on hold. After the war, the 1950 opening of an eastern extension of the Pennsylvania Turnpike, "America's Dream Road," along with a western addition in 1951, marked the beginning of a momentous chapter in the modernization of American roads.

In 1950, construction commenced on the New Jersey Turnpike, a multilane toll road that owns the dubious honor of being the most heavily traveled highway in America; the final link opened in 1952. In order to save money, engineers on the project paid little heed to aesthetics, saying such efforts were superfluous and distracting. Turnpike driving, in New Jersey or anywhere else, involves anonymous rest stops, service areas, and sustained high-speed driving.[2]

Other states likewise constructed new highways, multilane expressways that enjoyed limited access and permitted no intersecting streets, no railroad crossings, and no stoplights.

Financed largely by the states themselves and through the imposition of tolls, all this ambitious building slowed precipitously in 1956, when the federal government unveiled its own plans for highways.[3]

The Interstate Highway System

In 1954, the Federal-Aid Highway Act laid the groundwork for a massive system of modern roads but set aside insufficient monies. In 1956, the Interstate Highway Act provided $25 billion for construction fees, 90 percent of which would be provided by federal funding, the money coming from gasoline and road use taxes. This gargantuan plan mandated the development of some 41,000 miles of new highways. The project got underway and soon moved into high gear. Interchanges on the growing interstates emerged as new economic centers, with motels, gas stations, and restaurants appearing almost overnight. Many communities reinvented themselves by creating vast malls and industrial parks outside the traditional city center. If people flocked to the suburbs, why not provide urban amenities and jobs there also? Businesses of all kinds began to move some or all of their operations to these new towns that grew on the fringes of older population centers. In the 1950s, however, the vast majority of traditional jobs remained in the cities. The advent of the interstates constituted a demographic shift of almost unimaginable proportions, and much of it occurred in the latter part of the decade.

Automobiles of the 1950s

With postwar prosperity and unprecedented demand for new automobiles, unfamiliar names like Muntz and Crosley briefly made their appearance, but few actually sold. Most smaller companies failed during the fifties, a decade of consolidation that saw the Big Three—General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler—tighten their grip on the American consumer.

Throughout the 1950s, GM claimed 40 percent or more of the total market. Ford had about a quarter of the pie, followed by Chrysler, with approximately 15 percent. Smaller, independent domestic companies, along with a slow but rising tide of imports, divided up the remainder. There were slim pickings for the competition; in 1955, 1956, and 1959, the Big Three's combined market share averaged 94 percent.[4]

Industry Innovations

The 1950s remain one of the most remarkable periods in American motoring history. Those 10 years saw the introduction of the hardtop, a pillar-less four-door automobile that blended a sedan with a convertible. The hardtop quickly



Full page advertisement for Ford automobiles, showing a 1958 Ford Fairlane 500 convertible and man, woman, and two children on beach, 1958. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

became the most popular body style of the era; it brought the outdoors into the car's interior. Its design complemented similar attempts in home construction, where carports, patios, and glass sliding doors, blurred the boundaries between the house and the yard. At the onset of the 1950s, most American cars had six-cylinder motors, but through clever marketing, the public became convinced that bigger engines would provide greater acceleration, speed, and torque for the larger cars pouring out of Detroit. By the end of the decade, more than 80 percent of new American cars had eight-cylinder motors, V-8s as they were commonly called. See "American-Made Automobiles, 1950–1959" for a list of models of American cars available for the decade.

In 1953, General Motors introduced the Chevrolet Corvette, a fiberglass-bodied sports car designed to compete with the influx of foreign sports cars then entering the market in significant numbers. The Corvette cost approximately $3,200—expensive then—but modest sales encouraged the company to promote the car. Two years later, Ford introduced its Thunderbird, another two-seat sports car created to share in that growing market. The T-Bird became an immediate favorite with the public and sales quickly surpassed those of the Corvette. Ford in 1958 changed its Thunderbird into a four-seat model, and any aura of a true sports car disappeared. General Motors, on the other hand, continued with its line of two-seat Corvettes, giving them a virtual monopoly for American-made sports cars.[5]

Hot on the heels of Thunderbird's success, Ford introduced the Edsel in 1957 amid great fanfare. It entered salesrooms as the first completely new American brand in years. With a price in excess of $5,000, the Edsel was aimed at the upscale buyer. But the Edsel's design turned off potential purchasers. Sluggish sales finally forced the automaker to drop the Edsel in the fall of 1959. This ill-fated attempt to bring out a new car cost Ford $250 million, making it the costliest automotive failure in history and causing the term "Edsel" to be synonymous with any great business disaster.

Foreign Competition

Detroit ignored foreign imports, calling them "cheap" and "crowded." U.S. automakers assumed Americans would naturally "buy American," and at first they seemed correct in their dismissal of foreign competition. A trickle of imports in the early 1950s hardly warranted concern, but by 1957, foreign manufacturers had captured 10 percent of the market. At this same time, another warning sounded for Detroit because, for the first time ever, the United States imported more automobiles than it exported.

To illustrate: Volkswagen sold only 330 of its Beetles in 1950. By 1955, the trickle had grown to a stream, after about 30,000 of the ungainly "Bugs" were imported. At the close of the decade, the company sold over 150,000 Volkswagen sedans, and potential buyers had to get on a waiting list. In addition, Volkswagen's German manufacturer also marketed the Volkswagen camper van, or Westphalia, one of the few mass-produced vehicles designed for touring and camping at the time. The Westphalia proved an immediate success, capitalizing on a wave of auto tourism that flourished

American-Made Automobiles, 1950–1959

Popular Name	Parent Company	Production Years
Buick—also called Century, LeSabre, Riviera, Roadmaster, Skylark, Special, others	General Motors	Buicks were manufactured throughout the decade.
Cadillac—also called Coupe de Ville, Eldorado, Fleetwood, others	General Motors	Cadillacs were manufactured throughout the decade.
Checker—also called Specials, Superbas	Checker Motors	Designed and built as taxis, Checkers first became available to the public in 1959.
Chevrolet—also called Bel Air, Delray, Impala, Nomad, Styleline, others; in addition, Chevrolet marketed a sports car called a Corvette	General Motors	Chevrolets were manufactured throughout the decade; the Corvette sports car was introduced in 1953.
Chrysler—also called New Yorker, Newport, 300, Town and Country, Windsor, others	Chrysler Corporation	Chryslers were manufactured throughout the decade.
Continental—also called Mark II, Mark III, Mark IV	Ford Motor Company	Continentals were manufactured 1956–1958; afterward, they were marketed as Lincoln Continentals.
Crosley—also called Hotshots, S uper Sports	Crosley Appliances	A midget car, Crosley ceased production in 1952.
DeSoto—also called Adventurer, Custom, Firedome, Fireflite, Firesweep, others	Chrysler Corporation	DeSotos were manufactured throughout the decade.
Dodge—also called Coronet, Royal Lancer, Sierra, Wayfarer, others	Chrysler Corporation	Dodges were manufactured throughout the decade.
Edsel—also called Citation, Corsair, Ranger	Ford Motor Company	The Edsel was introduced in 1958; production ceased in 1960.
Ford—also called Country Squire, Crestliner, Fairlane, Galaxie, Skyliner, Tudor, Victoria, others; in addition, Ford marketed a sports car called a Thunderbird	Ford Motor Company	Fords were manufactured throughout the decade; the Thunderbird sports car was introduced in 1955.
Frazer—also called Manhattan, Standard	Kaiser-Frazer Corporation	The Frazer was in production only from 1946 to 1951.
Henry J—also called Corsair, Vagabond; another version, called the Allstate, was marketed through Sears, Roebuck	Kaiser-Frazer Corporation	One of the first compact cars, the Henry J was in production from 1951 to 1954; the Allstate was sold from 1952 to 1953.
Hudson—also called Italia, Hornet, Super Jet, Wasp, others	Hudson Motors (merged into American Motors Corporation in 1954)	Hudson ceased production in 1957.
Imperial—also called Crown Southampton, Custom, Newport253	Chrysler Corporation	A luxury Chrysler, Imperials gained autonomy in 1955 and remained so for the decade.
Kaiser—also called Dragon, Manhattan, Special, Traveler; in addition, Kaiser marketed a sports car called a Darrin	Kaiser-Frazer Corporation	The Kaiser was in production only from 1949 to 1955; the Darrin sports car was marketed only in 1954.

American-Made Automobiles, 1950–1959 (*continued*)

Popular Name	Parent Company	Production Years
Lincoln—also called Capri, Cosmopolitan, Premiere, Continental Mark IV	Ford Motor Company	Lincolns were manufactured throughout the decade; in 1959, the formerly autonomous Continentals took on the Lincoln name.
Mercury—also called Medalist, Montclair, Monterey, Park Lane, Turnpike Cruiser, others	Ford Motor Company	Mercurys were manufactured throughout the decade.
Muntz—also called Jet	Muntz Motors	Muntzes were manufactured from 1950 to 1954.
Nash—also called Airflyte, Ambassador, Metropolitan, Rambler, Statesman; in addition, Nash marketed a sports car called a Nash-Healey	Nash-Kelvinator (merged into American Motors Corporation in 1954)	Nashes were manufactured until 1957; the Rambler brand became autonomous in 1955; the Nash-Healey sports car was marketed from 1951 to 1955.
Oldsmobile—also called Dynamic 88, Fiesta, Futuramic, Golden Rocket, Holiday, Starfire, Super 88, others	General Motors	Oldsmobiles were manufactured throughout the decade.
Packard—also called Clipper, Custom Eight, The Four Hundred, Mayfair, Pacific, 250, others	Packard Motors (merged into Studebaker-Packard in 1954)	Packards remained in production until 1958.
Plymouth—also called Belvedere, Cranbrook, Fury, Savoy, Special, Suburban, others	Chrysler Corporation	Plymouths were manufactured throughout the decade.
Pontiac—also called Bonneville, Catalina, Chieftain, Safari, Star Chief, Streamliner, others	General Motors	Pontiacs were manufactured throughout the decade.
Studebaker—also called Commander, Champion, Conestoga, Golden Hawk, Hawk, Lark, President, Scotsman, Sky Hawk, Starliner, others	Studebaker Corporation (merged into Studebaker-Packard in 1954)	Studebakers were manufactured throughout the decade.
Willys—also called Aero-Ace, Aero-Eagle, Aero-Wing, Bermuda, Jeep, Jeepster, others	Willys-Overland (merged with Kaiser-Frazer in 1954 to form Kaiser-Willys Sales Corporation)	Willys cars were manufactured until 1955; the Jeep (considered a truck, not a car) continued production throughout the decade.

Much of the information for this table was adapted from Consumer Guide, eds., *Automobiles of the '50s* (Lincolnwood, IL: Publications International, 1999), 4–96.

throughout the 1950s. With nothing comparable on the market, Volkswagen enjoyed a monopoly.

Volkswagen reinforced its already significant foothold among U.S. consumers by capitalizing on a humorous, self-effacing ad campaign crafted by the American firm of Doyle, Dane, Bernbach, Inc. The campaign commenced in the fall of 1959. The ads, appearing in various print media, consisted of a succession of single black-and-white photographs that included a Beetle but seldom under glamorous circumstances, and some pithy copy touting the reliability or uniqueness of the car. They resonated with people, both for their deadpan humor and their honesty, and served

as a welcome break from the monotony of most automobile advertising. As the 1950s came to an end, Volkswagen, already the front-runner among imports, seemed poised to become a major competitor in the American automobile market.[6] Detroit made no effort to design and manufacture compact U.S. models until late in the decade. Finally, in 1959, Ford introduced its Falcon, Chevrolet followed suit with its Corvair, and Plymouth promoted its Valiant. Meanwhile, many other American-made cars only grew larger and more gadget-laden. Chrome bullets poked out from complex chrome grilles, salesmen touted electric door locks and powered mirrors, and air-conditioning became more commonplace.

Automotive Design

Until the 1950s, most American automobiles possessed a utilitarian look. With the postwar era, however, style overtook safety and practicality. Influenced by Hollywood, fashion, science fiction, technology, military aircraft, and unfettered imaginations, Detroit took off on a design flight unlike anything encountered before.

Breathless advertising promoted cars that suggested streamlined rockets and swept wing jets. Names like (Buick) LeSabre; (Ford) Thunderbird and Galaxie; (Hudson) Jet and Super Jet; and (Oldsmobile) Rocket 88 and 98 spoke of aerodynamics and speed. In addition, the dashboard and its instrumentation often resembled something found in an aircraft cockpit, further reinforcement of the car-plane symbolism. By the mid-1950s, the analogies between automobiles and airplanes became impossible to ignore.

During this period of excess, automotive designers discovered the fin. A completely nonfunctional appendage that grew out of the rear fender, it became the symbol of the 1950s American automobile. With each yearly model change, fins grew larger and more prominent. By the middle of the decade, they soared into the air; they lengthened the body, and everybody wanted them. As quickly as fins had emerged as a style statement, the desire evaporated with the close of the decade. But the extra long 1959 Cadillac Coupe de Ville will always be remembered for resembling nothing less than a jet aircraft poised for takeoff.

HARLEY J. EARL

Harley J. Earl (1893–1969) helped popularize the concept of annual design during his tenure at General Motors. Starting with a team of 50 people, the group eventually swelled to over 1,000 by the 1950s. Earl brought styling on a grand scale to automobile manufacturing. He pushed for planned obsolescence in design and stated that he wanted cars that looked longer and lower.

Earl consciously employed symbolism in auto design. In addition to tail fins, he pioneered the wrap-around windshield and the free use of sculptural chrome. Earl liked the look of a World War II fighter plane called the P-38 but better known as the Lockheed Lightning. He admired its streamlining, particularly its unusual twin tail booms. Hints of this crept into the 1948 Cadillac, in the form of slightly exaggerated rear taillights. In the 1950s, manufacturers other than General Motors also raised and flared the rear fenders of their products. Thanks to Earl, the race for bigger, more flamboyant, more outlandish fins was on.

Movies, Music, and Automobiles

The presence of automobiles in virtually every contemporary movie objectified the concept that the car represented American culture. In many ways, the movies of the 1950s also served as dramatic commercials for the auto industry, showcasing the necessity of individual transportation in contemporary America.

Although few commercial movies dealt with cars, per se, a handful did focus on aspects of motoring. Films that dealt with the hot-rodding fad of the 1950s included *Hot Rod Girl* (1956), *Hot Rod Gang* (1958), and *Joy Ride* (1958).

In 1951, Jackie Brenston and the Kings of Rhythm scored a minor musical hit, "Rocket 88," a song that celebrated Oldsmobile's latest model, as well as the pleasures of "cruisin'" around town in a new car. Brenston's success inspired other car-and-music numbers like "V-Ford Blues" (1951), "Cadillac Daddy" (1952), "Drivin' Slow" (1952), and "Maybelline" (1955). Some groups, like the Cadillacs and the El Dorados, even took popular automobile names as their own.

Vehicles for Travel

Immediately following World War II, Americans took to the road in record numbers. For many, a converted bus served as their mobile vacation residence. Though a bus conversion required time and handyman skills, the do-it-yourself craze of the era facilitated such endeavors. Entrepreneurs, eager to accommodate this small but growing market, came out with all sorts of gadgets, from small, portable stoves and refrigerators to nylon window screens and mesh patios. Elaborately furnished vehicles were often the result of this. Several small firms launched the limited production of prefabricated motor homes. For example, Nash, an old-line automobile company, advertised reclining seats that converted to full-size beds in its sedans.

Detroit's postwar station wagon reflected the need for more than mere transportation. Throughout the 1950s, station wagons grew in size, and dealers promoted their dual use as transportation and vacation vehicles that allowed for sleeping in the large cargo areas. The concept caught on, and sales soared, with one out of every eight American cars a station wagon in 1956. Americans appreciated the utility of hauling groceries and kids during the week, attractive all-steel bodies, and the ability to pack the family's gear and still have room left for crowded sleeping on vacation trips.[7]

THE GROWTH OF TOURISM

From 1951 onward, either in her 15-minute music show on television, *The Dinah Shore Show* (1951–1957), or her hour-long variety offering, *The Dinah Shore Chevy Show* (1957–1962), singer Dinah Shore invited her viewers to "See the U.S.A. in your Chevrolet." This advertising theme song crept into the popular mind.

Auto travel doubled in the United States between 1950 and 1960. Recreational travel led the way, and Americans equipped themselves for travel as never before. Leisure clothing, luggage, convenience foods, camping and boating supplies, sporting goods, and souvenirs enjoyed rapid increases in sales.

For the first time, most American employers offered workers with at least one year of service paid vacations, a situation that led to longer, more frequent trips. The number of paid holidays also increased during the 1950s, and the baby boom of the immediate postwar years created a new, young population of families eager to travel. For many, particularly those with children in school, summer meant one thing: a journey by automobile. Over 80 percent of such travel was undertaken by car, compared to 13 percent by train, and the miniscule remainder by air or ship. On average, these auto trips ran from one to two weeks on the road, with stopovers at motels, hotels, and the homes of friends or relatives. Some camping also took place, but on a limited scale. Almost half of all families engaged in vacation touring during the 1950s, and their journeys tended to be about 600 miles in length. Education and economic status played a role in travel. Those in the middle class possessing high school and college degrees proved more prone to travel; the greater a family's affluence, the farther they chose to go.[8]

Most American tourists during the 1950s traveled to locations within the continental United States; any border crossing usually meant Canada. In addition, more than half those Americans traveling by car tended to return to the same place annually.

Many tourists chose to journey to one or more of the many national parks and monuments. The National Park Service found itself coping with thousands of additional visitors each year, a job made difficult by antiquated and inadequate facilities. Tourism at parks and monuments increased from 19 million visitors in 1950 to over 38 million in 1959. Most of these tourists arrived by automobile, requiring additional parking and lodging. As road building kicked into high gear across the United States, more and more tourist facilities were erected alongside the new highways. Motels, restaurants, service stations, and assorted attractions rose at an accelerated pace, making travel easier than it had ever been.

MOTELS, HOTELS, AND DRIVE-IN BUSINESSES

To accommodate this horde of motorists, American lodging underwent significant changes. The venerable motor hotel, or "motel," evolved from pedestrian clusters of little buildings, or cabins, to

elaborate architectural designs that called themselves "motor inns." In addition, the field proved ripe for quality lodging, a concept that brought in corporate financing. Chains like Best Western, Howard Johnson's, Ramada, and Travelodge soon dominated the market, and the small, independent motel owner faced overwhelming competition.

Kemmons Wilson, a Tennessee architect and builder, led the motel charge. He opened the first Holiday Inn in Memphis in 1954. It had 120 rooms, far more than other motels of the day. In addition, the venture offered air-conditioning, in-room telephones, free ice, and other features new to the industry. Holiday Inn become an immediate, popular success, and Wilson continued building; by the end of the decade more than 200 Holiday Inns graced the American landscape. About 30,000 motels had been scattered around the United States in 1950, by 1960 that figure had mushroomed to 60,000 and showed no signs of slowing.[9]

The 1950s also witnessed the growth of the drive-in, from theaters to markets to restaurants to banks. Many businesses rebuilt existing structures to accommodate automobiles. Once stodgy banks now welcomed customers with drive-up windows. Numerous restaurant and fast-food chains evolved by catering to vehicular traffic, not walk-ins. The movie business, buffeted by the competition of television during the 1950s, enjoyed a brief rejuvenation with the meteoric rise in popularity of the drive-in theater. (See Entertainment of the 1950s.)



Drive-in theater sign advertising *River of No Return,* 1954. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

DRIVE-IN THEATER

The first drive-in theater was built in New Jersey, when Richard Milton Hollingshead Jr., heir to a thriving Camden, New Jersey, chemical business, decided to combine his two loves—cars and movies—to create an innovative theater experience. Hollingshead's theater opened in June 1933 to a sold-out crowd and was filled to capacity for weeks. Imitators soon opened similar theaters in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, and the idea caught on across the country, with drive-ins opening in California by the end of the decade. Part of the drive-in's appeal was that parents could bring their children along, pack a picnic, and avoid babysitting costs. In some states, professional babysitters actually gathered to protest drive-in theaters for taking their business. Some drive-ins provided playgrounds for the kids and even supervised activity rooms.

It wasn't long before young couples began using drive-ins as a place to engage in nuzzling and occasionally more explicit behavior, but the better outdoor theaters hired an attendant to walk among the parked vehicles, making sure—with a sharp tap on a steamy window—that couples did not "go too far." Nonetheless, unease about the theaters led to a state of moral outrage among some who felt that drive-ins were responsible for encouraging lewd behavior among America's youth. The popularity of drive-ins peaked in the 1950s, coinciding with the height of "car culture," in which buying, fixing, and driving cars were the most popular pastimes in the country. The popularity of the drive-in declined during the 1960s, and by the 1980s there were only a few drive-in theaters left across the country. The rise of environmentalism dealt another blow to the popularity of car-centric activities like drive-in theaters, but a few have remained in the twenty-first century.

AMUSEMENT PARKS

As millions of people embarked on vacations, entrepreneurs everywhere attempted to entice them with endless attractions. The 1950s saw a long line of seedy parks and zoos, tourist traps, and outright frauds—all of it advertised with endless cheap signs that dotted the highways. Walt Disney's concept of family entertainment brought about a marked change in roadside attractions.

In 1954, the Walt Disney Company began construction of a large recreational facility in Anaheim, California. It opened as Disneyland in July 1955. Taking its name and much of its funding from the popular ABC television series, the park was profitable within months of its opening. By the end of 1957, Disneyland had recorded its ten-millionth visitor. Instead of the traditional roller coasters and Ferris wheels that typified most parks, Disneyland used American history, the company's own cartoon characters, and other innovative approaches to differentiate it from the competition. Walt Disney himself meticulously oversaw each and every step in the development of the park. It began immediately to be a popular family vacation destination to those who lived in California and its popularity spread to families



Walt Disney sits on a rock in front of the Sleeping Beauty Castle in the Fantasyland section of Disneyland on opening day of the amusement theme park in Anaheim, California, on July 17, 1955. AP Photo.



Children enjoying the cup and saucer ride in Disneyland during its opening days in Anaheim, California, July 19, 1955. AP Photo.

living elsewhere in the United States, who often combined a road trip across country to get to Disneyland.

MINIATURE GOLF

A brief fad during the Depression years, Americans rediscovered miniature golf during the booming 1950s. Instead of being located in towns and cities, however, the new courses tended to be situated along commercial strips in suburban areas.

Often, these reincarnations of older, simpler courses now served as lures to get motorists to pull off the busy highway. Many miniature golf operations followed in the path of the originals—home-built affairs with crude hazards and rough detailing. But when coupled with motels, drive-in theaters, or as part of large suburban shopping centers, they displayed a growing sophistication in design, with more polished layouts featuring fancy, carpeted "fairways," more complex hazards, and fluorescent lighting for night play. By the end of the decade, miniature golf (called in some areas "goofy golf" or "goony golf") had been reestablished as a favorite roadside pastime.[10]

RAIL TRAVEL

The decline of American rail service continued into the 1950s. Total track mileage fell below what had existed at the turn of the century as rail companies slashed service and facilities. In 1950, railroads still transported over three-quarters of distant passenger traffic. But by 1960 the airlines had captured almost two-thirds of this traffic;

the railroads had only about 39 percent. Clearly, Americans preferred the speed and convenience of air travel to the slower trains.[11]

Fighting back, railroad lines experimented with "Vistadome" observation cars and "slumber coaches" in the mid-1950s as a way of luring passengers, but the innovations had only limited success. Many lines spent large sums of money on passenger amenities, but the costs always exceeded any gains in revenue.

The speed of jet planes, the convenience of automobiles, and the difficulty of getting trains to specific destinations all contributed to the railroads' decline. American railroads also faced the onerous problems of obsolete equipment and the tremendous expense of modernizing. Rather than upgrade their stock, they attempted to divest themselves of passenger service, arguing it cost too much to maintain. After considerable indecision, Congress and the Interstate Commerce Commission began to allow many lines to discontinue passenger service. As a result, by late in the decade, only about half of the available tracks carried passengers, and in many small and medium-sized cities, passenger trains existed only as a memory.

If the railroads saw any future at all in passenger service, it existed with commuters situated around the nation's larger cities. The challenge of transporting millions of commuters from home to work and back again might have been a bonanza for the railroads in those areas, but it seldom happened.

AIR TRAVEL

Prosperity meant that Americans strove to enlarge their travel horizons. With only a couple of weeks at their disposal, they wanted to reach their destinations quickly, and that translated into air travel—the speedier the better.

Commercial airlines competed fiercely with each other to offer faster, longer flights. In 1953, TWA became the first airline to provide nonstop service between New York and California. In 1957, Pan American Airways offered nonstop flights over the profitable North Atlantic route, flying passengers from New York to London. Rival lines quickly caught up, and no one airline held an advantage for more than a few months.

In October 1958, BOAC (British Overseas Airways Corporation) led the transition into jet travel by unveiling the de Havilland Comet passenger jet. It flew nonstop between London and New York in just over six hours, or about half the flight time of propeller-driven craft. That same month, Douglas and Boeing, the two largest U.S. airplane manufacturers, began marketing their own models, especially Boeing's 707, destined to become one of the most successful and popular jets of all time. Soon domestic carriers offered jets to several overseas cities.[12]

As airplanes accommodated more and more passengers, the airlines began offering different grades of seating. They modeled this move on what railroads had long practiced: coach and first class. First class provided the traveler a slightly larger seat and more amenities, but coach offered a lower fare. Between 1950 and 1960, passenger boardings more than doubled to almost 40 million, mainly at the expense of the beleaguered railroads. In 1955, for the first time, the number of air passengers surpassed those riding trains.[13]

This rise in air traffic brought a rush to build or modernize facilities to keep up with demand. The government reacted to the growth of air travel by creating the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) in 1958; it oversaw air safety.

SHIP TRAVEL

On its maiden voyage in July 1952, the S.S. *United States,* a brand-new American luxury liner, established a transatlantic speed record of 3 days, 10 hours, 40 minutes from the United States to England, a mark that remains unbroken. On the westward return, the *United States* took only 3 days, 12 hours, 12 minutes. As fate would have it, these accomplishments coincided with the rapid growth of North Atlantic air travel, where the same crossing took only a matter of hours. The *United States* would be decommissioned in 1969, and the era of the great ocean liners would draw to a close.

Visual Arts

of the 1950s

In the postwar era, it seemed that many artists turned their backs on realism and representation, believing that a fevered improvisation held more significance than a carefully rendered study. Some critics assured audiences that true art expressed raw emotion and that traditional painting had become hopelessly passé. Most American museums, conservative by nature, nonetheless relied on more traditional art to attract patrons.

PAINTING

Popularizing Art

By the early 1950s, more Americans attended college than ever before; as a result, a rise in demand for art took place. In galleries and "art shoppes" across the country, the sales of original paintings increased markedly, and department stores and other nontraditional shopping outlets saw a soaring demand for prints and lithographs. Museums large and small experienced growth, and exhibitions of every kind welcomed patrons eager for "culture."

With the exception of a few larger cities, most museums focused on well-known artists or classic periods in art, like the Renaissance or the "Old Masters" of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Exhibitions displayed little contemporary work because curators feared public rejection or lack of funding. Even in the late fifties, the greater part of major shows continued to revolve around traditional, representational art.

Established realistic artists like Edward Hopper (1982–1967), Georgia O'Keeffe (1887–1986), Ben Shahn (1898–1969), and Charles Sheeler (1883–1965), continued to produce work of considerable merit. A younger painter, Andrew Wyeth (1917–) increased his already significant audience throughout the decade. His meticulously detailed watercolors made him one of the most popular painters of the period.

Commercial television, rapidly becoming the most popular carrier of mass culture, occasionally attempted to add some luster to its usual lineup of sitcoms, detective shows, dramas, and sports by sponsoring a program dedicated to the so-called high arts—classical music, ballet, serious drama, painting, sculpture, and others. Because television is a visual medium, painting was the obvious choice for such prestige-minded presentations. Shows like *Omnibus* (1952–1959), *Camera 3* (1956–1979), and *Person to Person* (1953–1960) provided periodic outlets for discussions of contemporary painting, a subject not much broached in mass media.

Such productions, however, usually simplified artistic expression, a patronizing approach that attempted to both demystify art and make

it understandable to the public. This came about because of the networks' ambivalence about anything modern or different. Outside of New York City, those artists working in the most modern, or avant-garde, styles could seldom gain an audience, whereas tried-and-true realists like Norman Rockwell and Grandma Moses were trotted before the cameras and received enthusiastic acclaim. In some popular magazines, a few of the more experimental painters might find their work discussed or reproduced, but often with a sardonic tone.

Norman Rockwell

As in previous decades prolific artist and illustrator Norman Rockwell (1894–1978) continued to serve as the epitome of a good, hardworking painter. A superb technician and stylist, Rockwell's talents also embraced a storyteller's vivid imagination. His greatest successes might be the covers of the *Saturday Evening Post*. Rockwell painted 322 cover illustrations for the popular magazine, beginning in 1916 when he was only 22 and ending in 1963. The *Post* boasted high circulation. Four million people, on average, saw each cover, allowing him the largest audience ever enjoyed by an artist.[1] Rockwell chose to focus on the passing American scene, with a penchant for folksy settings cast in a warm, sentimental glow. Viewers could identify with a Rockwell narrative and make sense of the story. With this approach, which capitalized on his technical skills, he set the standards for American illustration from the 1920s through the 1950s.

Norman Rockwell's artwork has been a lasting art, successfully blurring the line between high and low culture by focusing on popular culture. His work appeals to a large, diverse mass of people, and his public acceptance has ensconced him as the most beloved—and possibly the most influential—American artist of all time.

Grandma Moses

Anna Mary Robertson Moses (1860–1961), better known to the public as "Grandma Moses," came to widespread attention during the 1940s. A self-taught primitive painter, already in her eighties, she at first employed common house paint, cheap brushes, and worked on any flat surfaces she could find. Gradually, however, she refined her techniques and began to employ artists' oils. Moses possessed a keen business sense; in her own, plainspoken way, she understood audiences and promotion.[2]

She painted her recollections of rural America of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The details of farming—tiny cows and pigs, immaculate little houses, barns, and lots of people going about their everyday chores—filled her compositions. Her vision and technique may have been naïve, and she consistently portrayed an America that never truly existed but that could be reconstructed in the collective memory. It struck a responsive chord with urbanized and suburbanized viewers, and soon sophisticated metropolitan galleries clamored for her paintings.

By the 1950s, people everywhere recognized the work of Grandma Moses. For audiences put off by abstraction and other modern movements, she served as the perfect antidote. Her intricately detailed pictures of a bucolic past held great appeal in an age threatened with nuclear annihilation. In



Grandma Moses in rocking chair. Courtesy of Picturedesk.

addition, her simple compositions told would-be artists that they, too, could paint. It all tied in nicely with the do-it-yourself craze that swept the country during the decade. President Harry Truman, more of an amateur piano player than painter, publicly lauded Moses, and at the same time denigrated "modern art."

Grandma Moses's created an estimated 1,500 paintings between 1938 and 1961. Her work could be found reproduced on ceramics, tea towels, greeting cards, and a host of other products, and she served as the subject of a TV documentary in 1955. Moses died in 1961 at 101 years of age, having remained an active artist until a few months before her death.

Abstract Expressionism

In retrospect, Abstract Expressionism can be seen as one of the defining movements in modern art. Sometimes referred to as the "New York school," it signaled the shift of contemporary art from Paris to New York City. Unlike most movements in so-called high, or elite, culture, Abstract Expressionism received considerable press coverage, but this emotional, expressionistic approach to painting had little public appreciation during the 1950s.

Paintings featuring jagged slashes of color and energetic brushstrokes with no identifiable images characterized the style, one that was personal in emotion, but monumental and public in scale. Over time, Abstract Expressionism affected every aspect of visual art, from advertising to fashion to traditional painting, but by itself the movement could hardly be considered a significant part of popular culture. Ripples from Abstract Expressionism permeated the nation's visual sensibility, so that wallpaper, fabrics, costume jewelry, graphics, illustration, and iconography reflected it in a variety of ways.

Artist Jackson Pollock (1912–1956), thanks to his colorful personality and unique method of dribbling and splattering paints directly onto a canvas, became the subject of much of the attention focused on this new generation of artists. Dubbed "Jack the Dripper" in mass magazines, he seemed to symbolize the creative genius as only slightly removed from madness. For most Americans, however, it was all undecipherable squiggles and blotches of paint, devoid of meaning—an unpopular art worth neither time nor attention. Even with the flurry of media interest, the general public remained unaware of these changes in the art world.[3] (See also Visual Arts of the 1940s for more information on Pollock.)

Paint-by-Number

In a decade marked by interest in hobbies and "do-it-yourself," a growing number of would-be artists tried painting. Palmer Paint Company, a Detroit-based firm hit upon the clever idea of do-it-yourself paintings that could be undertaken by anyone. Out of this came "Paint-by-Number." Palmer introduced its new product in 1951, and used the trade name Craft Master. Although they did not invent the concept—several other firms had similar products on the market by the late 1940s—the Palmer kits caught the public fancy. A boxed paint-by-number kit included up to 90 tiny capsules of premixed oil paint, two brushes, and a carefully printed canvas that showed a composition broken down into its constituent parts. Prices ranged from $1.00 for a 12-color kit to $8.95 for a panoramic, 90-color Super Craft Master. The canvases looked like nothing more than tracings of original works. Minuscule outlined and numbered units separated details into light and dark, providing most of the colors and shadings found in the original. By matching the numbers to those on each vial of paint, and then applying the paint to the predetermined areas, a semblance of the original work would begin to emerge.[4]

Abhorred by critics and loved by the public, paint-by-number proved dull, tedious work, and it allowed for little or no improvisation. But the completed painting could usually be identified as a reasonable copy of the original—or so thought millions of would-be Rockwells and Rembrandts bent over their canvases, carefully applying paint as instructed. A popular response to the incomprehensibility of much modern art, the paint-by-number subjects provided traditional, recognizable realism, and proud artists who had labored over the numbered diagrams could claim the finished product was an original

of sorts. Paint-by-number kits were frequently worked on by children, who either enjoyed their results or quickly grew bored with filling in all the areas, although there were various kits especially for children, with horses and dogs as favorite subjects.

Craft Master saw demand for its products peak in 1954, with over 12 million units sold. By the mid-fifties more than 35 firms competed for would-be painters. For many, the fad represented a cheapening of traditional art, an unwonted intrusion by amateurs into the sacrosanct world of high art; for those eagerly purchasing the latest Craft Master kit, however, it gave them an outlet for creative urges once hidden because of lack of education, training, or even skill.

SCULPTURE

Among the handful of sculptors to achieve some renown during the 1950s, Alexander Calder (1898–1976) is best remembered for his "mobiles"—large, hanging arrangements of abstract organic shapes that turned and shimmered with the slightest breeze. They appeared to defy gravity floating above the spectator's head, and their bright colors caught the eye. People enjoyed looking at them, and their modern, nonrepresentational appearance did not detract from this pleasure. Calder mobiles graced several new buildings, bringing about an unconscious acceptance of more abstract sculpture. He also constructed a number of "stabiles"—large, motionless metal pieces that resembled his mobiles, but remained stationary on the ground. Calder fortunately won numerous commissions for his modernistic constructions, and the public tended to respond favorably to his work.[5]



The Tree (1966) by Alexander Calder is an example of the stabiles he made in the 1950s and 1960s. This one, installed at the Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis, has been popular with the public. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

PHOTOGRAPHY

Amateur Photography

By the 1950s, Americans everywhere were familiar with documentary photography. Every week, a new copy of *Life* or *Look* magazine arrived in their mailboxes, each filled with photographs chronicling events throughout the world. More importantly, such periodicals gave the public images of how the nation lived—what it consumed, what it liked and disliked, and what it found important. These magazines presented, in visual form, essays about American culture aimed at a vast audience. In addition, book-length collections of photographs, ranging from the hardships of the Great Depression to the horrors of World War II and the Korean War, graced people's coffee tables, and inexpensive cameras and film had long since made amateur photography accessible to all.

Home photography boomed in the 1950s. In the years following World War II, the giant Eastman-Kodak Corporation virtually monopolized the sales of small cameras and projectors. The mass importation of competitive German and Japanese cameras did not kick into high gear until the later 1950s and early 1960s. As a result, Kodak Brownies and Hawkeyes dominated the market for small, inexpensive cameras. In addition, the Brownie 8mm movie camera, introduced in 1951, allowed anyone to shoot home movies inexpensively.

About the only area of amateur photography not under Kodak's thumb involved instant pictures. In 1947, the first Polaroid instant cameras went on sale. The early models carried hefty price tags and proved sophisticated devices. Gradually prices came down, along with the cameras'

complexity; by 1954, a Polaroid "Highlander" could be bought for $60, and consumers found it simple to use. Instant photography remained a niche market, though a popular one, and Polaroid's camera had no competition throughout the decade.

The Family of Man

In 1955, New York's Museum of Modern Art mounted a huge photography show titled The Family of Man. Organized by the respected photographer Edward Steichen (1879–1972), the exhibit consisted of over 500 images that attempted to show, as its title stated, the connectedness—the family—that is mankind. The museum displayed the work of 273 photographers from 68 different countries, the final choices culled from an initial, wide-ranging survey of over 6 million pictures. The majority came from the voluminous files of *Life* magazine, and staffers reduced the millions to the 503 photographs in the exhibition. Steichen and his colleagues chose well; the show's success immediately dispelled any worries about its appeal: no grouping of black-and-white photographs, before or since, has ever attracted such a large audience.[6]

It has been estimated that by the end of the twentieth century well over 9 million people had seen The Family of Man, either by attending the exhibition or by purchasing the best-selling book of the same name that reproduced the photographs. The book, however, cannot be equated with the show. The exhibition, laid out thematically and sequentially, moved viewers from room to room. The photographs themselves varied greatly in size and presentation. The book, on the other hand, existed as a record of the photographs and reproduced them in roughly the same size on its pages, outside the context of the exhibition.

Many critics attacked the show as playing on cheap emotion, that it came across too sentimentally and lacked intellectual rigor, yet therein rested its appeal. Steichen and his colleagues correctly assumed that people would react emotionally, not intellectually, to the imagery. Their theme built on the concept of the family overcoming the perils of the modern, industrialized world, making the exhibition particularly appropriate for the family-centered fifties. The hundreds of photographs linked common events—birth, eating, sleeping, love, death—into universal experiences; they did not fall into the category of "art photographs" designed for the enjoyment of the connoisseur. In the United States, The Family of Man attracted a primarily middle-class audience. It displayed the American ideal of the pursuit of happiness through clear images. So well did it reflect then current national values that the U.S. Information Agency took the show on a 7-year worldwide tour, visiting over 60 countries.

ENDNOTES FOR THE 1950s

OVERVIEW OF THE 1950s

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2. J. Ronald Oakley, *God's Country: America in the Fifties* (New York: Dembner Books, 1986), 228.
3. Oakley, *God's Country,* 231.
4. James S. Olson, *Historical Dictionary of the 1950s* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 66–67.
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6. An overview of the civil rights crisis can be found in James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945–1974* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 375–406.
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8. Eugenia Kaledin, *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959: Shifting Worlds* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 91–115.
9. TIME-LIFE Editors, *The American Dream: The 50s* (Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, 1998), 82–85.
10. For more on the McCarthy era, see Patterson, *Grand Expectations,* 165–205.
11. Douglas T. Miller and Marion Nowak, *The Fifties: The Way We Really Were* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1960), 314–21.
12. See Oakley, *God's Country,* 136–37, and Layman, *American Decades,* 195–210
13. A discussion of the culture debates can be found in Dwight Macdonald, *Against the American Grain* (New York: Vintage Books, 1965), especially the lead article, "Masscult and Midcult," 1–75.

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4. Two Internet sources for old television commercials are The Internet Archive (http://www.archive.org/movies/movies.php) and USA TV ADS (http://www.usatvads.com).
5. Paul Rutherford, *The New Icons?: The Art of Television Advertising* (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 10–14.
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MUSEUMS, ORGANIZATIONS, SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, AND USEFUL WEB SITES

Bradley, Becky. "American Cultural History, 1950–1959." Lone Star College-Kingwood Library Web site. http://kclibrary.lonestar.edu/decade50.html.

One in a series of Web sites dedicated to examining American cultural history in the twentieth century, Bradley provides an overview of the decades and extensive links to additional resources.

Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library & Museum. 200 Southeast Fourth Street, Abilene, KS 67410, http://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/.

One of 12 Presidential Libraries administered by the National Archives and Records Administration, the library is a national repository for the preservation of historical papers, audiovisual materials, and artifacts relating to Dwight D. Eisenhower. The library's holdings exceed 26 million pages, over 300,000 photographs, and 66,000 museum artifacts. The Eisenhower Presidential Library & Museum makes these records accessible through research, museum exhibits, public programs, and educational outreach.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library. 4079 Albany Post Road, Hyde Park, NY 12538, http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/index.html.

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library was built under President Roosevelt's direction between 1939 and 1940 on 16 acres of land in Hyde Park, New York, donated by Roosevelt and his mother, Sara Delano Roosevelt. The library resulted from his decision that a separate facility was needed to house the vast quantity of historical papers, books, and memorabilia accumulated during his lifetime of public service. The accompanying Web site offers further information about research, education opportunities, and exhibits at the museum. Of particular interest are the thousands of online, copyright-free photographs available for download, featuring pictures of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, the Great Depression, the New Deal, and World War II.

Goodwin, Susan. "American Cultural History: The Twentieth Century, 1940–1949." Lone Star College-Kingwood Library Web site. http://kclibrary.lonestar.edu/decade40.html.

One in a series of Web sites dedicated to examining American cultural history in the twentieth century, Goodwin provides an overview of the decades and extensive links to additional resources.

The Harry S. Truman Library & Museum. 500 W. US Hwy. 24, Independence MO 64050, http://www.trumanlibrary.org

The Truman Library is one of 12 presidential libraries administered by the National Archives and Records Administration. It is supported, in part, by the Harry S. Truman Library Institute, the not-for-profit partner of the Truman Library. The Institute seeks to promote, through educational and community programs, a greater appreciation and understanding of American politics, history and culture, the process of governance, and the importance of public service, as exemplified by Harry S. Truman.

Library of Congress. "Great Depression and World War II, 1929–1945." American Memory Web site. http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/ndlpedu/features/timeline/depwwii/depwar.html.

Developed to help teachers and students use the vast online collections of the Library of Congress, the Web site offers many primary sources from the Great Depression and World War II eras. The time period is broken into topical subpages that provide greater detail on specific topics.

Nelson, Cary. "The Great Depression." Modern American Poetry Web site. http://www.english.uiuc.edu/maps/depression/depression.htm.

The site features additional information that grew out of Nelson's editing the *Anthology of Modern American Poetry* for Oxford University Press. Realizing that the book could not be comprehensive, Nelson and a team of scholars filled the Web site with additional information about American poets. The Great Depression portion of the site offers a superb overview of the economic downturn and its global consequences, with colorful maps that provide greater insight into the challenges of the worldwide depression. Some 11 poets from the era are featured, with biographical information, reviews, and examples of their writing.

Sutton, Bettye. "American Cultural History, 1930–1939." Lone Star College-Kingwood Library Web site. http://kclibrary.lonestar.edu/decade30.html.

One in a series of Web sites dedicated to examining American cultural history in the twentieth century, Sutton provides an overview of the decades and extensive links to additional resources.

VIDEOS/FILMS

Band of Brothers. Produced by Steven Spielberg, Tom Hanks, Preston Smith, Erik Jendresen, and Stephen Ambrose. 705 minutes. Distributed by Home Box Office, 2002. 6 DVDs.

An original HBO miniseries that aired in 2001, *Band of Brothers* tells the story of Easy Company, 506th Regiment of the 101st Airborne Division, U.S. Army, an elite rifle company that parachuted into France early on D-Day morning. The troops fought in the Battle of the Bulge, captured Hitler's Eagle's Nest at Berchtesgaden, and suffered heavy casualties.

Coming Apart: Nothing to Fear. (Century: Events that Shaped the World, Vol. 9). Produced by Carrie Cook. 43 minutes. Distributed by ABC Video, 2006, [1999]. DVD.

In the early 1930s, unemployment, widespread hunger, and a mood of fearful pessimism and simmering unrest were Herbert Hoover's legacy. This documentary highlights the early days of Franklin D. Roosevelt's presidency, when he battled to transform the New Deal from a campaign slogan to nothing short of a social revolution—while staving off attacks by those who viewed him as a potential dictator and his reforms as a threatening turn to the left.

FDR. Written and produced by David Grubin. 270 minutes. Distributed by PBS, 1994. Videocassette.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt led America through the two greatest crises of the twentieth century: the Great Depression and World War II. The documentary focuses on FDR's early years and political successes through his presidency and death.

FDR: A Presidency Revealed. Edited by Bob Kanner, Eric Dennis, and Mindy Gregg. 300 minutes. Distributed by New Video, 2005. DVD.

A comprehensive original program from the History Channel, featuring exclusive interviews, rare audio recordings, newly-unearthed home movies, and diary entries, that reveals a never-before-seen side of FDR's presidency.

Jazz. Produced by Ken Burns, Lynn Novick. 1095 minutes on 10 Discs. PBS Home Video. 2000. DVD.

Originally aired on PBS, this 10-disc package of the history of jazz in the United States features the 10 episodes of the show. Discs four through eight cover 1930–1955.

The Manchurian Candidate. Produced by George Axelrod and John Frankenheimer. 129 minutes. Distributed by MGM Home Entertainment, 2004. DVD. Originally released as a motion picture in 1962.

A U.S. Army platoon, captured in the Korean conflict, is whisked to Manchuria for three days of experimental drug-and-hypnosis-induced conditioning that transforms them into human time bombs. Returning to America as war heroes, one of them is used by his mother to promote the political career of her Joseph McCarthy-like husband.

Sands of Iwo Jima. Produced by Merian C. Cooper. 109 minutes. Distributed by Artisan Home Entertainment, 2000. DVD. A motion picture starring John Wayne originally released in 1949.

Stryker (Wayne), a hard-nosed Marine sergeant prepares a company of recruits for combat in World War II's Pacific Theater. Their training is soon put to the test in a battle against the Japanese on Iwo Jima. The famous flag-raising on Mt. Suribachi is depicted near the film's conclusion.

Saving Private Ryan. Produced by Steven Spielberg, Ian Bryce, Mark Gordon, and Gary Levinsohn. 169 minutes. Distributed by DreamWorks Home Entertainment, 1999. DVD.

Captain John Miller (Tom Hanks) must take his men behind enemy lines to find Private Ryan (Matt Damon), whose three brothers have been killed in combat. Faced with impossible odds, the men question their orders. Why are eight men risking their lives to save just one? Surrounded by the brutal realities of war, each man searches for individual answers and the strength to triumph over an uncertain future with honor, decency, and courage.

Surviving the Dust Bowl. Written and produced by Chana Gazit. 60 minutes. Distributed by WGBH Educational Foundation, 1998. DVD.

The documentary presents the story of thousands of settlers, who, lured by the promise of rich, plentiful soil, traveled to the Southern Plains, taking with them farming techniques that worked well in the North and East. They plowed millions of acres of grassland, only to have the rains stop in the summer of 1931. The catastrophic eight-year drought that followed led observers to rename the region "The Dust Bowl."

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American Pop

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Foreword: Popular Culture's Roots Run Deep

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Although *American Pop* focuses on popular culture as it developed in the twentieth century, it is critical that readers understand that most of these topics did not spring to life without roots running deep into the nation's past. In today's fast-paced, computer-dominated society, it is easy to forget history and innovation because so much of American idealism is based on looking toward the bright future. We are a nation obsessed with the idea that better days are on the horizon.

What one discovers when examining the development of culture over the course of the twentieth century is that each innovation builds off a predecessor. America has always had a popular culture, although what that means might change with each new technological breakthrough, national craze, or demographic shift. And, while defining culture is not an easy task, it can be seen as a kind of living entity. Similar to a growing garden, culture is the gatherings of community beliefs and behaviors, which depends on its roots for sustenance. As the plants grow both individually and collectively, they develop and influence the surrounding societies.

People in Colonial America, for example, had their cultural roots deeply implanted from the cultures of the lands from which they emigrated, but every people or group of individuals must harmonize the old with the new in order to justify one's culture. The unifying themes that emerged from the development of a new national culture enabled people to make sense of the world and their relationship to it. American colonists, therefore, adjusted to the old-world cultures of the people who were already settling the nation, while at the same time creating a new popular culture based on their lives as members of the new country.

The harmonization of the new with the old might be called *folk-pop* or *pop-folk* because the result led to a new everyday culture. This evolution is a neverending process in which the new is blended with the old and a new is born. Human nature demands

cultural and individual cooperation for safety and advancement, which it achieves in various ways. Inventions and discoveries, for example, are not as helpful in shaping cultures as are innovation and dissemination of those inventions and discoveries. Culture must speak to its constituencies in their vernacular before it can be understood and fully appreciated. Cultures both lead and follow cultural politics, policies, and social movements.

The fields of entertainment from which the colonists could draw were rich: traveling acrobats, jugglers, circuses of various kinds, animal shows, "magic lantern" shows, group or individual singers, Black "Olios" (one-act specialities), drinking houses, card games, and other group activities.

In the conventional forms of culture development certain figures stand tall. Benjamin Franklin, after his move to Philadelphia, contributed in various ways through his writings in *Poor Richard's Almanac* (1732–1757) and others. He stated that his highest admiration was for "the people of this province . . . chiefly industrious farmers, artificers [skilled craftsmen] or men in trade [who] are fond of freedom." Inventor of the lightning rod and the Franklin Stove, and many more technological and cultural innovations, no one did more to advance popular culture in these early days than Franklin. In the twenty-first century, one finds similar figures who are much revered for their ability to create. Steve Jobs, Apple founder and executive, is a modern day Franklin in many respects, inventing products that transform popular culture, while at the same time, cementing his place in that history.

Less comprehensive but far more inflammatory were the political contributions of Thomas Paine (1737–1809). On January 10, 1776, he published *Common Sense* and sold it for a few cents so that everybody could own a copy. In a few months no fewer than 500,000 copies had been sold. Another of his great contributions was *The American Crisis,* which opens with the fiery words, "These are the times that try men's souls." Paine intuited and valued the power of the popular culture and wrote his works as if by a common citizen for other common citizens. Today's Thomas Paines may be the countless citizen journalists, primarily Internet-based, blogging, posting, and carrying out the kind of agenda Paine advocated. The writer turned to pamphlets as a method of keeping down price, just as today's bloggers use inexpensive tools to reach audiences nationwide.

Another powerful voice in popular culture was Harriet Beecher Stowe. Through *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) Stowe alerted the public to the evils of slavery (with the help of the Almighty, in her words). After the enormous success of the work, the author claimed that God had dictated the book, with her merely writing down His words. Regardless of these claims, for the next 50 years the work was performed on stages worldwide more frequently than any other play in English (with the possible exception of Shakespeare's collected works).

A little more than a century later, racism still plagued the nation, but instead of being represented by a novel, two charismatic leaders took center stage. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X stood at opposite poles in the fight for equality, King preaching nonviolence, while Malcolm advocated "by any means necessary." As powerful as these leaders were, however, they became icons after their assassinations. As a result, their images transcend who they were as leaders, attaining a kind of immortality as popular culture figures.

Colonists loved professional plays. The first such presentation in America was "Ye Beare and Ye Cubbin Accomac County" staged in Virginia in 1665. The first theater in the Colonies was built in Williamsburg, Virginia, sometime between 1716 and 1718.

Romeo and Juliet may have been presented in New York City in 1730 and *Richard III* in 1750, in addition to Williamsburg a year later. In 1752 the Charleston, South Carolina, theater presented 58 different offerings, including Shakespeare. Fourteen of Shakespeare's plays were staged 150 times in pre-Revolutionary Virginia, and from the 1850s to the Civil War Shakespeare was performed in all the major cities and several small ones.

For the second half of the nineteenth century one of the distributors of popular culture was widespread black-faced minstrelsy—thousands of such dramatics were presented on stage by whites with faces blackened by charcoal. No one can identify exactly when and why the first Negro minstrel show became so popular. Some authorities suggest that African Americans seem to be natural-born entertainers. Others are firm in their belief that the minstrel show flourished because blacks saw it as a means of social equality with whites who otherwise held them in slavery.

Minstrelsy was in its heyday from 1830 to 1870. So-called songsters, cheap songbooks running from 20 to some 50 pages and selling for 10–50 cents, were the main distributors of minstrel pieces, as well as songs from other sources. During the popularity of the minstrel show there were more than 100 shows running and some 2,000 songsters distributing at least 20,000 songs. Not all minstrel shows were black-on-white. Some were black-on-black, after black actors realized that white shows were exploiting them and they could in fact create their own shows. Minstrel shows were later eclipsed by vaudeville.

From these beginnings, one can trace the origins of Tin Pan Alley, which helped launch ragtime and jazz. In addition, the songsters and minstrel shows initiated a kind of crossover success that became the gold standard in the music business. "Crossing over," or scoring hit records in different genres, would come to define many of the industry's biggest stars from Elvis Presley and Johnny Cash to Chuck Berry and Little Richard.

The most enduring form of popular culture is the printed page, even though some observers feel that books, magazines, and newspapers are doomed in the Internet age. Books in particular, though, carry a special place in peoples' hearts, not only as tools for learning but as objects of affection. Many readers simply like to hold a book in their hands and feel the pages glide through their fingers. Even the most ardent techie does not get the same emotional lift from reading text on a screen, whether a laptop or handheld device.

The most influential literary form breaching the gap between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been the detective story. This form of literature has from its beginning satisfied deep interests of large groups. From the earliest times, people have wanted answers to the mysteries of life that keeps us continually looking back at history. Our fascination with the archaeological and anthropological past, for example, leads many to believe in monsters such as Big-Foot (Sasquatch) and the Loch Ness Monster. Many small towns and local villages have similar folktales of creatures frequenting dark mountains, forests, and deep lakes. Today, this love affair with fear and the unknown drives much of the current film and television industries. From the low budget sensation *The Blair Witch Project* to big budget movies filled with blood and gore, people thrive on their imaginations resulting from a collective indoctrination to fear.

These prehistoric beings supposedly living among us also help keep alive the mysteries and manifestations of the past, delivering some kind of answer in the form of explanations and comforting conclusions. Histories and mysteries need what scholar Russel Nye called a "hook" to keep readers on the edge of their curiosity. But mysteries search more deeply into human existence and help explain us to ourselves. Einstein was

certainly right when he said, "The most beautiful thing we can experience is the mysterious. It is the source of all true art and science." The enticement of the mysterious is a never fading light in the darkness of life's many anxieties.

Literary interest in horror developed in Europe in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) and pushed ahead vigorously in the *Memoirs* of Francois Eugene Vidocq, a reformed French thief who joined the police force and electrified Europe with publication of his underground activities in 1829. Edgar Allan Poe (1809–1849) caught the imagination of Americans beginning with *Murders in the Rue Morgue* (1841). Film scholars see Poe's writing inspiring the American film noir movement in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s.

The coals ignited by the interest in mystery and drama glowed especially in the publication of the adventures of Sherlock Holmes and Dr. Watson in 1887. Many Americans tried their pens at the art. Mark Twain published several works in the type, for instance, but found little success. But the door into the riches of mysteries had been opened to authors and readers of the twenty-first century. Mystery, having metamorphosed through the broadened titles of "Crime Fiction" and lately "Novels of Suspense," is the most popular form of fiction today, and is being used by historians for the true human emotions and actions contained in them. Historians a century or more from now may find themselves doing the same with the novels of Stephen King or James Patterson, novelists who sell millions of books, yet are taken less seriously by the cultural elite because they do so well.

One of the results of popular culture's interest in the make-believe and distortion of the minstrel show was the literary hoax, which flourished in such works as Poe's "Balloon Hoax," published in the *New York Sun* on April 13, 1844, an account of eight men crossing the Atlantic in a large balloon held up by coal gas. Others include Mark Twain's "The Petrified Man" (one of several by him), in which a character is discovered with his thumb on his nose in the timeless insulting gesture—the credulous public does not recognize the joke.

Other real-life hoaxes cropped up on every street corner. P. T. Barnum (1810–1891), famous for working under the philosophy that there's a sucker born every minute, opened his American Museum of Freaks in New York City, exhibiting all kinds of freaks and captivating the public especially with his Cardiff Giant, a plaster duplicate of the discovery on a farm outside Cardiff, New York. It was 10 feet long and weighed 3,000 pounds and had been proven a hoax, but still fascinated the public. The hoax, literary or physical, fed the American dreams of freedom and expansion and was an example of the American dream of personal fulfillment.

Another stalk growing from the same root included the works of the so-called Southwest humorists, who carried on in their stories and language the literature of the hoax. David Ross Locke (Petroleum V. Nasby), Henry Wheeler Show (Josh Billings), and George Washington and his Sut Lovingood stories created exaggerated physical and linguistic caricatures of their fellow citizens in a world they expected and hoped would be recognized as hoaxes. Instead of laughable hoaxes, however, they created a world of reality that is carried over in American popular culture today. The stereotype of the illiterate Southerner has a central role in the twenty-first century, particularly in television sit-coms and movies. The standup routines of Jeff Foxworthy and Larry the Cable Guy are built around the premise of the South being strangely (although often lovingly) different than the rest of the nation.

Another popular form of literature developed out of the idea of the hoax—graphic caricature and literature. Although the caricature had been common from the earliest days of America, the so-called common caricature known as the comic strip narrative,

developed by the Swiss cartoonist Rodolphe Topfer in 1846, was probably introduced into America in the *San Francisco Examiner* on February 16, 1896, as "The Yellow Kid." Since then most newspapers have run their series of comic pages in the United States and abroad—especially in Japan, where they are read by all members of a family under the name *anime*. They are likewise pervasive in American (and world) culture, especially in animation, movies, and advertising, particularly when used to pitch products to children and young people.

Because of our growing knowledge of and interest in archaeology and anthropology, our interest in the 6,000 or so languages spoken worldwide, and the suspicion that humanity may be doomed to future space travel and colonization, more works are developing in comics and movies of the extreme past and the imaginative future. Such comic strips and books, now called graphic novels, to a certain extent feed on the hoax works of the nineteenth century and intellectually are not rocket science, as we freely admit.

Many of the ideas and artwork in today's comic books are useful in understanding modern popular culture and its influence. For example, graphic novels have been published for both political parties in the 2008 presidential campaigns. Furthermore, many of the ideas and artwork are highly suggestive to the genuine rocket scientist, and the art work is highly prized for its newness of ideas and execution of detail by comic book aficionados. One original picture of Mickey Mouse, for example, recently sold for $700,000. Many comic book fans live in a world of their own making, but to a certain extent in America's broad, rich, and complicated popular culture, each area is something of an island of culture all its own, justifying its existence.

Just as English poet William Wordsworth said that the child is father to the man, so a culture in one form and one power or another is always a product and variant of its predecessors. It grows and alters or breaks down the restrictions of its sometimes elite, sometimes popular predecessors as the force of the new development becomes overwhelming and suggestive. Sometimes the popular culture grows and sometimes fades, but, although it may diminish in use and memory, it seldom disappears. Popular culture is like animated wall murals and graffiti that permanently etches a record of the lifeblood of a culture of the moment.

The cornucopia of twentieth century present and developing American popular culture has resulted from the free flow of opportunity provided by its predecessors. So it was up to the last century. The garden of popular culture seemed to the culture traditionalist a patch of weeds overwhelming the flowers. But a new culture in the process of finding and developing itself was not crowded. The new cultures were driven by the changing dynamic of a new people in a new land with opportunities for all men and women to live by and in the cultures they both desired and found satisfactory. Suggestions and opportunities will continue to be found and developed.

The power of the twentieth century continues to develop in the twenty-first as the richest and most energetic culture so far produced continues to flourish—sometimes to the bewilderment and consternation of the citizenry, but always irresistibly, Americans and non-Americans—as long as human nature insists that it wants or needs something new, improved, or just different and finds it in America. Popular culture is the voice of a worldwide, but especially American, growing insistence on democracy in all aspects of life, and the voices of the people—especially in America—will continue to flourish, be creative, and heard.

From the beginning, American popular culture, given a virgin land in which to grow, has developed fully and rapidly. Its influence has been especially forceful domestically and globally in the twentieth century as a result of its growth in the preceding century

in the arts and extended cultures. American popular culture impacts the cultures of the world everyday, creating and resolving tensions that are labeled "Created and Made in America." In the popular cultural world in all its manifestations the most influential label on world life at the present is and in the future will be "Lived in America."

Preface

American Pop: Popular Culture Decade by Decade provides a survey of popular culture across America from 1900 to the present and presents the heart and soul of America, acting as a unifying bridge across time and bringing together generations of diverse backgrounds. Whether looking at the bright lights of the Jazz Age in the 1920s, the rock 'n' roll and lifestyle revolutions of the 1960s and 1970s, or the thriving social networking Web sites of today, each period in America's cultural history develops its own unique take on the qualities that define our lives. *American Pop* is a four-volume set that examines the trends and events across decades and eras by shedding light on the experiences of Americans young and old, rich and poor, along with the influences of arts, entertainment, sports, and other cultural forces.

Based partly on Greenwood's "American Popular Culture through History" series, this four-volume set is designed to give students and general readers a broad and interdisciplinary overview of the numerous aspects of popular culture. Each of the topical chapters stands alone as a testament to the individual decade, yet taken together, they offer an integrated history and allow readers to make connections among each of the decades. Of course, this organization also encourages readers to compare the sometimes striking differences among decades.

WHAT'S INCLUDED IN *AMERICAN POP*

The volumes in this set cover the following chronological periods.

- Volume 1, 1900–1929
- Volume 2, 1930–1959
- Volume 3, 1960–1989
- Volume 4, 1990–Present

Each volume, in turn, covers the popular culture of the decades through chapters focused on specific areas of popular culture, including:

- An Overview of the Decade
- Advertising
- Architecture
- Books, Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics
- Entertainment
- Fashion
- Food
- Music
- Sports and Leisure
- Travel
- Visual Arts

In addition, each group of chapters is preceded by a timeline of events for the decade, which gives extra oversight and context to the study of the period.

Sidebars and Other Features

Within many of the chapters, the text is supplemented by sidebars that feature the significant, fascinating, troubling, or just plain weird people, trends, books, movies, radio and television programs, advertisements, places, and events of the decade. In addition sidebars provide lists of new words and phrases for the decade; new foods introduced during the decade; and "How Others See Us," information on how people outside of the United States adopted, reacted to, or disdained American popular culture. The chapters are enhanced with photos and illustrations from the period. Each volume closes with a Resource Guide, providing selected books, articles, Web sites, and videos for further research.

The appendices feature "The Cost of Products"—which spans from 1900 to the present and shows the prices of selected items from food to clothing to furniture—and a list of potential classroom resources of activities and assignments for teachers to use in a school setting. A carefully selected general bibliography for the set, covering popular culture resources of a general or sizeable nature, rounds out the final volume. A comprehensive index offers access to the entire set.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

American Pop is an audacious project that pulls together more than one million words about popular culture in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. A series like this one owes a large debt to many wonderful authors, researchers, writers, and editors. First and foremost, my deepest gratitude goes out to Ray B. Browne, the series editor of the original "American Popular Culture through History" books. Like so many other popular culture scholars over the past several decades, I owe Ray more than I could ever hope to repay.

I would also like to thank all of the authors who poured their collective hearts into the series: David Blanke, Kathleen Drowne, Patrick Huber, William H. Young, Nancy K. Young, Robert Sickels, Edward J. Rielly, Kelly Boyer Sagert, Scott Stoddart, and Marc Oxoby. Their work provides the backbone of this collection. Several excellent writers contributed to the more than 300 sidebars that appear throughout this set: Mary Kay Linge, Ken Zachmann, Martha Whitt, Micah L. Issitt, Josef Benson, Cindy Williams, Joy Austin, Angelica Benjamin, Peter Lazazzaro, Jillian Mann, Vanessa Martinez, Jessica Schultz, Jessica Seriano, and Brie Tomaszewski.

Not even Superman could edit a collection like *American Pop* without a superstar team of editors. I have been lucky to benefit from the wisdom and leadership skills of

Kristi Ward and Anne Thompson throughout the project. *American Pop* would not exist without their enthusiasm, hard work, and dedication. Thanks also to Cindy Williams for her original editing of the project. She is wonderful.

My great honor in editing *American Pop* has been picking up where Ray left off. I have had the pleasure of writing three books in the series, so all told, I have spent more than five years of my life with this series. My sincere thanks go to my parents, Jon and Linda Bowen, and my brother Bill Coyle for their support. As always, my wife, Kathy, has lived this collection with me. I appreciate her sense of humor, sound advice, and thoughtfulness. My whole heart belongs to our daughter Kassie. Her smile, hugs, and kisses were always awesome diversions from writing and editing.

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Introduction

The greatest compliment that can be paid to the 1960–1989 period is that its lasting popular culture images still have resonance in the twenty-first century, ranging from the glamour of President John F. Kennedy (JFK) and his "Camelot" administration to the harsh images captured in the jungles of Vietnam and the deaths of African Americans fighting for civil rights. Terms popularized during this time help people better understand today's world, such as ending any type of scandal with "-gate" after the Watergate crisis that brought down the Nixon Administration. Any overseas war is likened to Vietnam.

Perhaps the current national fascination with the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s is based solely on the fact that the people currently controlling mass communications came of age or grew up in those eras. There isn't a night that goes by that a viewer could not find programming focused on these decades on TV, from CBS's summer 2008 hit *Swingtown* to VH1's *I Love the 70s* and *I Love the 80s.* One suspects, however, that the fascination and appeal of these decades runs deeper.

The decades under consideration were times of great change in America, which were reflected in the nation's culture. Transformation and evolution seemed palpable, as if one could simply feel the winds of change by sticking a finger in the air. Some commentators have attributed this to JFK, who served up a breath of fresh air after the considerably older Dwight Eisenhower. Interestingly, Ronald Reagan did not have youth on his side in the 1980s, but his charisma more or less willed Americans into believing a better day stood at the horizon. These leaders do not deserve all the credit for a timeframe that encompassed such dynamic change, but their leadership cleared the canvas a bit.

The challenge in analyzing American popular culture in the second half of the twentieth century is finding a way to both capture the broadness of the field and at the same time keep the survey manageable. By examining popular culture within the following categories—leaders, money, innovation, and culture—an overview of the 1960–1989 period will emerge that discusses the major issues driving everyday America during the era. From a broad perspective, these forces transform society almost the same way

wind changes local or regional weather—most of the time invisibly, yet powerfully, but in other instances with force and intensity. Therefore, while popular culture is ever-shifting, the often undetected forces of technology, economics, political systems, and culture are working their magic on the system. All the roots of popular culture trace back to these forces.

Many instances of pop culture transformation blur the lines between these topics. For example, 1980s filmmakers used the Vietnam War and the cultural rifts it incited as central storylines in movies that implicitly questioned Ronald Reagan's foreign policy. Like many pundits and critics, these filmmakers saw a similarity between the earlier conflict and America taking on the role as the world's police force. The real-life war in Southeast Asia took on an additional role, providing authors, artists, and commentators with a method for questioning current diplomacy. Vietnam remains a focus of television programs, movies, novels, and nonfiction works.

At its core, popular culture is about context. It may be difficult, if not impossible, to statistically measure the impact of John F. Kennedy on the cultural development of the 1960s, but understanding the nuances of his role provides a framework for grasping the broader meaning of culture both during and after his tenure as an iconic political leader.

The ability to examine the actions of the government or a particular leader or group of leaders is arguably the most positive aspect of popular culture. Rooted in free speech, the rise of mass media enabled Americans to criticize their leaders and institutions, thus opening new opportunities for collective education and information. In the 1960s this meant that 250,000 protestors could gather on the mall in the nation's capital to protest the ongoing war in Vietnam.

As millions of Americans interacted with mass media, whether by watching the same movies or listening to radio programs, a common language developed that opened lines of communication between disparate groups. The downside to this unintended focus on mass communications, some argued, was that a growing fascination with pop culture actually diverted attention from important challenges the nation faced, ultimately serving as a kind of placebo. Therefore, popular culture enabled people to feel good about the world around them without really forcing them to directly confront critical issues.

LEADERS

Some eras in American history have been defined by the events that unfolded during that timeframe, while others have been closely linked to the president who presided over the time. The 1960–1989 timeframe featured a series of presidents that dominated the scene both politically and culturally.

Certainly, Ronald Wilson Reagan served as the most pervasive icon of American life in the 1980s. Reagan's election initiated a conservative political movement that swept the country and his powerful rhetoric ushered in a renewed sense of patriotism. Named *Time* magazine's "Man of the Year" after the 1980 presidential election, the 72-year-old Reagan seemed a curious hero for America; his Hollywood charm blended with his blunt criticism of the Jimmy Carter administration helped him win the election by a 10-point margin.

The public clearly had enough of Carter, who was blamed for the Iran hostage crisis, gas shortages, and the economic woes brought on by soaring interest rates. In contrast, Reagan offered a markedly different, more positive and patriotic view. His simple message, delivered with a grandfatherly air, captured the public's imagination and gave them a renewed sense of hope.

Scholars debate the role Reagan played in formulating policies carried out during his administration, particularly regarding the economy and foreign affairs. Critics charge that "The Great Manipulator" (one of Reagan's unflattering nicknames) played the public role of president, while strong leaders in his Cabinet actually ran the country. Others view Reagan as the ultimate activist president, setting the nation on a transformational course that now defines the modern age.

Under Reagan's watch, the administration began a series of reforms that marked some of the most significant economic and social policy changes in half a century. According to Richard Thornburgh, Attorney General in the Reagan administration, "The status of the individual in society, fiscal integrity, the idea of true federalism, the idea of Government closer to the people, the idea of the toughness of the American fiber, which means a firm line with criminals at home and with our adversaries abroad, the principles which put together the real genesis of the Reagan victory. Those principles are now a majority view."[1]

Reagan earned the nickname "The Great Communicator" for his uncanny knack of understanding the public's concerns and responding in an optimistic, believable manner. His carefully crafted speeches and his effective presentation method made him appear grandfatherly and appealed to the masses that bought into his family values campaign. Reagan's conservatism gave the public a sense of calm after decades of strife, from the lingering pain of Vietnam and Watergate to the psychological scars of the Iran hostage crisis and faltering economy of the 1970s, symbolized by a nationwide gas shortage and soaring interest rates.

The president's campaign commercial "Morning in America" encapsulated his philosophy—American values connecting patriotism, family, and moral conviction were the things that separated America from the rest of the world, and particularly the Soviet Union's "Evil Empire."

However, Reagan's Republican party did not do so well in the 1984 election, which returned a Democratic majority to Congress that subsequently blocked one of his more ambitious plans: the Strategic Defense Initiative—dubbed "Star Wars" by the media—an arsenal of satellites to render useless any nuclear attacks waged by the Soviets.

In hindsight, however, Reagan's legacy consisted of an enormous debt, a booming economy that collapsed as soon as he left office, and a reputation for not really being in control. Despite this, he remains one of America's most popular presidents.

MONEY

Thomas J. Watson Jr. took over his father's company, International Business Machines (IBM), in 1952 and ran it until 1971. During that time he transformed an already strong business into a global monolith. The younger Watson realized the potential of the computer and, against his father's wishes, redirected IBM's efforts toward the new technology. The gamble paid off and IBM became synonymous with computers worldwide. By 1983 the personal computer (PC) was so pervasive that *Time* magazine named the PC its "Man of the Year."

After World War II, Watson Jr. had returned to IBM a new, more confident man. He did not automatically defer to his father. Now more strategic and analytical in his thinking, Watson realized that new computer technology would make IBM's tabulating products obsolete. His iron-willed father, however, thought only a handful of computers would be needed in the entire country.

The battle between father and son about the future of computers signified a changing of the guard. After years of being hounded about electronics by his son, Watson Sr. finally relented. Watson Jr. quickly doubled the research and development budget and hired hundreds of engineers to build IBM's first computers. The two Watsons spent a decade working together. The father passed along his sales secrets while the son took on more leadership tasks. Both men shared a quick, explosive temper. The legendary shouting matches between the two became part of company folklore.

Watson Jr. became president of IBM in 1952 and CEO in 1956, just six weeks before Watson Sr. passed away. Becoming more like his father, who ran IBM with an iron fist that critics labeled cult-like, the son instituted a highly competitive corporate culture among the highest-ranking executives. Watson pushed his managers and scientists to constantly be at the cutting-edge of technological innovation.

Watson Jr. was an instinctive leader and demanded quick decisions. His leadership style set the tone for the relentless innovation required in the computer industry. He drove his employees to be decisive and to take risks. Watson purposely hired and promoted outspoken, competitive managers, against the grain of corporate "yes men" that many executives surrounded themselves with.

By the early 1960s IBM clearly dominated the burgeoning computer industry. But this lead did not satisfy Watson. Rather than resting on his laurels, Watson authorized that $5 billion be spent developing a new line of computers that would make all others obsolete—including IBM's own. The staggering sum was almost three times IBM's revenues and an audacious gamble.[2]

Watson directed company researchers to work on a family of small computers rather than large, outmoded machines. Since the computers would be designed to solve a company's every need, it was dubbed the System/360, after the circumference of a circle.

The risk Watson took with the System/360 turned IBM into a pressure cooker. When the project, run by Watson's younger brother Dick, slid off schedule, Watson demoted his brother, which essentially ended Dick's career. The move shamed Watson, but he was determined that IBM would thrive.

Ultimately, the System/360 was a hit around the globe—the gamble paid off for IBM. The company ruled the computer industry, controlling about 70 percent of the world's computers. IBM had 35,000 installed computers in 1970, a significant increase from the 11,000 it had in 1964. Financially, the System/360 doubled revenues, reaching $7.5 billion in 1970, while the company's market value jumped from $14 billion to $36 billion.[3]

IBM's early domination of the computer market enabled the company to develop other systems that would soon define the computer age. In 1981 IBM introduced the first PC, which enabled the technology industry to thrive. IBM's new PC required a software operating system so that users could experience the full power of the computer. Microsoft, led by Bill Gates and Paul Allen, developed the programming language and the operating system, thus beginning the next phase of the technology revolution.

Under Watson's reign, IBM stood as the greatest corporate success story of the post–World War II era. The company created incredible wealth for shareholders, among the best in business history. As a result of Watson's decision to push IBM into computers and the resulting achievement, *Fortune* magazine called Watson (arguably) the greatest capitalist who ever lived.[4] By concentrating on computers, IBM paved the way for the information age. At the end of the 1980s, more than 45 million homes owned and operated some form of personal computer and they were considered an essential for business success.[5]

INNOVATION

During the three decades from 1960 to 1989 television changed considerably, not only the box itself but also the programming that appeared on the airwaves. It is difficult to weigh which aspect had a more dramatic transformation, but TV content more closely reflected American popular culture. In this respect, innovation represents the way programming evolved during this timespan. During the 1960s television became the dominant form of mass communications, with about 60 million households having at least one box, despite Kennedy administration FCC chairman Newton Minow labeling the medium a "vast wasteland." In the 1980s much of the national cultural discussion centered on television shows, from the latest antics between Sam and Diane on *Cheers* to who killed J. R. Ewing on *Dallas.*

Between 1960 and 1989 the most important change in programming may have been in the portrayal of African Americans. In contrast to the great strides African Americans made in film roles in previous decades, they had less success in television. Most of the top shows of the 1960s had no black lead actors.

The 1970s saw a significant increase in shows either addressing race or featuring blacks in strong roles. Two of the initial efforts were *Sanford and Son* and *The Flip Wilson Show,* the first variety show hosted by an African American. The success of *All in the Family* in confronting race and bigotry through comedy led to the spin-off *The Jeffersons,* which eventually became the longest running comedy in TV history (11 seasons) with lead black characters.

Despite the pervasiveness of Reagan conservatism in the 1980s and television's few positive portrayals of the black experience, *The Cosby Show* debuted on NBC in 1984. Few expected it to become the dominant show on television, ultimately running through 1992. Inspired by comedian and actor Bill Cosby, the program did not rely on traditional one-liner jokes and racial stereotypes. Instead, *The Cosby Show* enabled viewers to see a strong, upper middle class black family dealing with day-to-day life.

The criticism of earlier shows such as *The Jeffersons* and *Good Times* was that they relied too heavily on the buffoonery of the central African American lead male character, thus playing into common racist stereotypes. In contrast, Cosby and his television family cared for one another in a loving family system. Bill Cosby's groundbreaking role as Cliff Huxtable single handedly changed the way many Americans felt about blacks. In its first season *The Cosby Show* placed third in the Nielsen ratings. Then, for the next five years, the show topped the ratings to tie with *All in the Family* as the only two shows to do so for that amount of time.

The evolution of lily-white television in the 1960s to the positive African American experience on *The Cosby Show* reveals the strides America made in lessening racism between 1960 and 1989. No one would argue that having a sitcom about blacks as the top show on TV for five straight seasons means that racism disappeared. However, at least in popular culture terms the depiction provided by the Huxtables pushed the discussion in a positive direction.

CULTURE

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. What had started as a small campus demonstration—one of thousands nationwide—instantly transformed into a symbol of the Vietnam era world-

wide. A Pulitzer Prize winning photograph taken at the shooting—an anguished young woman kneeling over the body of a dead student with her arms raised in despair—ended the Woodstock era. Any lingering idyllic "free love" notions of the 1960s disappeared with the Kent State massacre.

On April 30, 1970, President Nixon appeared on national television to announce that United States troops were invading Cambodia to strike suspected guerrilla strongholds. The new policy contradicted his previous plan that pledged a "Vietnamization" of the war to 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."

After the shootings, officials shut down Kent State, which remained closed for the rest of the school year. As news about the tragedy spread, campus unrest escalated nationwide. 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 in the African American community.

The Kent State Massacre bookends a generation that began with the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in 1963 and included the murder of his brother Robert F. Kennedy and civil rights activist Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968. Kent State immediately transformed from a sleepy Midwestern college into the symbolic epicenter of student protest in the Vietnam era. Kent State will always be 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" written by Neil Young with its haunting refrain, "Four dead in Ohio!"

It is impossible to overstate the cultural importance of John F. Kennedy, the Civil Rights struggle, Vietnam, and Watergate. The short 14-year span between Kennedy's inauguration and Nixon's resignation may have been the most tumultuous era in modern American history outside the two World Wars and the Great Depression. Seismic changes took place. Unlike the crises of earlier times, a primed and ready mass communications industry stood poised to deliver it all to an eager public. Therefore, one must underscore the burgeoning mass media that helped define popular culture at the time while also preserving it for future generations. Is it possible to imagine a world without the grainy black-and-white images of Kennedy and Nixon debating on the election trail, the Kennedy assassination film, or Nixon's robotic arm wave as he boarded the helicopter leaving the White House in 1974?

One could argue that the period of time between 1960 and 1989 retains its significance because the expanding media was there to record it all. Furthermore, as the era progressed, the way people interacted with mass communications increased geometrically. Looking back, the transition from Walter Cronkite and the CBS Evening News to a 24-hour a day, always on news cycle seemed linear.

However, more outlets meant additional time to fill and advertising dollars to be made, which resulted in more stuff, fluff, and filler deemed newsworthy. As news programming stuffed itself full of soft stories, popular culture leapt in as well. The news cycle needed to be fed, particularly as cable television spread across the nation and

the number of channels multiplied. The increased attention and time spent discussing popular culture naturally led to greater interest, which in turn, led to more coverage—a vicious cycle built on the consumer's demand for more.

The 1960–1989 timeframe also set the stage for the end of the century and the beginning of the next by preparing people to dive even deeper into the pop culture bubble. In the 1960s and 1970s, one might be able to escape the constant need for greater access and information. However, the introduction of personal computers and home video games in the 1980s opened Pandora's Box, guaranteeing the triumph of the wired and wireless future.

NOTES

1. Roger Rosenblatt, "Ronald Reagan, Person of the Year," *Time,* January 2, 1980, 4.
2. John Greenwald, "The *Time* 100: Thomas J. Watson, Jr.," *Time,* December 7, 1998, 172–73.
3. Greenwald, "The *Time* 100."
4. Steve Lohr, "I.B.M.'s Computing Pioneer, Thomas Watson Jr., Dies at 79," *The New York Times,* January 1, 1994, http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=980DEED8153EF932A35752C0A962958260.
5. Greenwald, "The *Time* 100," 173.

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1960s

Timeline

of Popular Culture Events, 1960s

1960

February 18–28: The Winter Olympics are held in Squaw Valley, California. A major highlight of the games occurs when the American hockey team upsets the heavily favored Russian team and wins the gold medal.

March 5: Elvis Presley is discharged from the U.S. Army.

May: Joan Baez and Pete Seeger play at the Newport Folk Festival.

August 26–September 11: The Summer Olympics take place in Rome, Italy. Cassius Clay, the future Muhammad Ali, wins the gold medal in light heavyweight boxing; other major U.S. winners are Wilma Rudolph, Rafer Johnson, and the basketball team.

September 26: John Kennedy and Richard Nixon engage in the first of their televised presidential debates.

Martin Milner and George Maharis take their first ride in their Corvette on the television series *Route 66.*

John Fitzgerald Kennedy is elected president, the first Roman Catholic and the youngest man (43) to hold the office.

1961

May 9: Newton Minow labels television a "vast wasteland" before a gathering of the National Association of Broadcasters.

June 16: Russian ballet star Rudolf Nureyev defects to the United States.

July 2: Ernest Hemingway kills himself with a shotgun in his Ketchum, Idaho, home.

October 1: Roger Maris of the New York Yankees breaks Babe Ruth's single-season home-run record by hitting his 61st.

Bob Dylan begins to perform in Greenwich Village clubs.

Jacqueline Kennedy wears a pillbox hat to the presidential Inauguration, setting off a pillbox craze among American women.

The first Hardee's fast-food restaurant opens, specializing in charcoal-broiled hamburgers and cheeseburgers.

Wilma Rudolph is named Female Athlete of the Year by the Associated Press.

1962

February 20: John Glenn becomes the first American to orbit Earth.

July 19: Ray Charles's album *Modern Sounds in Country & Western Music* goes gold.
July 22: Actress Marilyn Monroe dies of an apparent drug overdose.
September 25: Sonny Liston becomes heavyweight boxing champion by knocking out Floyd Patterson.
October: Federal legislation is approved declaring LSD a hallucinogenic drug that must be regulated by law.
October 14: James Brown records *The James Brown Show Live at the Apollo,* one of the most famous live albums of all time.
Wilt Chamberlain scores 100 points in a game, a National Basketball Association (NBA) record.
Jack Paar concludes his run as host of *The Tonight Show* (actually called *The Jack Paar Show* during his tenure); substitute hosts preside until Johnny Carson takes over on October 1.
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) releases its Port Huron Statement.
The Beverly Hillbillies strike oil on television as one of the most popular television series ever.

1963

February 11: Sylvia Plath, author of *The Bell Jar,* commits suicide.
August 24: Little Stevie Wonder becomes the first performer to simultaneously top the American pop singles, pop albums, and rhythm and blues singles charts.
August 28: Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. delivers his "I Have a Dream" speech at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C.
November 22–26: Millions of people remain in front of their television sets to watch events relating to the assassination and funeral of President John F. Kennedy, with regular programming returning on November 26.
November 22: Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson assumes the presidency.
Schlitz sells beer in new tab-opening aluminum cans.
Julia Child demonstrates on television how to prepare *bœuf bourguignon,* the first of a series of cooking lessons on educational television stations.
Joan Baez, Pete Seeger, and other artists perform at the first nonprofit Newport Folk Festival.

1964

February 9: The Beatles perform on *The Ed Sullivan Show.*
February 25: Cassius Clay (later Muhammad Ali) becomes heavyweight boxing champion by knocking out Sonny Liston.
March 13: Kitty Genovese is murdered outside her apartment building in New York City while neighbors ignore her pleas for help.
April: Twelve Beatles records are on the top 100 list.
June 5: Jim Ryun, a high school student, runs the mile in less than four minutes.
July 23: The first Arby's fast-food restaurant, specializing in roast beef sandwiches, opens.
December 20: ABC, CBS, and NBC simultaneously broadcast in color for the first time.
Los Angeles Dodger pitcher Sandy Koufax is named athlete of the year.
A San Francisco bar features topless go-go girls.
Students initiate the Free Speech Movement in October at the University of California, Berkeley.
At the Summer Olympics in Tokyo, the United States wins 90 medals, the Soviet Union 96.
The 1964 Civil Rights Act is signed. The Act denies federal funds to schools that refuse to desegregate.

1965

March 2: A teach-in to oppose the Vietnam War occurs at the University of Michigan, beginning a new antiwar tactic.
March: The restaurant T.G.I. Friday's, which caters to young singles, opens in New York City.
April 9: The Astrodome, an indoor domed sports facility, opens in Houston.

May 25: In a rematch, Muhammad Ali knocks out Sonny Liston in the first round with the famous "phantom punch."

July 25: Bob Dylan switches to an electric guitar at the Newport Folk Festival, sending a shock wave through his traditional folk audience.

October 22: The Highway Beautification Act is enacted to improve the appearance of the nation's highways.

Vatican II ends in Rome; church officials later issue new guidelines that modernize Catholic ritual and church architecture.

Head Start, a U.S. program to provide free preschool to economically disadvantaged children, is established.

1966

January 1: Cigarette packages start carrying a warning that "Cigarette smoking may be hazardous to your health."

January 1: Simon and Garfunkel's "The Sounds of Silence" is number one in *Billboard* for the week.

January 17: Truman Capote's novel *In Cold Blood* is published.

March 6: Barry Sadler's "Ballad of the Green Berets" begins a 13-week reign atop the charts.

June 13: The U.S. Supreme Court rules that Ernesto Miranda's rights were violated during questioning after his arrest, leading to promulgation of the Miranda rights in law and on countless television crime shows.

July 31: Radio station WOR-FM in New York City switches its programming to rock as FM stations begin their association with the counterculture.

October 29: Betty Friedan and other advocates for women's rights create the National Organization for Women (NOW).

Physician Sam Sheppard, model for the lead character on the television series *The Fugitive,* is found not guilty of murdering his wife.

The Starship *USS Enterprise* makes its first flight as *Star Trek* launches on NBC.

Medicare and Medicaid programs go into effect (after approval by Congress and President Johnson in 1965 as amendments to the Social Security Act of 1935).

1967

January 15: The Green Bay Packers defeat the Kansas City Chiefs 35–21 in the first Super Bowl.

April 13: Random House publishes the supernatural thriller *Rosemary's Baby* by Ira Levin.

April 28: Muhammad Ali refuses induction into the Armed Services and is subsequently stripped of his championship and convicted of violating Selective Service laws.

June 2: The Beatles' album *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* is available for sale in the United States.

June 16–18: The Monterey International Pop Festival occurs in Monterey, California, beginning "The Summer of Love."

September 9: William Styron's *The Confessions of Nat Turner* is published by Random House and engenders controversy over its depiction of Turner.

The Rolling Stones perform the song "Let's Spend the Night Together" on *The Ed Sullivan Show,* but Sullivan requires them to change the lyric to "Let's Spend Some Time Together."

Johnny Carson wears a Nehru jacket on *The Tonight Show* in February, creating an instant fashion craze.

The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour premieres on CBS.

The rock-musical *Hair* opens on Broadway in December.

1968

January 16: Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin found the Youth International Party, a radical group better known as the Yippies.

March 31: President Johnson announces that he will not run for re-election.

March 4: The *New York Times* runs an article entitled "An Arrangement: Living Together for Convenience, Security, Sex," which publicizes the growing practice of college students living together outside marriage.

April: Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) members occupy buildings at Columbia University to protest the Vietnam War.

May 20–June 14: Dr. Benjamin Spock, author of *Baby and Child Care,* and four other antiwar protestors are tried for conspiring to aid draft resisters; Spock and three others are convicted, but the verdict is later overturned.

June 3: Valerie Solanas shoots and seriously wounds pop artist Andy Warhol.

July 29: The encyclical *Humanae Vitae* by Pope Paul VI is published, reaffirming opposition by the Catholic Church to artificial means of birth control.

August 26–29: Television viewers watch massive antiwar demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago.

October 16: Tommie Smith and John Carlos protest U.S. racial injustice and South African apartheid with a black-glove salute after winning medals at the Olympic Games in Mexico City.

November: Richard M. Nixon is elected president.

December 3: Elvis Presley returns from films to concert performances with a televised performance popularly known as "The 68 Comeback."

The science-fiction film *2001: A Space Odyssey* opens in New York City.

The documentary *Hunger in America* airs on CBS.

Tom Wolfe's *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* appears, describing the 1964 LSD trip across the country by Ken Kesey and his Merry Pranksters.

Jeannie C. Riley achieves a gold record with her single "Harper Valley PTA."

Jacqueline Kennedy marries Greek shipping tycoon Aristotle Onassis.

1969

January 12: The New York Jets deliver on quarterback Joe Namath's promise of victory by defeating the favored Baltimore Colts, 16–7, in Super Bowl III.

February 8: The first commercial Boeing 747 flight lands successfully.

March 2: The *Concorde* supersonic airliner makes its first flight.

April 29: Bandleader Duke Ellington celebrates his 70th birthday at a White House party hosted by President Richard Nixon.

May 25: The film *Midnight Cowboy* opens.

June 17: The play *Oh, Calcutta!,* featuring total nudity, opens Off-Broadway.

June 27: Police raid the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in Greenwich Village, precipitating the "Stonewall Riots" and the beginning of the gay liberation movement.

July 11: Harper Lee's novel of southern racism, *To Kill a Mockingbird,* is published.

July: The film *Easy Rider,* starring Peter Fonda and Dennis Hopper, opens.

August: Members of Charles Manson's "family" commit multiple murders, including the murder of actress Sharon Tate.

August 15–17: Almost half a million people watch many of the country's most famous singers and musicians perform at a festival in Woodstock, New York.

October 16: The "Amazin' Mets" complete their World Series triumph over the heavily favored Baltimore Orioles.

October 21: Jack Kerouac, author of *On the Road,* dies of alcoholism.

December 6: The Rolling Stones perform at the Altamont Music Festival in California; one person dies in a confrontation with members of the Hell's Angels motorcycle gang.

The Doors' Jim Morrison is arrested and charged with obscene actions while performing in Miami.

Delacorte Press publishes Kurt Vonnegut's novel *Slaughterhouse-Five.*

Neil Armstrong walks on the moon on July 20. Millions watch the event on television.

The film based on Arlo Guthrie's popular song by the same name, *Alice's Restaurant,* opens.

Overview

of the 1960s

Swingin' Sixties

NICKNAMES FOR DECADE, 1960–1969

The 1960s brought both increased comfort and growing social challenges. The increasingly urban economy proved healthy, improving quality of life for the majority of Americans. Salaries, corporate profits, increased use of credit and installment buying, and a strong stock market characterized the economic life of the decade.

Developments in health care held out the promise of a longer life, while Medicare and Medicaid made health care more accessible to millions of Americans. The 1960s initially seemed to most Americans like a new world, younger and more energetic. President John F. Kennedy and his family brought glamour, charm, and enthusiasm to the political scene. That spirit soon dissolved, however, as the president, his brother, and prominent civil rights leaders were assassinated.

Although democratic ideals spread through the Civil Rights and feminist movements, changes were often accompanied by social upheaval, including demonstrations and riots. More people viewed crime as a deeply ingrained threat to everyday peace and security. The Vietnam War, generally supported by Americans early in the decade, became a catalyst for powerful social protest. As the news media intensified its scrutiny of America's role in Vietnam, gruesome images of death and carnage filled the television airwaves, introducing many directly to the horrors of modern warfare.

THE ECONOMY AND HEALTH CARE

During the 1960s, Americans continued to move from farms and small towns into cities or suburbs, while many others already in cities opted to move out into the surrounding suburban communities. Most Americans benefited from the continuing economic expansion as the country shifted from an industrial economy to a postindustrial business and service economy less reliant on heavy industrial manufacturing.[1] Salaries tended to rise, with per capita income close to $4,000 by 1970, almost double what it had been 10 years before. Three-fourths of Americans in this robust economy owned their homes. Both household installment buying and car loans more than doubled during the decade, and the credit card became a common means of purchasing large and small items for most families.

Discount stores that purchased directly from manufacturers and featured high-volume sales, self-service, and low prices began to push aside traditional department stores. In 1962 alone, four major discount chains—Wal-Mart, Kmart, Target, and Woolco—opened.

As the decade approached its end, prices and interest rates began to rise, depressing the housing market, real earnings, and business profits. Unemployment increased. The economic despair felt by many average Americans increased the social anxiety raging across the nation.

Health care became more available to Americans in 1966, when Medicare and Medicaid programs went into effect. Approved by Congress and President Johnson in 1965 as an amendment to the Social Security Act of 1935, provided compulsory health insurance for all U.S. citizens 65 years old or older who were eligible for Social Security or Railroad Retirement benefits. Medicare also made available hospital insurance and, for a monthly premium, an optional medical insurance plan to cover physician and outpatient services. Medicaid provided medical assistance to low-income Americans.

The combination of prosperity and expanded social programs for the poor created advances in medical care. William Chardack developed the pacemaker in 1960. Eye surgery proved easier and safer with laser surgery, first used by Dr. Charles Campbell in 1962. In the same year, Valium became available as a muscle relaxant, helping to ease both physical and emotional pain. Soft contact lenses were invented in 1965. In 1963, Dr. Michael De Bakey invented an artificial heart to keep pumping blood while a patient underwent heart surgery. Four years later South African Christiaan Barnard performed the first successful heart transplant. By 1969, a Houston surgeon, Denton A. Cooley, was able to implanted an artificial heart in a patient.

The dangers of cigarette smoking became more evident during the 1960s, and many Americans tried to stop smoking. In 1964, the Surgeon



Dr. Benjamin Spock (center, foreground) leading march to the United Nations to demand a cease-fire in Vietnam, 1965. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

DR. BENJAMIN SPOCK (1903–1998)

As the oldest of six children born into a middle-class Connecticut family, Benjamin Spock found himself immersed in childcare at an early age. He later attended medical school and eventually specialized in pediatrics, drawing on his own childhood experience. Moved by the common difficulties he saw among young parents, Dr. Spock decided to write a baby care manual. His theory was simple; he believed that parents should use their "common judgment" and support their children's development on their own terms instead of relying on discipline. Spock's manual, published in 1946, was first titled *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care*. The title was changed in subsequent editions to *Baby and Child Care* and by 2004 was in its eighth edition (2004) as *Dr. Spock's Baby and Child Care,* co-authored by Dr. Robert Needlman. Dr. Spock's obituary in the *New York Times* on March 17, 1998, noted that Spock's first wife, Jane, played an active role in writing the book. He dedicated the fourth edition in 1976 was dedicated to her. Spock's baby care manual became the second best-selling non-fiction book after the Bible, and for 50 years Spock was among the leading voices in baby care. Some critics, however, blamed Spock for creating a generation of young adults who eschewed social order to pursue self-indulgent goals. Former Vice President Spiro Agnew led the criticism against Spock, saying that he helped to create an "undue permissiveness" in the new generation. Dr. Spock allied himself with the liberal, anti-war movement of the 1960s and took part in protests and demonstrations against the war in Vietnam, which furthered backlash against him. Spock couldn't see the benefit of protecting children who might later be killed in war. Until his death in 1998, Dr. Spock continued to write about child psychology, but his views became more conservative over time. He focused on what he saw as the decay of American morals. Spock's motivation, however, stemmed not so much from pursuing social conservatism as from concern for children's welfare, perhaps the constant strain that guided his life.

General's Report linked smoking to lung cancer and a number of other illnesses, including heart attacks. In 1965, national legislation required that a warning label be placed on tobacco products: "Caution: Cigarette smoking may be hazardous to your health."

Parents continued to look to the "baby doctor," Benjamin Spock, for assistance, as they had been doing since *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* first appeared in 1946. Renamed *Baby and Child Care,* the book still provided information about infant nutrition and illnesses while reassuring parents who were fearful of their new parental responsibilities. During the 1960s, some Americans accused Dr. Spock, who became a prominent activist against the war in Vietnam, of fostering rebellion by encouraging permissive child-rearing practices.

POLITICS AND POLITICAL LEADERS

John F. Kennedy was elected president in 1960 by a razor-thin margin over Richard Nixon. Kennedy, at 43, was the youngest man ever elected president and the first president born in the twentieth century. His stylish wife Jacqueline (almost universally referred to as Jackie) and their young children, John and Caroline, brought vigor and exuberance to the White House.

President Kennedy, aided by his brother Robert, who served as Attorney General, promised that the United States would put a man on the moon before the end of the decade, encouraged physical fitness, and embraced the Civil Rights Movement. The president's audacious goals for revitalizing America led to his presidency being labeled "Camelot," after the mythical land of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table.

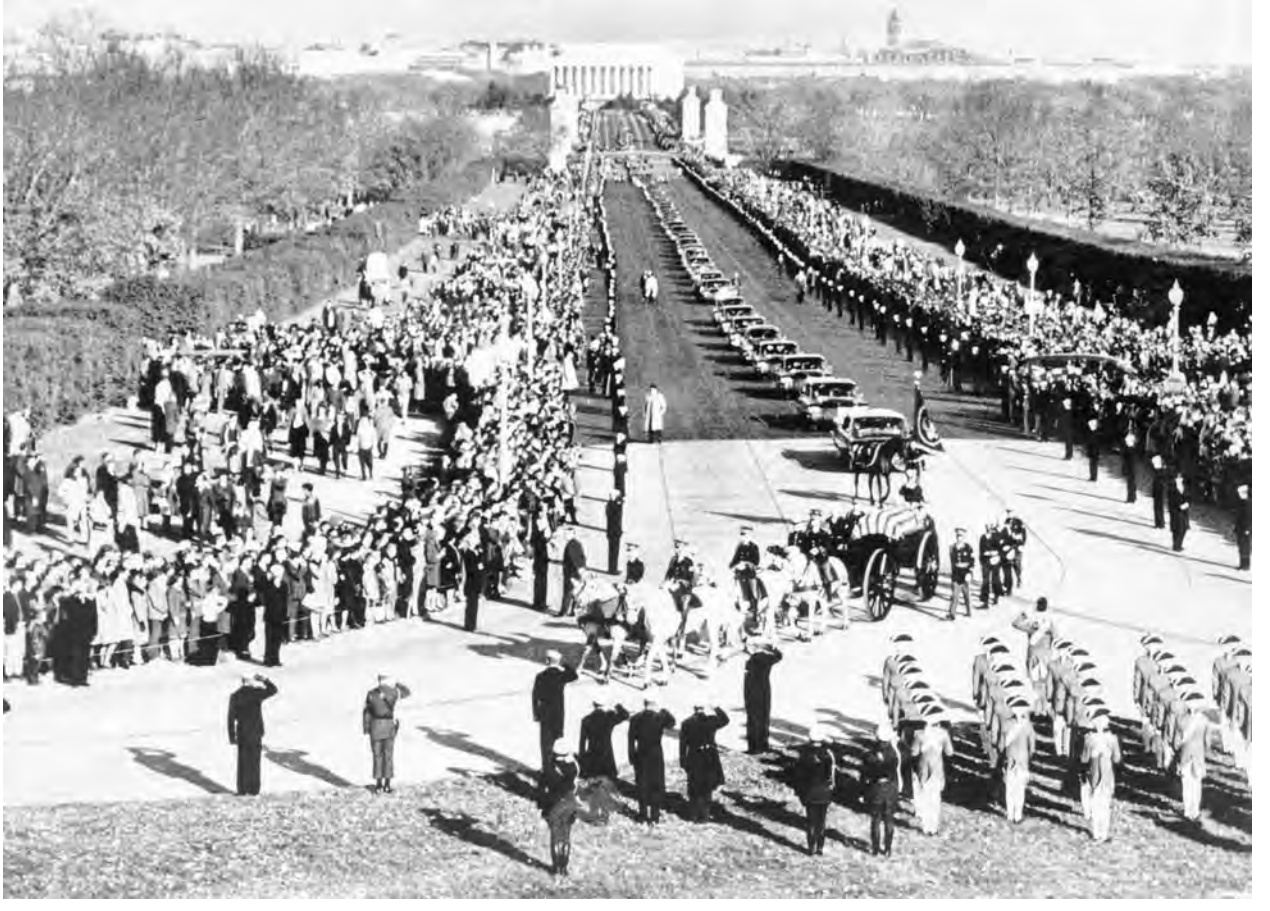
As television use increased during the 1960s, the telegenic Kennedys used the new medium to their advantage. In 1960, Kennedy performed calmly and confidently during the first-ever televised presidential debates to establish himself as a legitimate presidential candidate against the better known Richard Nixon. Later, Americans followed the First Lady on a televised tour of the White House. She also appeared regularly at cultural events and set fashion trends with her bouffant hairstyle and

pillbox hat. Meanwhile, millions of Americans were charmed by photographs of the president taking his family boating or playing with his children. President Kennedy understood the power of images and used the visual tactics at his disposal to set the tone for his administration.

On November 22, 1963, President Kennedy was assassinated while riding in an open limousine in Dallas, Texas. The event was traumatic for Americans because the First Family had become so much a part of their lives through television and the print media. Television stations covered Kennedy's funeral live, which ushered in a period of national mourning. Many Americans felt that a special time of youth, excitement, and promise had been snuffed out almost before it began.

Police officers soon apprehended President Kennedy's apparent assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald. Two days after his arrest, however, Dallas nightclub owner Jack Ruby burst through a crowd of reporters and television crews while Oswald faced transfer to another facility, shooting him at point-blank range. Oswald died in the attack, ironically caught on live television. Oswald's death, and the subsequent death of Ruby from cancer in 1967, left open many still debated conspiracy theories regarding the president's death—including that others, including Cuban dictator Fidel Castro, organized crime figures, and perhaps even government agents, might have been involved in the assassination.

Lyndon Baines Johnson succeeded Kennedy as president and inaugurated a series of Great Society programs meant to spread American prosperity to a wider number of people. The War on Poverty, for example, modeled after the Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal. Johnson sought to extend economic opportunity and justice. Johnson's efforts included the Food Stamp Act to help low-income families afford nutritious food; the



The caisson bearing the body of President Kennedy moves into National Cemetery, November 25, 1963. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

TIME MAGAZINE "MAN OF THE YEAR"

1960 U.S. Scientists

1961 John F. Kennedy (35th U.S. President)

1962 Pope John XXIII

1963 Martin Luther King Jr. (Civil Rights leader)

1964 Lyndon B. Johnson (36th U.S. President)

1965 General William C. Westmoreland (Army Chief of Staff)

1966 Twenty-Five and Under

1967 Lyndon B. Johnson (36th U.S. President)

1968 William Anders, Frank Borman, and James Lovell (astronauts)

1969 The Middle Americans

Economic Opportunity Act, which established the Job Corps and VISTA (a domestic version of the Peace Corps created under President Kennedy to assist underdeveloped nations); the Housing and Urban Development Acts to provide additional public housing and assistance in affording adequate housing; and the previously mentioned Medicare and Medicaid programs.

Few presidential campaigns have divided the public as much as the 1968 race for the White House, ultimately won by Nixon. The campaign was marked by a strong showing in the Democratic primaries by Senator Eugene McCarthy, who attracted vehement support from young voters who stood opposed to the Vietnam War; the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy, at the time a U.S. Senator from New York; widespread antiwar demonstrations at the Democratic Convention in Chicago; and a strong showing by segregationist George Wallace, Governor of Alabama, who carried five southern states in the general election. Americans split not only along party affiliation, but by age, race, views on women's rights, and the United States' foreign policy issues. For the rest of the decade, the generation gap and other manifestations of national divisiveness would haunt the nation.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Americans saw both African Americans and women differently in the 1960s, as both groups struggled to achieve equal opportunity in basic areas of daily life. While the modern Civil Rights Movement began in the 1950s, it accelerated in the 1960s.

Although many men and women were deeply involved in the movement, the most widely recognized leader was Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., He was a Baptist minister and head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He preached nonviolent resistance patterned after the Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi. King and his followers employed a wide range of nonviolent strategies, including boycotts, sit-ins, and marches. King's efforts included demonstrations in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963 that were met by brutal police repression and were widely reported on television news, leading to expanded popular support for the Civil Rights Movement. During the March on Washington in the same year, Dr. King gave his famous "I Have a Dream Speech" in front of the Lincoln Memorial, which presented his vision of a society in which all people would be judged by their character rather than their skin color. The speech quickly became one of the most famous moments in American history, taking its place with President Kennedy's Inaugural Speech as two 1960s speeches that countless Americans would revere, and schoolchildren would study and memorize.

On April 3, 1968, King gave his final speech, "I've Been to the Mountaintop," in which he described both his vision of the future and his belief that he would not live to see it. That prophecy came true the following day when he was shot and killed in Memphis, Tennessee.

The assassination of Dr. King by James Earl Ray, who was arrested and convicted of the murder, sparked riots in several cities and further divided the nation. Earlier race riots had occurred in Harlem in New York in 1964 and 1967, in the Watts section of Los Angeles in 1965, and in Detroit during the summer of 1967.

Many groups violently opposed the struggle for equal rights during the decade, including organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan. Many other politicians, individuals, and state government officials fought against civil rights activists, sometimes violently. Segregationists understood that the church was often the center of life in African American communities and was the center of civil



Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. addressing a crowd on a street in Lakeview, New York, May 12, 1965. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

rights planning. Consequently, there was a wave of church bombings, especially in Arkansas and Alabama. The most deadly attack was directed against the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, on September 15, 1963. Four girls, aged 10 to 14, died in their Sunday School classrooms. In 1964, three civil rights workers—Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman, both white, and James Chaney, an African American working with the National Association of Colored People (NAACP)—were murdered in Mississippi by Ku Klux Klan members. Medgar Evers, a prominent NAACP activist, was gunned down outside his home in Jackson, Mississippi, in 1963. These and other deaths contributed to both a clearer understanding of the dangers involved in the Civil Rights Movement and wider support for ending racial injustice.

Malcolm X (born Malcolm Little), a charismatic speaker who in 1964 left the black separatist organization the Nation of Islam, was murdered in 1965 by three African Americans who had ties to the Nation of Islam, although it was never proved that they were acting on behalf of the organization. Increasingly during the 1960s, segments of the African American community became more militant, often carrying out their struggle for justice under the Black Power slogan. A broad concept with an assortment of economic, educational, political, and social associations, Black Power often included a militant commitment to black nationalism, that is, African American advancement without reliance on white assistance and without much interest in integration.

The Black Panthers, inspired by Malcolm X, rejected the nonviolent, integrationist approach

of Dr. King. In 1966, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale founded the Black Panthers in North Oakland, California, naming the organization after an animal that combined blackness with a reputation for fierceness. The Black Panthers adopted a paramilitary style of clothing and demeanor. They focused on community service through social programs such as free breakfasts for school children. Committed to black nationalism, the organization grew more confrontational. In 1967 the Black Panthers were involved in a shootout with Oakland police that attracted a great deal of media attention. An officer was killed, and Newton, who was wounded, was convicted of manslaughter. His conviction was later overturned.

Despite the skepticism many African Americans felt toward government action, the federal government did take many strong stands in favor of equal rights during the 1960s. Important legislation included the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which outlawed racial segregation in public facilities and banned gender discrimination; ratification of the Twenty-Fourth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1964, prohibiting poll and other voting taxes; the Voting Rights Act of 1965, making literacy tests for voting illegal and authorizing federal examiners to register voters in federal and state elections; and the Civil Rights Act of 1968, which included several provisions to ensure fair housing practices.

African Americans were not alone, though, in seeking redress of conditions they considered illegal and unjust. The American Indian Movement (AIM) tried to focus the nation's attention on treaty violations. Founded in 1968 in Minneapolis, Minnesota, the organization pushed for stronger self-governing on Indian lands and for the U.S. government to uphold treaty agreements. To dramatize their demands, members of the organization and supporters temporarily occupied Alcatraz Island, site of the famous former prison, in 1969. A Sioux treaty, they claimed, required that unused federal land revert to Indian ownership.

On the whole, the American Indian civil rights efforts were much smaller in scope than efforts waged by African Americans. The federal government, however, did enact the American Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968 in an attempt to ensure that Native Americans living under tribal governments possessed the same civil right protections enjoyed by other Americans.

THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT

Gender joined race as a focus of civil rights struggle as women increasingly concluded that a variety of forces had kept them from realizing their potential. The resulting growth in the feminist movement brought about major changes in American society.

Betty Friedan, a graduate of Smith College and a middle-class housewife, felt in the 1950s that despite her marriage, children, and comfortable home, she missed something in life. Wondering whether other women had similar feelings, she mailed a questionnaire to other Smith graduates. The results of her survey and additional research convinced her that the root of the problem was in the feminine mystique, that is, the generally accepted view of the ideal woman as a person defined by marriage and motherhood. The result was her book *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), which argued that women lose their self-identity within such a definition and stop growing intellectually and emotionally.

Friedan's book propelled her into the forefront of the feminist movement. In 1966, she and other women formed the National Organization for Women (NOW). Friedan served as its initial president. Chapters rapidly formed throughout the country and advocated for changes in a number of common practices, such as help-wanted ads that stipulated hiring men only and airlines firing stewardesses (later called flight attendants) if they married or reached the age of 32. NOW published a bill of rights for women, argued for a woman's right to decide whether to have an abortion, and pushed the concept of equal pay for equal work regardless of gender.

Many significant changes occurred during the 1960s, at least partly in response to the feminist movement. Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act outlawed sex discrimination in businesses that employed 25 or more people, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) banned males-only (and females-only) advertisements in newspapers, women were permitted to rise in the

military beyond the rank of colonel, laws against abortion began to ease, and the word "sexism" moved permanently into the English lexicon to denote a pattern of ingrained discrimination against women.

During the 1960s, women's career paths became more varied, with expanding opportunities in business and the military, although pay disparities on the basis of gender remained. The federal government attempted to address the problem by passing the Equal Pay Act in 1963.

The popular media continued to portray women in traditional roles, as in television series such as *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* and *Leave It to Beaver.* Readers of such popular women's magazines as *McCall's* and *Ladies' Home Journal* would have seen little evidence of a feminist movement. Nonetheless, changes took place, and not only in the workplace. Women furthered their education in greater numbers, with bachelor's degrees conferred on women increasing between 1960 and 1970 from about 136,000 to 343,000, and master's degrees rising from approximately 26,000 to 83,000, laying the groundwork for subsequent gains by women.[2]

CRIME

Despite general prosperity and improvement in the quality of life, not all was well in the United States during the 1960s. In addition to conflict over civil rights and feminism, crime and war negatively impacted society at home and abroad.

The Kitty Genovese case symbolized a growing impersonality of modern urban society to many Americans. In the early morning of March 13, 1964, Kitty Genovese was attacked and murdered outside her New York City apartment building. Her calls for help lasted for 35 minutes and were ignored by other residents. The incident struck Americans as indicative of a society that had turned away from the concept of neighbors helping neighbors to a world in which individuals lived in fear and isolation, neither responding to others' troubles nor able to expect assistance for their own.

Increasingly, Americans, especially the elderly and those living alone in large cities, had come to view their apartments or houses as something akin to forts. Multiple door locks, window locks, and drawn window shades replaced open windows and evenings spent sitting on the front porch. The Genovese murder alerted Americans to the isolation in which many people lived and prompted a greater commitment to interacting with neighbors.

The decade also witnessed a number of horrific serial and mass killings that engendered widespread fear throughout the country. Albert DeSalvo, known as the "Boston Strangler," raped and killed 13 women from 1962 to 1964 in eastern Massachusetts. The crimes received national media coverage; DeSalvo was convicted only of robbery and rape, not of murder, and it remains questionable whether he committed the murders. In 1966, Charles Whitman murdered his mother and wife and then climbed to the top of a clock tower at the University of Texas in Austin. From his perch there he killed 13 more and wounded 31 before being shot to death by police.

In 1969, Americans were shocked by the brutal and bizarre murders carried out by Charles Manson and his followers in California, the victims including actress Sharon Tate, the pregnant wife of film director Roman Polanski. Fortunately, the murderers were apprehended and sentenced to prison terms before they could continue their attacks. The horrific nature of these crimes, the fact that they occurred across the United States, and the massive media attention given them ended for millions of Americans the feeling that "it couldn't happen here."

Amid the public perception that criminal violence threatened the safety of average Americans, the Supreme Court issued a controversial decision affirming the rights of the accused, specifically the right against self-incrimination. Their decision stemmed from the case of Ernesto Miranda, a 23-three-year-old man arrested on suspicion of kidnapping and rape. After two hours of questioning by police, Miranda confessed and ultimately was convicted. He appealed the verdict all the way to the Supreme Court, which ruled that the rights to remain silent and have an attorney present during questioning were fundamental to preserving the Fifth Amendment protection against self-incrimination. The decision was by a five-to-four majority vote of the Court. Henceforth,

police were obliged to "Mirandize" a suspect before questioning. That is, they had to inform the individual of his or her basic rights to remain silent, have an attorney present, and be provided with an attorney if he or she could not afford one, along with the caution that anything the suspect said may be used against him or her in court. This Miranda warning became well known to most Americans through police shows on television. Meanwhile, many Americans felt that the warnings went too far in protecting criminals rather than victims of crimes.

Statistics seemed to support the impression that Americans were more in danger of criminal violence during the 1960s than they had been in the past. The rate of violent crimes, in fact, grew sharply. From 1960 to 1970, rates of aggravated assault, rape, and murder or manslaughter nearly doubled to 163, 19, and 8 per 100,000 people. In addition, the rate for robberies increased from 60 to 171.[3]

Crime was increasingly perceived by Americans not only as actions by individuals or small groups of people against isolated victims and businesses, but as an evil embedded in the fabric of society. The extent to which organized crime had become rooted in the United States became visible to Americans when Joe Valachi, a member of the Genovese crime family, testified before a Senate committee. He described how the Mafia, also known as the Cosa Nostra, was organized in crime families throughout the country and carried out its gambling, extortion, and other illegal activities through legitimate companies and with the assistance of corrupt politicians and government figures.

Americans, though, felt much more frightened of street crime and random violence than of organized crime, which remained largely hidden to most Americans. The rise in crime and random violence in many ways mirrored what they witnessed on the nightly news, increasingly in films, and on television.

WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

At the beginning of the 1960s, fewer than 800 U.S. military personnel operated in Vietnam.[4] Military advisors, most famously the Special Forces (popularly known as the Green Berets), counseled the Vietnamese in a variety of areas, from military strategy to methods of improving the country's agriculture, health care, and finances. Americans also trained Vietnamese military and instructed them in communications, intelligence gathering, and use of weapons. They believed that these efforts would enable South Vietnam to develop the ability to retain its independence from communist North Vietnam. The other countries in the former Indochina, Laos, and Cambodia, also faced communist threats.

At the time of President Kennedy's assassination, the number of American military in Vietnam jumped to 16,000. However, civil unrest in South Vietnam began to make the evening news back home in the United States. Although Americans were horrified by some of the scenes they viewed on television, most still largely supported the war effort, which they believed would contain the spread of communism. Supporting their president and nation in time of war was



During the Vietnam War, an Army chemical warfare specialist emerges from checking a Viet Cong tunnel, 1966. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

the traditionally patriotic approach, and that remained the case through the middle of the decade. Thus, there was little opposition to President Lyndon Johnson's appeal for congressional support in early August of 1964 when two American destroyers apparently came under attack by North Vietnamese torpedo boats in the Gulf of Tonkin. The U.S. Congress, with just two senators in opposition, passed the Tonkin Gulf Resolution on August 7. The resolution granted President Johnson the authority to "take all necessary measures to repel an armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression." The open-ended wording permitted Johnson to carry out an undeclared war largely as he saw fit.

Between 1964 and 1968, the United States moved from an advisory role to spearheading the military action against North Vietnam and the guerrilla forces in the South known as the Viet Cong. As 1968 began, close to half a million U.S. military personnel were in Vietnam, and over 16,000 Americans had been killed in the conflict. The Viet Cong proclaimed a cease-fire in conjunction with the annual three-day Vietnamese holiday known as Tet, scheduled to begin on January 30; however, they instead infiltrated cities and towns across South Vietnam and launched waves of attacks. North Vietnamese units joined the Tet Offensive in selected cities. Viet Cong even entered the U.S. Embassy compound in Saigon.

The communist assaults were repelled, in some cases with great loss of American lives, and the Viet Cong as a coherent military force was largely destroyed. Although a military defeat for the communist forces, the Tet Offensive proved a psychological and public relations victory for them. Millions of Americans concluded that American forces were unable to secure even the largest cities of South Vietnam. Images like the one by AP photographer Eddie Adams of General Nguyen Ngoc Loan executing a Viet Cong suspect with a pistol shot point-blank at his head further aroused opposition to the war. Many people questioned whether the Vietnamese government deserved the American support.

President Richard Nixon responded to the growing loss of public support for American involvement by beginning a process of demilitarization, gradually turning over primary responsibility for carrying out combat actions to the South Vietnamese. This policy increased scrutiny on the administration's policies and actually led to greater protest by antiwar demonstrators, particularly on America's college campuses.

In 1969, Americans at home learned that U.S. soldiers had massacred large numbers of Vietnamese civilians at a village called My Lai the previous year. Estimates of the number of victims ranged from 200 to 500. While large numbers of Americans were angered by the incident at My Lai, they also were greatly disturbed by rising death tolls. In the spring of 1969, the number of U.S. military personnel in Vietnam peaked at close to 550,000. Nixon's Vietnamization plan reduced that total to about 475,000 by the end of the year, at which point over 40,000 Americans had been killed in the conflict.

Attitudes toward patriotism and supporting the nation in wartime changed. The demand to end the war grew as a more critical attitude spread among Americans of all ages. Many felt that they should not blindly support American foreign policy. The soldier, traditionally a hero, fell in stature. Many Americans blamed all soldiers for what some had done, while others associated soldiers with drugs. For the first time in American history, returning veterans were often



The peace symbol. Courtesy of Shutterstock.

THE PEACE SYMBOL

The "peace symbol," as it is known in the United States, is one of the most widely recognized symbols in the world. The design is credited to British artist Gerald Holtom, a member of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), who combined graphic representations of the semaphore signals for the letters "N" and "D," to stand for nuclear disarmament. The symbol emerged in 1958 and was used by the CND in marches and demonstrations. The person often credited with making the CND logo part of the U.S. anti-war movement is Bayard Rustin, a friend and associate of Martin Luther King Jr. Rustin brought the symbol to the United States, where he took part in civil rights demonstrations. The "peace symbol," as it soon came to be known, was co-opted by the American counterculture in the late 1960s, and was co-opted as a symbol for the anti-violence and anti-war movements. Some soon came to hate the symbol for its association with 60s youth culture and dissent. Members of the American armed forces sometimes called it the "footprint of the great American chicken." Because the symbol was never copyrighted, it has often been used by designers and commercial artists for commercial gain. While the idea of turning a symbol of political action into a simple designer pattern may have angered some in the anti-war movement, it is symbolic of a pervasive phenomenon in American consumer culture—that any idea, even "peace," may be used to turn a profit.

treated poorly by the civilian population. Many Vietnam veterans found it difficult to find a job because employers were concerned about drug use, worried about veterans' emotional stability, or simply transferred feelings about the war to the returning soldiers.

THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

Shortly after taking office in 1961, President Kennedy was faced with a plan developed by the Eisenhower administration for overthrowing Cuban dictator Fidel Castro. Kennedy approved the plan and on April 17, 1961, an invasion force of Cuban exiles went ashore at the Bay of Pigs. Quickly defeated, the invasion marked an embarrassing beginning in foreign affairs for the new president.

In the aftermath of the Bay of Pigs incident, President Kennedy urged Americans to take steps to protect themselves in case of attack, and encouraged them to construct fallout shelters. Many companies offered underground shelters ranging from simple concrete block constructions to elaborate facilities that could comfortably house a whole family behind termite-proof walls and twelve-gauge corrugated metal doors. Top-of-the-line shelters included not only furniture and appliances but pool tables, wine cellars, and other conveniences of home. While waiting to put their shelters into official use during an atomic war, many families used the rooms as recreation rooms or children's playhouses.

By October 1962, Cuba was even more on the minds of Americans as a nuclear war with the Soviet Union seemed a distinct possibility. Premier Nikita Khrushchev of the Soviet Union deployed two dozen nuclear-armed ballistic missiles in Cuba. On October 22, 1962, President Kennedy announced a quarantine of the island, with American ships ready to confront any vessels carrying offensive weapons.

With Soviet ships en route to Cuba and a confrontation looming, Americans feared nuclear war. Many individuals prayed, churches held prayer services, and families stockpiled food and supplies. While the Kennedy Administration sought a solution during the agonizing six-day period, citizens prepared for war. Finally, Khrushchev agreed to dismantle the missiles. The United States gave a collective sigh of relief, having perhaps come closer to a nuclear war than at any other time in its history.

THE FAMILY, RELIGION, AND VALUES

The 1960s witnessed intense upheaval in many areas that had been stabile for most of the nation's history. The various issues involving the Vietnam

War and the rights of women and minorities, the political turmoil of the 1968 presidential election, changing sexual standards, increased drug use, and radically different styles in clothes, put great strain not only on the country as a whole but also on individual families.

Moral and religious issues, played out in a variety of behavioral patterns, were often at the heart of family conflicts. Sexual freedom, including pre-marital sex, multiple sexual relationships, and unmarried couples living together, proved difficult for many parents to tolerate, let alone accept. Drug use also caused a great deal of family dissension.

Established religion lost much of its hold on young people in the 1960s. Those who did search for spiritual insights often traveled unconventional paths, such as into drugs and religious cults. In addition, church institutions and worshippers sought to bring about fundamental changes in organized religions. Religions began to view themselves as more closely linked to this life, and sharp divisions between clergy and laity weakened.

Roman Catholics watched the deliberations of the Second Vatican Council called by Pope John XXIII in 1962. By the time the council concluded its deliberations in 1965, there was a new pope, Paul VI, and the Catholic Church would never be the same. Lay people began to play a greater role in the church, the traditional practice of going to confession declined, the altar was turned around so that the priest faced parishioners, and Catholics were able to eat meat on non-Lenten Fridays. One of the most difficult issues for Catholics in the 1960s involved birth control. Although the Catholic Church continued to prohibit artificial means of birth control, including condoms and the pill, many Catholic women of childbearing age chose to practice birth control during at least part of their married lives.

Many Protestant groups also modernized. They were less inclined to interpret the Bible literally, more inclined to engage in ecumenical functions with Catholics, and grew interested in the Social Gospel, focusing on the poor and those deprived of basic human rights. African American churches particularly stood at the forefront of the Civil Rights Movement, with some of the most famous clergymen of the decade, such as Martin Luther King Jr., coming from the Southern Baptist tradition. Many churches in the Catholic and Protestant traditions began to offer social services to the poor in their communities, providing food and clothes for those in need.

Jewish Americans also became more involved in modern movements, especially Civil Rights. The Six-Day War between Israel and some of its primarily Moslem neighbors boosted Jewish Americans' sense of Jewish identity.

Social consciousness kept some young people involved in the established religions, but many older Americans sharply disagreed with the modernizing trends and what they saw as a shift from spiritual to political and social concerns.

With so many changes in American society, many families found it increasingly difficult to function as they had before. Children and parents found themselves disagreeing over many areas of everyday life. Even when family members were not at odds, they were apt to go their separate ways much of the time because mothers were more likely to work outside the home, multiple cars allowed children to drive to school or play, and fathers often worked a greater distance from home.

Advertising

of the 1960s

Several social and technological changes, along with a new advertising philosophy, came together to make the 1960s a golden age in advertising, ultimately changing advertising forever. Teenagers and young adults increasingly turned away from their parents' generation in many ways, including political, moral, and sexual attitudes. They adopted new clothing styles, hairstyles, and new fashions. They prided themselves on being anti-consumer, but that attitude was more wishful thinking than reality. Advertisers built their marketing strategies on the younger generation's desire for change.

At the same time, major developments in technology made it possible to market products more effectively. In 1950, fewer than four million households in the United States had televisions. By the middle of the 1960s, the total had risen to over 50 million,[1] and by the middle of the decade, color television replaced black and white programming.

The maturation of the 35-millimeter single-lens camera permitted photographers to do location shooting more easily and cheaply than before, freeing them from studio settings. Polaroid cameras allowed photographers to run quick lighting checks. Television crews had more mobile equipment, including hand-held cameras, to permit more flexibility in selecting locations.

As the 1960s opened, most advertising agencies still retained their old in-house structural division between art directors and copywriters, but by the end of the decade, the two groups worked together as a creative team.

THE NEW MARKETS

Advertisers in the 1960s inherited a largely conservative consumer public. Most American buyers tended to consider their purchases carefully. Older buyers especially, their financial conservatism grounded in the Great Depression, required serious demonstration of need to purchase a particular object. They were likely to stay with brands and styles, although automobile manufacturers had made inroads in changing the way consumers viewed new products. Men were especially conservative in clothing and usually wore their clothes until they actually wore out. Young parents inherited children's clothes from relatives and friends and often passed the clothes on to other children. This approach to buying did not make for a dynamic world of consumers, and it tended toward conformity.

Then along came the new, young generation of the 1960s. At the beginning of the decade almost one-half of Americans were 25 or younger, and the trend toward a youthful population continued.[2]

ADVERTISING SLOGANS OF THE 1960S

"You can trust your car to the man who wears the star," Texaco, 1962*

"Fly the friendly skies," United Airlines, 1965

"How about a nice Hawaiian Punch?," Hawaiian Punch, 1962

"Ring around the collar," Wisk detergent, 1968*

"Let Hertz put you in the driver's seat," Hertz, 1961*

"Who's that behind those Foster Grants?" Foster Grant, 1965*

"We try harder," Avis car rental, 1963*

"The Pepsi generation," Pepsi-Cola, 1964*

"Please don't squeeze the Charmin," Charmin, 1964*

"Mama Mia! That's a spicy meatball!" "Plop, plop, fizz, fizz, oh, what a relief it is;" "I can't believe I ate the whole thing;" and "Try it, you'll like it," Alka-Seltzer, 1960s; 1970s*

"You've come a long way, baby," Virginia Slims cigarettes, 1968

"Nothin' says lovin' like bakin' in the oven," Pillsbury, 1965

"Things go better with Coke," Coca-Cola, 1963

"Cuckoo for Cocoa Puff," Cocoa Puffs, early 1960s

"Two Scoops of Raisins," Kellogg's Raisin Bran cereal, late 1960s

"Weiner Song," Oscar Meyer, 1963

"Betcha can't eat just one," Lay's Potato Chips, early 1960s

"You can trust your car to the man who wears the star," 1962

"Let your fingers do the walking," AT&T Yellow Pages, early 1960s

"The Great American Chocolate Bar," Hershey's, 1969

"Uh-oh, SpaghettiO's," SpaghettiOs, 1965

*Among *Advertising Age's* 100 Best Ads of 20th Century. http://adage.com/century/.

In addition, America's young were also changing in attitude, rejecting many social, moral, and political beliefs of their parents' generation. The younger generation felt that advertising was essentially fraudulent and manipulative. The mass conformity of society, in their view, resulted from both manipulation and intellectual stagnation. The young saw themselves as anti-consumer and anti-advertising.

Feeling a need to rebel against what they saw as a restrictive set of social norms, and determined to assert their individuality, millions of young Americans turned to new styles in clothing, eating, and entertainment. Change became good, static conformity bad. The young turned toward the new and then the newer. The advertising world dubbed the young of the 1960s "The Now Generation."

Advertisers and manufacturers recognized the Now Generation as a major consumer market. The "throwaway" world came with them, from disposable diapers to clothes discarded because they were out of style. To appeal to the young, agencies took out ads in underground newspapers and magazines. They introduced psychedelic graphics and used long-haired models in hip clothing. Rock music provided background to commercials that attempted to make consumer goods more interesting. While fostering this new consumerism, advertisers offered their products as anti-consumer, antiestablishment, and anticonformity. "New and improved" became an omnipresent slogan.

Advertisements by the J. Walter Thompson agency proclaimed 7-Up the "Uncola" and trumpeted the drink amid psychedelic butterflies and sunrises, even describing it as "Wet and Wild" to appeal to the sexual revolution. Pontiac ads imitated the film Bonnie and Clyde; young men and women dressed like the famous outlaws emerged from a bank robbery and made their escape in a 1930s Packard that they quickly exchanged for a new Pontiac Firebird convertible.

The concepts "young," "counterculture," and "creative" became virtually synonymous within advertising agencies in the 1960s. To be creative was to think young. To think young was to identify with the young counterculture. By the mid-1960s, advertisers were aiming a youthful image more at older generations than the young themselves.

After all, those who weren't young could act and think young by buying the right car, wearing the right clothing styles, cooking in the right oven, buying the right anything. Advertisers understood the reality that despite the huge population of young Americans, most of the money was still in the adults' pocketbooks.

Hip advertising appeared regularly in such mainstream magazines as *Life, Look,* and even *Ladies Home Journal.* Cars were an obvious way to appeal to people's desire to act and think young. Batten, Barton, Durstine, and Osborn (BBDO) invited drivers to catch "Dodge Fever." The Oldsmobile was billed as the "Youngmobile;" in commercials, buyers were summoned to the music of guitars and tambourines and the invitation to "escape from the ordinary." The transforming power of the Ford Mustang was much heralded; it was the car that could turn humdrum citizens into exciting men and women of the world.

Men and women were told in advertisements and commercials for almost every conceivable type of product to think young and reject the blandishments of mass consumer society. Collectors of S&H Green Stamps were assured that "with this little square you swing." Booth's House of Lords gin was the "nonconformist gin." Tareyton smokers were so determined to assert their individuality that they "would rather fight than switch." Consumers were assured that they were ignoring "the ad man" when they purchased a Fisher stereo.

Advertising to Women and Minorities

Despite the advertising agencies' infatuation with counterculture, the women's liberation movement, or "feminism" as it was commonly called in the 1960s, was not part of marketing strategy until the end of the decade. Then agencies began to target the new woman, often with decidedly traditional products in mind. For example, J. Walter Thompson had its client Pond change the color of its hand lotion from traditional white to pink, and its wearers were shown in such nontraditional feminine activities as applying a blowtorch to a sculpture or working on a motorcycle.

Another product marketed to liberated women was the Virginia Slims extra-long cigarette manufactured by Philip Morris. The long, slim cigarette was featured in Leo Burnett advertisements and commercials with trim, beautiful women stylishly attired. "You've come a long way, baby, to get where you've got to today," women were told when the Virginia Slims brand was introduced in 1968. Presumably, the long way toward liberation included smoking long cigarettes while remaining essentially sex objects.

Also in the 1960s African Americans began to be recognized as important consumers. Although idealism regarding equal rights played a role in some marketing strategies, the primary reason for targeting African Americans was expressed in the title of the book *The $30 Billion Negro,* published in 1969. The African American author, D. Parke Gibson, who ran an advertising firm, made a compelling case for bringing African Americans into the marketing equation. Gibson pointed out that during the late 1960s, African Americans, then still often referred to as Negroes, were spending over $30 billion on goods and services.[3] The African American community consisted of six million families. Approximately 40 percent of these families owned their own homes, over 50 percent owned at least one car, and 75 percent of African American households had one or more television sets. African Americans made up 11 percent of the total U.S. population and 92 percent of the nonwhite U.S. population. Further, nonwhites constituted approximately 75 percent of the global population, so a changed attitude toward attracting nonwhite consumers at home promised the possibility of even larger markets abroad.

Initially, most advertising to African American consumers occurred in black publications and on black-audience radio stations. *Ebony* magazine was the favorite with advertisers attempting to reach the best educated and most affluent members of the population. The news weekly *Jet,* a homemaker's magazine called *Tan,* and *Negro Digest* provided avenues for advertising, as did *Tuesday,* a monthly magazine supplement for largely white-oriented Sunday newspapers and other publications.

Advertisements in these African American outlets involved many of the same products and marketing themes found in ads placed in white markets. The major difference lay in use of African American models. Clairol, for example, continued

promoting hair coloring with its famous line—"Does she…or doesn't she?" This provocative question was quickly followed-up with, "Hair Color so natural only her hairdresser knows for sure!" Not surprisingly, the other famous question in Clairol ads, "Is it true blondes have more fun?" was dropped in black-oriented advertising.

Pepsi-Cola was losing a lot of African American consumers to Coca-Cola in the early 1960s. The company hired Harvey C. Russell as vice president for special markets in 1962. At that time, Russell was the highest-ranking African American executive in a major U.S. business firm. New marketing strategies for the African American consumer followed. Pepsi advertisements, for example, were among the first to feature a woman with an Afro hairstyle. Recognizing that African Americans averaged 10 years younger than the national population, Pepsi increased its sales by emphasizing the theme it also used nationally: "Now It's Pepsi—for Those Who Think Young."

Reflecting some advertising courage, Greyhound took the image of the bus, a symbol of segregation in the South, and tried to make it an instrument for integration. Rosa Parks had refused to move to the back of a bus, setting in motion a major component of the Civil Rights Movement. (See Overview of the 1950s.) "Freedom Riders" rode buses south to take up the cause of racial justice. Then, in the 1960s, Greyhound Lines embarked on a minority hiring plan, bringing in African Americans including a high-ranking sales executive, salespeople, and drivers. The former Brooklyn Dodgers pitcher, Joe Black, one of the first African Americans to play major league baseball, signed on as a vice president and special markets representative. By 1964, African American drivers were operating buses in the South. Meanwhile, Greyhound was also a pioneer in integrated advertising in both white and black publications, with ads showing black and white passengers being welcomed aboard by a black driver.

Some companies advertised their products in campaigns that used African American history, an important effort at a time when most schoolchildren, black and white, knew little if anything about the important historical contributions of black Americans. Among the companies and campaigns were American Oil's *American Traveler's Guide to Negro History,* National Distillers' (maker of Old Taylor whiskey) *Ingenious Americans,* Pepsi-Cola's *Adventures in Negro History,* and Scott Paper's *Distaff to History.* The Scott Paper Company booklet featured important African American women and proved so popular that it was serialized in newspapers. The Pepsi materials were adopted by more than 500 school systems. All of these Negro History programs were widely disseminated.

THE CREW CUT CROWD AND OTHER ADVERTISING PHENOMENA

Advertisers used hip attitudes and details of style to market a think-and-act-young mentality to not only the young but to more affluent older Americans. Most advertisers tended to ignore the large number of young people who didn't buy into the counterculture, but there were some exceptions.

When Young and Rubicam took on the Peace Corps as a client in the late 1960s, the agency essentially advertised against the counterculture. One commercial for the Peace Corps used the song "Age of Aquarius" from the musical *Hair* and an image of a disembodied head of a long-haired man in the stars. The voiceover stated, "it's one thing to predict the future; it's another to help make it." The point was that the Peace Corps solved real problems in the real world. A radio ad in 1968 featured a mother urging her son to act like everyone else and get out and demonstrate. "Anybody that would join the Peace Corps," she warned her son, "is a troublemaker." The ad turned the counterculture opposition to mass conformity on its head, and implied that the real individual was the young man or woman who joined the Peace Corps.

David Ogilvy ran a major, and certainly unique, advertising agency in the 1960s. He paid close attention to market research and rejected humor in his commercials and ads, claiming that no one wanted to buy products from a clown. In his own individualistic way he produced a number of creative and effective efforts. One of Ogilvy's most famous print advertisements was for Rolls Royce. A photograph of the automobile took up the top half of the page, and a lot of text detailing the

many advantages of a Rolls Royce the bottom. The most memorable portion of the ad, though, was the quotation right below the picture: "At 60 miles an hour the loudest noise in this new Rolls-Royce comes from the electric clock."

Research remained important during the 1960s, although industry increasingly came to agree with Bill Bernbach that good research, while helpful, was less important than creativity. There were some new directions in research. The old determiners of potential buyers were demographics, social class, and psychological characteristics. To this mix were added lifestyle patterns relating to attitudes, feelings, work habits, and leisure activities.

Products had been marketed to children for decades, but in the 1960s researchers took a closer look at how to approach children, sometimes at the behest of advertising agencies and in other cases to warn against misleading children (and their parents) into unwise purchases. Strong protests against advertising directed toward children began in the second half of the decade.

Researchers found that the children most susceptible to advertising were below thirteen years of age; teens had learned that products in advertisements and commercials often turned out to be different in real life. Advertisers learned that effective approaches included depicting children wanting specific toys or specific brands rather than generalized products. Children responded more strongly to moving pictures than still pictures, and to action verbs rather than nouns. Making acquisition of a particular toy or other desirable product contingent on purchasing a product (which might include, for example, a required coupon) continued to be common. An image of a child enjoying a product was another successful advertising gambit.

Also during the 1960s, advertisers came under legal scrutiny for misleading advertising. One of the most prominent cases involved Colgate's Rapid Shave. A television commercial showed Rapid Shave making it easy to shave the sand from sandpaper. It turned out that instead of sandpaper, the commercial had used a sheet of Plexiglas with loose sand on it. The sand pulled easily down the sheet of Plexiglas, leaving a bare swath. The Federal Trade Commission ruled the commercial misleading and issued a cease-and-desist order on December 29, 1961. Bates and Colgate strongly contested the ruling, claiming that it would preclude all substitute materials in advertising. After several lower court rulings, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in support of the FTC on April 6, 1965.

SUPERSTARS OF ADVERTISING: BILL BERNBACH AND MARY WELLS

William Bernbach (1911–1982) and Mary Wells (1928–)were the two most important members of the advertising world during the 1960s. Bernbach, co-founder of Doyle Dane Bernbach, may well have been the most important advertising executive in the industry's history.

Bernbach was born in 1911 in New York City and attended New York University. He was working in the mailroom of Schenley Distillers when



Working on a layout in his office, Bill Bernbach, legendary co-founder of Doyle Dane Bernbach. © Bettmann/CORBIS.

he submitted an advertisement to the company's advertising department. The ad was eventually used in *The New York Times,* although the identity of its creator wasn't known at the time. Bernbach claimed authorship and was rewarded with a salary raise and a transfer to the advertising department.

After serving in the army during World War II, Bernbach joined Grey Advertising and eventually became creative director. Grey was one of the more creative and flexible of the large advertising agencies; for example, Grey broke with most of its competitors by hiring Italians, Jews, and other religious and ethnic minorities. In this relatively open environment, Bernbach cultivated his then radical advertising philosophy, arguing that making a persuasive ad was more art than science.

In 1949, Bernbach joined with Maxwell Dane and Ned Doyle to form Doyle Dane Bernbach (DDB), with Bernbach as president. He implemented changes that soon spread throughout the industry, including the consolidation of the art and copywriting functions into one department. At Doyle Dane Bernbach, a creative team worked together to create an advertisement in which text and visuals complemented each other. Writers and artists became the powers within advertising, with corresponding increases in their salaries. The account executive was no longer chief decision-maker, and marketing research and media analysis became secondary to creativity.

Doyle Dane Bernbach hit it big with its first account, which was for a bargain department store named Ohrbach's. DDB transformed Ohrbach's image into that of a sophisticated store, significantly improving both its clientele and its revenue. Then came Volkswagen and Avis, two of DDB's most famous accounts. The resulting advertising campaigns were enormously successful and securely established the firm's reputation.

In addition, DDB created political ads on behalf of the Lyndon Johnson presidential campaign of 1964. In one of the most famous political ads in history, a young girl plucks petals from a flower while counting from one to nine. Then a male voice counts backward as the camera closes on the child's right eye, which yields to a picture of a nuclear explosion. The final voiceover warns voters to "Vote for President Johnson on November third. The stakes are too high for you to stay home." Although it never mentioned Republican candidate Barry Goldwater by name, the ad powerfully reinforced the sense many held that Goldwater was trigger-happy and might lead the United States into a nuclear war.



Advertisement in the very successful campaign created by Doyle Dane Bernbach, "You Don't Have to Be Jewish to Love Levy's," shows comedian Godfrey Cambridge with a sandwich made with Levy's Jewish rye bread. Others in the series included a Native American man and an Asian boy. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

One DDB copywriter in the Hall of Fame is Mary Wells, probably the second most important advertising figure of the 1960s. Wells, after serving as fashion advertising manager for Macy's department store, joined the McCann-Erickson advertising agency in 1953. In 1956, she joined Doyle Dane Bernbach, eventually becoming copy chief and a vice president. In 1964, she moved to Jack Tinker and Partners, where she teamed with

artist Stewart Greene and copywriter Richard Rich to develop award-winning television commercials that made effective use of humor, a Wells trademark. Major accounts for Wells at Tinker and Partners included Alka-Seltzer and Braniff Airlines. The Alka-Seltzer commercials established another important creative relationship for Wells, with the director Howard Zieff.

Wells, Rich, and Greene formed their own agency in 1966, with Wells as president, and the new firm, Wells, Rich, Greene, Inc. (WRG), helped define advertising for the rest of the decade and beyond. As DDB had done earlier, WRG made creative use of self-putdowns for clients' products. Advertisements for Alka-Seltzer included the famous line "I Can't Believe I Ate the Whole Thing." Wells again worked with Howard Zieff, a widely acclaimed director of commercials in the 1960s. Zieff also directed WRG's memorable "Driving School" commercial for American Motors, in which the driving instructor encountered one disastrous student after another, and the "Little Italy" spot for American Motors that starred a young Robert DeNiro.

Architecture

of the 1960s

The 1960s featured enormous variety in architecture, with no single theme or set of principles dominating. As the decade opened, the major influences on architecture were older architects, and as the decade ended there were increasing attempts to incorporate classic architecture into modern buildings and to preserve the great buildings of America's past.

Three giants from earlier decades still held sway over much of architectural thought as the 1960s opened—Frank Lloyd Wright, Walter Gropius, and Le Corbusier (Charles–Édouard Jeanneret)—although Wright had died in 1959, Le Corbusier would die in 1965, and Gropius would die in 1969. Wright followed an organic approach, which reflected his belief that a building should rise out of its environment and remain part of it. Gropius helped to establish the International Style, which featured industrial designs and a focus on the building's purpose and later served on the Harvard University faculty. Le Corbusier, like Gropius, took a "modern" approach to architecture, and thought of buildings as machines that consisted of an interplay of geometric forms. Le Corbusier sought to define buildings as strictly human constructions separate from the natural world.

Mies van der Rohe and Philip Johnson continued the modern international style, the former especially influential because of his position as director of the Illinois Institute of Technology, as well as designer of several of the school's buildings. Mies's architectural style descended directly from Gropius and had considerable influence on Johnson's early career. Other important architects in the 1960s included Richard Neutra, whose efforts to integrate houses into their natural environment, especially in California, echoed Wright's philosophy, and Utzon Saarinen, whose TWA terminal at New York's Kennedy Airport seemed to many viewers to resemble a bird ready to take flight.

Much was happening in the 1960s. Urban renewal raised issues of fair housing for the poor. Changes in transportation, roads, and inner cities shifted increasing numbers of people into suburbs, and businesses followed. Shopping centers grew in numbers and diversified in form. With prosperity widespread, but hardly universal in the 1960s, additional office space was required. Renewed emphases on educational opportunity and the arts led to new schools and museums. The Second Vatican Council changed the way Catholics worshipped, and new types of churches that brought

parishioners into closer contact with the celebrant were required.

LEADING FIGURES OF AMERICAN ARCHITECTURE

Louis Kahn and Robert Venturi were the two most important architects of the 1960s because of the buildings they created and how those buildings reflected their attitudes. Kahn expressed a serious social conscience and believed that architecture should speak to the people. Venturi put into practice his conviction that art should imitate life. His architectural designs embodied an array of ways in which everyday Americans lived, including strip malls, neon signs, and even trash cans.

Louis Kahn

Louis I. Kahn's (1901–1974) social consciousness, pluralism regarding architectural traditions, combination of theory and practice, and influence on younger architects reflected the spirit of the 1960s and helped shape architecture for the rest of the century. Kahn moved with his family from Estonia to the United States in 1905. He studied music and painting before earning a degree in architecture from the University of Pennsylvania, where he studied under Paul Cret, a Beaux-Arts classicist. (The Beaux-Arts, or Second Empire style, usually featured a square plan, classic detail, mansard roof, and considerable use of columns, among other characteristics.) Kahn later traveled in Europe, held a fellowship to the American Academy in Rome, and taught at Yale University and the University of Pennsylvania. Kahn's education and travels encouraged an openness to different styles and influences.

Much of Kahn's early work centered on improving public housing, and anticipated the concern in the 1960s for public housing that would more sensitively respect the occupants' individuality.

Kahn believed in spaces that followed a natural order of importance in a building. His view of a primal, or central, space ordering the surrounding spaces and offering limitless possibilities gave his architectural followers great freedom and fit the spirit of the 1960s.

Incorporating the traditional and contemporary into his work, Kahn felt that a building should reflect connections, including human connections inspired by the building. Light was a major interest for Kahn, who believed that humans gravitate toward light. Kahn also believed that architecture should come from the people and speak clearly to the people, an attitude that meshed well with the political and social "power to the people" movements of the 1960s. Kahn created one of his best known buildings, the Richards Medical Research Building, for the University of Pennsylvania. Completed in 1965, its towers seemed to recall the hill towns of Tuscany that Kahn had visited. He created a beautiful building which connections among its parts were clearly evident, but unfortunately he lost sight of the research functions to be performed there. That would not be the case with what is perhaps Kahn's masterpiece, the Salk Institute at La Jolla, California (1968).

Kahn worked with Jonas Salk, who developed an effective polio vaccine in the 1950s, to design a building complex that used structural originality and beauty to serve the research needs of scientists. The Institute recalled both Roman ruins and medieval monasteries. It included two rows of four-story towers that housed private studies for the researchers. Laboratories along the perimeter of the complex were linked by bridges and staircases to the towers. Between the rows of towers was a central canal with a small stream that flowed toward the Pacific Ocean, symbolizing humanity's infinite search for knowledge.

Robert Venturi

Robert Venturi (1925–) earned a B.A. degree and a M.F.A. at Princeton University. He studied under Jean Labatut, director of the graduate program in architecture at Princeton, who was inclined toward the Beaux-Arts style and encouraged wide study in art history and archaeology. Venturi spent the mid-1950s as a fellow at the American Academy in Rome, although unlike Kahn his interests were more in the Renaissance Mannerists than in classical Rome. Venturi later worked for Kahn as a junior designer in his firm and as a teaching assistant at the University of Pennsylvania.

Even more than Kahn, Venturi came to reject high-tech modernism and championed an inclusive, common-people focus in his architecture. He made extensive use of pop art in his designs and, more than any of his predecessors, welded mass culture to high culture. Art was for the people, so Venturi looked to see what the people were doing. What he saw included highway strips, housing subdivisions, billboards, neon signs, gas stations, fast-food restaurants, and shopping centers. All of this was the stuff of art for Venturi, and he incorporated it into his designs.

Venturi published a book entitled *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* in 1966, written with the assistance of Denise Scott Brown, a colleague at Pennsylvania who later became his wife. The book had an enormous impact, more even than his buildings, on the younger generation of architects and on architecture for the remainder of the century.

Espousing a wide-ranging inclusiveness, Venturi readily grasped the contradictions in modern life. No summary can equal his own words:

> Architects can no longer afford to be intimidated by the puritanically moral language of orthodox Modern architecture. I like elements which are hybrid rather than "pure," compromising rather than "clean," distorted rather than "straight-forward," ambiguous rather than "articulated," perverse as well as impersonal, boring as well as "interesting," conventional rather than "designed"....I include the non sequitur and proclaim the duality.
>
> I am for richness of meaning rather than clarity of meaning....I prefer "both-and" to "either-or"....A valid architecture evokes many levels of meaning and combinations of focus: its space and its elements become readable and workable in several ways at once.[1]

One of Venturi's best known buildings is the Guild House in Philadelphia (1963), an apartment building for elderly residents sponsored by the Society of Friends. Designed to resemble Philadelphia row houses, it borrows from several sources: a central arch from classical architecture, a large marquee sign reading "Guild House" imitative of pop art, double-hung windows borrowed from housing projects, a white-glazed brick facade on part of the front that echoes Renaissance palaces, and a fake antenna on top of the building to symbolize how the elderly spend much time watching television. The completed structure achieves a result Venturi desired in his buildings—an apparently common building at first sight, with complexities and contradictions in design continuing to appear the longer one looks.

A design for Copley Square in Boston shows Venturi's unorthodox use of space. Believing that Americans were uncomfortable with large, undefined space, Venturi defined the space by filling it. Keeping with his artistic acceptance of ordinary items from everyday life, he used not only trees, bushes, and benches, but trash cans, drains, and lampposts in his design.

STORES AND OFFICES

As Americans moved into the suburbs, urban businesses increasingly followed. Improved highways facilitated the relocation of stores, as suburbanites preferred the comfort and flexibility of cars to public transportation. The exodus of businesses from downtown areas left citizens who lacked the money to move with fewer purchasing options and therefore higher prices.

These changes translated into enormous growth in suburban shopping centers. Realtors and builders worked closely to construct both shopping centers and residential developments. As shopping centers proved profitable, architects were called on to create larger complexes to provide pleasant shopping experiences.

The strip shopping center was popular in the 1950s and 1960s, and returned to favor in the 1980s. A strip usually included a supermarket and a variety of other stores. Many strips were built along highways, with the consumer able to survey the entire range of stores. Parking was usually available in front or along the sides of the stores, and delivery trucks unloaded at the rear.

A second type of shopping center was the campus center, designed as a freestanding complex often out in the country. A true shopping center is not just a random collection of stores, but a group of stores designed and constructed together, often with shared management and marketing. A shopping center has at least one anchor, a major store

that draws large numbers of consumers, along with smaller stores to encourage impulse shopping. The anchor for the strip was usually a supermarket, sometimes with a department store as a second anchor; the campus anchor more typically was a department store. The campus shopping center permitted overall planning and invited greater participation from architectural firms. It was one unit, much like a college campus, with green space and parking lots planned to add practical and aesthetic dimensions to the buildings themselves. One of the finest examples from the 1960s is Century City in Los Angeles (1964), which boasted two department stores as its anchors.

Shopping centers initially excluded stores that undermined the family atmosphere, such as liquor and secondhand establishments. Nor were recreational buildings, including movie houses and restaurants, part of these complexes. Before long, however, restaurants were added, and pizza parlors became particularly popular.

The primary problem with the campus center was that customers were subject to inclement weather as they moved from store to store. It was therefore inevitable that all of the stores within a shopping center would eventually be enclosed. Thus was born the mall.

The first enclosed shopping mall was Southdale Regional Shopping Center in Edina, outside Minneapolis, which opened in 1956. During the 1960s, the shopping mall began to assume its place as not only a place to shop, but also as a community recreational center and teen hangout. An early mall plan was the dumbbell design, with two large anchor stores at each end and smaller stores lining the aisle between them. The aisle had to be narrow enough for consumers to see window displays on both sides yet wide enough to avoid creating a sense of overcrowding.

Malls quickly grew, and more complex designs to accommodate additional anchors, more stores, two or more levels of shops, courtyards with plants and even trees, skylights, and escalators were introduced. Restaurants were added to encourage more malls to stay open longer. The Paramus Park Shopping Center in Paramus, New Jersey (1962), added a food court which featured a large seating area for an array of fast-food franchises. Theaters helped malls become day and night facilities, and the larger and more imaginative planners included other recreational opportunities, such as skating rinks.

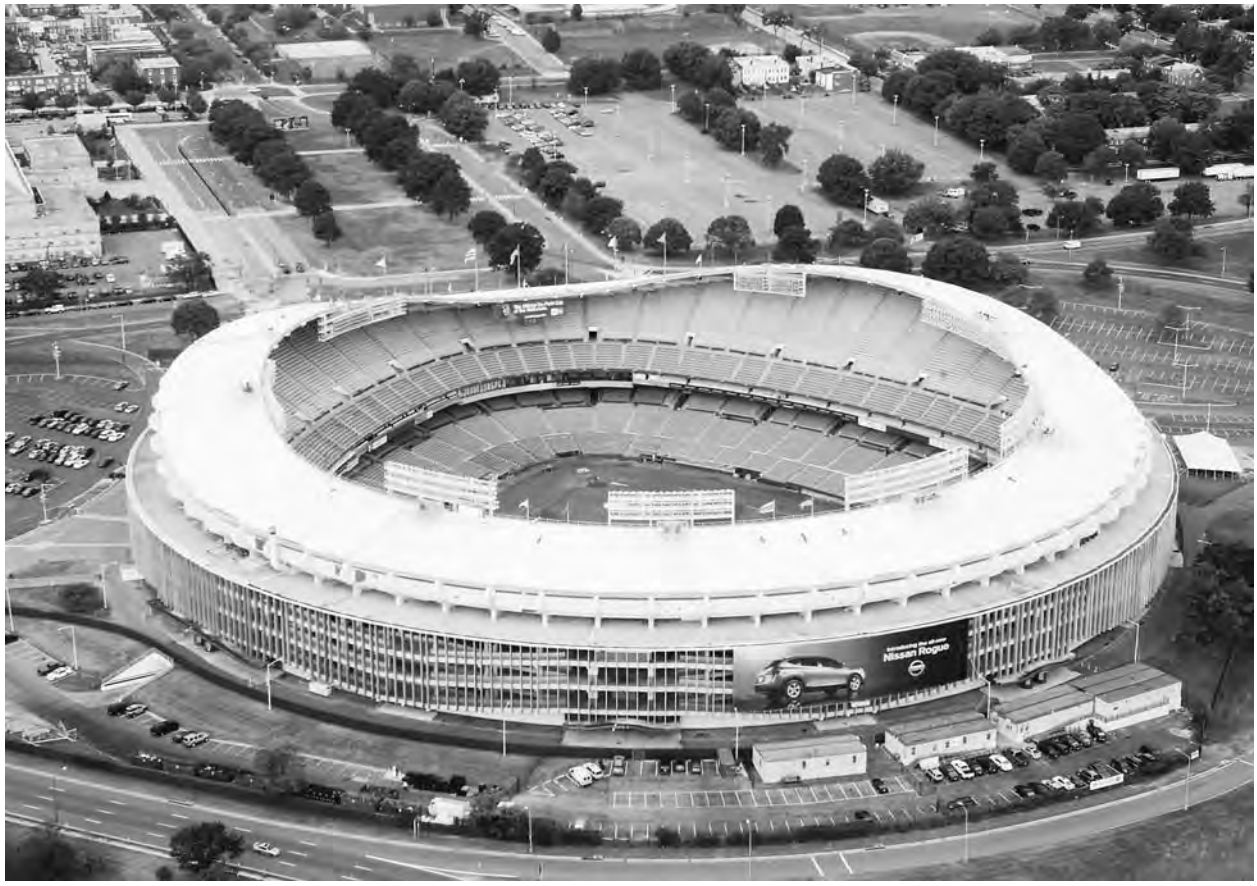
The guru of shopping-center design was Victor Gruen, who designed Southdale. His *Shopping Towns U.S.A.: The Planning of Shopping Centers* (1960) became the bible of shopping-center planning and was followed in 1973 by his *Centers for the Urban Environment: Survival of the Cities.*

By the publication of Gruen's second book, city planners were trying to renew inner cities devastated by the exodus of businesses. A few shopping centers started to appear in city centers. San Francisco helped lead the way in restoring old buildings and transforming them into shopping centers that offered upscale fashion shops, crafts, and gourmet food. Ghirardelli Square, a block of industrial buildings along the north end waterfront in San Francisco, was redesigned (1964) into an inviting complex of shops and restaurants.

Many Americans left the cities to live and shop elsewhere, but continued to work in them. In fact, the need for office space grew dramatically during the 1960s, a need in part filled by looking upward. Skyscrapers had long been important symbols of American ambition and success; so while many new offices opened in suburban office parks, others appeared in new buildings downtown.

Technological advances, including new building materials and computer designing, permitted great variation and innovation in skyscraper design. Mies van der Rohe, the master of the glass curtain wall (which seemed to drop from the top down rather than bear structural weight) and champion of a minimalist approach, created skyscrapers such as the One Charles Center in Baltimore (1963) and Chicago's Federal Center (1964). With improvements in concrete, the curtain could convey a greater sense of solidity and make use of contrasts between light and shadow, as in New York City's Pan Am Building (1963) (later renamed MetLife).

Other architects chose to highlight the skeleton rather than the skin by bringing forward the steel structure in buildings like the John Hancock Center in Chicago, constructed during the late



RFK Stadium, built in Washington, D.C., in 1961 was typical of many sports stadiums built during the 1960s. AP Photo.

COOKIE-CUTTER STADIUMS

The so-called "cookie-cutter" stadium was a type of sports arena popularized in the 1960s and 1970s, that was designed to be used by multiple sports teams. The stadiums were circular in design, fully enclosed, and had seating and other elements that could be moved to accommodate different types of sports contests. The design trend started with Washington D.C.'s RFK Stadium, which was completed in 1961 and served both the Washington Redskins football team and the Washington Senators baseball team. Nearly identical stadiums were constructed in Saint Louis, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and Atlanta, giving rise to the term "cookie cutter," a somewhat derisive term for the utilitarian trend. At the time of their construction, the multi-purpose stadiums were hailed for their modern, innovative design, though others objected to the trend, generally for aesthetic reasons. The main criticism was that the stadiums were unattractive and "drab" or "uninteresting." If the trend was unimaginative, it was certainly functional, as it allowed cities to maximize space. In the early 1990s, a wave of new sports complexes, outfitted with the latest innovations in television, stereo, and computer control systems, signaled the end of the cookie-cutter era. Though the cookie cutters were sometimes maligned in their heyday, a generation of Americans expressed a feeling of loss when the old stadiums were torn down. Whether from fear of the unknown or reverence for the past, the cookie cutters became symbolic of a bygone era in sports history.

1960s and completed in 1970 and designed by Fazlur Khan of the highly respected SOM team (Skidmore, Owings, Merrill). A system of diagonal braces created a kind of exoskeleton that helped reduce effect of the wind. At its completion, the 100-story Hancock Center was second in height only to the Empire State Building.

The concept of a tube within a tube became popular in tall buildings that went up in the late 1960s, including the John Hancock Center. A variety of refinements were employed, such as combining a central tube that enclosed elevator and utilities and an exterior tube that formed the outer walls, including tightly spaced columns, to distribute the structural load of the building (Brunswick Building, Chicago, SOM, 1965); bundling tubes together to gain support from common walls (Sears Tower, Chicago, SOM, 1974); and enclosing the surrounding sheer walls (the inner tube) with an outer tube of concrete columns and beams (One Shell Plaza, Houston, SOM, 1971).

HOMES

Although the ranch style home was prevalent in new developments and suburbs, many Americans continued to live in their older city homes and farm houses (or new but similar versions). These houses were constructed of traditional materials such as wood, brick, or stone, and contained familiar rooms (kitchen, bath, bedrooms) arranged in the old square or rectangular design. Many families modernized their homes by adding aluminum siding in the 1960s, eliminating the need to repaint every few years. The parlor of old-style houses, however, gave way to the living room, and in turn to the "family room," which increasingly became the center of family life. The family room typically revolved around a television set, and the living room, in houses that had both, became a formal sitting room for company.

During the 1960s, average Americans added kitchen counters to increase work space, purchased automatic washers and dryers to avoid trips to the laundromat, rested in reclining chairs, and bought carpets with strong colors or very visible designs (but preferred tile for bathroom floors). Such living was quite comfortable if not necessarily aesthetic.

One of the major demographic changes in the United States during the 1960s was people's movement to the suburbs. Most Americans in the suburbs found themselves living in homes similar in appearance to their neighbors' residences, as many people were unable to afford individually designed houses. These "little boxes" might be criticized as conformist by many observers, but others looked at the same houses and saw a strong community bond among neighbors socializing at backyard barbecues.

Those Americans who had the financial wherewithal to seek individuality in homes found plenty of architects and ideas available. Many wealthy Americans opted for second homes, a practice that mushroomed during the 1960s as a means of getting away from the pressures of daily life. Owners of second homes, which were usually set in rustic settings, often wanted buildings that meshed with the environment.

California style homes were based on the organic theory of architecture, with the climate and vegetation of large portions of the state conducive to this approach. These houses, popular in the 1960s, were typically low, with unpainted wood, gently pitched roofs, and lots of glass to view the outdoors. Interior spaces were usually quite open, with only partial, freestanding barriers separating kitchen, living room, and dining room. Large terraces or decks helped blur the distinction between outside and indoors.

Most Americans, of course, used more economical ways to stamp their individuality on their suburban homes, such as interior decorating and gardening.

Despite the trend toward suburban neighborhoods, large numbers of Americans lacked individualized living spaces. A great deal of public housing was constructed in the 1960s, some necessitated by demolition of existing housing—often rundown tenements—during urban renewal efforts in inner cities. Public housing was also built as the result of emerging social consciousness. Despite good intentions, limited public funding and many architects' desire to work on other projects were ongoing problems.

About 500,000 federally supported public housing units were created in the United States during the early years of the 1960s; by the end of the

decade, that total had almost doubled.[2] These units, of course, had their positive aspects: fireproof construction, good lighting, private bathrooms, equipped kitchens, and so forth. Yet a project like the Robert Taylor Homes in Chicago (1962), with 28 identical 16-story buildings often proved dehumanizing, ultimately substituting one type of slum (better constructed, of course) for another.

Some serious efforts were made to be more sensitive to the psychological as well as the physical needs of inhabitants. President Kennedy's commissioner of urban renewal, William Slayton, was directed to encourage better planning, and some progressive projects were constructed. They included The St. Francis Square, San Francisco (1963) and Warren Gardens, Roxbury, Massachusetts (1969). Both sought to escape the project look by employing variety in building materials and design, creative landscaping, and individual touches like front and back doors and private yards. Major urban problems, including increased drug use, inadequate education and job training, and broken families, did much to undermine these advances.

VATICAN II AND CHURCH ARCHITECTURE

Churches and synagogues accounted for a significant percentage of creatively designed buildings in the post-World War II decades. Some of this growth resulted from the need for new places to worship in the growing suburbs, with an often unhappy consequence being the abandonment of inner-city places of worship.

The new and aesthetically appealing houses of worship built in the 1960s included, among others, the Central United Protestant Church, Richland, Washington (1965), with steeply pitched roof, angled ceiling, and nave and sanctuary joined as one space; the First Unitarian Church and School, Rochester, New York (1963), with open space, individual chair seats, and light filtering in from the corners; and the Trinity Episcopal Church, Concord, Massachusetts (1963), which wedded old and new in its expression of Gothic characteristics, such as arches and ribbed vaulting, while focusing worshippers' attention on the triangular stained glass window above and behind the altar.

In the 1960s The Second Vatican Council precipitated enormous changes in the Catholic Church, including its liturgy, which led to major alterations in how Catholic churches were designed. Pope Pius XII died in 1958 and was succeeded by John XXIII (Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli). John XXIII quickly endeared himself to Catholics and non-Catholics alike with his preference for the human touch and much less pomp than was customary. He soon became one of the most reform-minded popes in history. John XXIII announced the Second Vatican Council in January 1959 and formally opened the proceedings on October 11, 1962. Although he lived for only the first of four sessions, the council continued until 1965 under Pope Paul VI. Vatican II was the twenty-first ecumenical (that is, world-wide) council and only the second to be designated a Vatican Council (the first having occurred in 1870). It included more delegates than any previous ecumenical council (about 2,600 bishops in attendance), was most representative (earlier councils were European dominated), included the most non-Catholic and lay observers, and differed in its mission (to promote peace and unity rather than defend dogma or attack enemies of the church).

Vatican II produced 16 documents that redefined the Catholic Church as a community of the whole people of God rather than a primarily hierarchical organization, expanded roles for lay members, and asserted that the church function within rather than outside the world.

One document produced during the first session of Vatican II was immediately relevant to church architecture—*The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy.* This document emphasized the importance of liturgy in the life of Catholics as the "outstanding means by which the faithful can express in their lives, and manifest to others, the mystery of Christ," and required "that all the faithful be led to that full, conscious, and active participation in liturgical celebrations which is demanded by the very nature of the liturgy." Catholics should, the document continued, "participate knowingly, devoutly, and actively" in this "mystery of faith."[3] Clearly, changes were required to achieve these goals.

These changes included permission to use vernacular language during Mass. Although continued

use of Latin was permitted, the vernacular soon replaced most of the Latin, enabling the congregation to better understand and participate in the Mass.

With these new directives for the Eucharist, along with new emphasis on the collective "people of God," physical changes in Catholic churches were necessary. Priest and congregation had to be closer together to jointly participate in the liturgy. In pre–Vatican II churches, the altar was against the front wall, and the priest "said" Mass with his back to the people, with the exceptions of distributing communion and preaching the epistle and gospel. In addition, an altar railing essentially fenced off the congregation from the altar.

To accommodate the changes to the liturgy, the altar was turned around and simplified so that the priest faced the congregation and spoke across a low altar to worshippers who were able to see all of the priest's actions. In old churches, the original altars might remain, but new ones were constructed for daily use. Altar railings disappeared, eliminating a symbol of separation.

There were other areas of change as well. Older churches usually contained a wide array of statues, not just of Jesus, but also of Mary and other saints. Statues were still permitted, but *The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* urged limiting their number and moderating their impact. This call to greater simplicity encouraged more modern styles in the statuary, Stations of the Cross, and other artwork.

Furthermore, the document called for revision of the canons and statutes governing all of the material objects associated with liturgy, which invited greater creativity in church construction, including both interior and exterior elements, altars, tabernacles, and baptisteries.

Changes in the sacrament of penance were also mandated. Although it would take 10 years before the new *Rite of Penance* was promulgated (December 2, 1973), the revised liturgy for penance, now usually called the Rite of Reconciliation, resulted in changes in the physical structure of the church. The old confessional typically was a small room with a central section for the priest and a section on each side for penitents; priest and penitent were separated by a wall with a window that could be opened by sliding a panel across to permit communication. The penitent confessed in anonymity, which did not encourage extensive dialogue. After Vatican II, and especially from the 1970s on, new churches featured a reconciliation room where the parishioner and priest could speak face-to-face in more of a counseling format. In old churches, many confessionals were re-modeled into reconciliation rooms.

The new vision of the role of lay Catholics and the nature of liturgical rites bore quick fruit in church architecture. Sacristy and nave came closer together, often almost merging when seats surrounded the altar on three sides, a common approach to bringing worshippers closer to the altar. Altars devoid of their previous ornate decorations moved close to the congregation, with no altar railings intervening. Tabernacles, usually in the center of old altars, now moved off the altar, often to the side. Simplicity, light, and closeness dominated, while modern, often abstract images replaced the old brightly colored larger-than-life statues of saints. The choir, rather than being located in a high loft at the back of the church, was more likely somewhere in front, and the accompaniment was often a small organ or guitars rather than the grand pipe organs of the past.

Post–Vatican II churches mushroomed during the 1960s, especially in the suburbs. Some of the new buildings achieved considerable architectural renown, among them the Church of St. Jude in San Francisco (1969), with its almost square nave virtually merging with the sanctuary area, and with seating surrounding the forward altar on three sides; St. Mary's Cathedral, San Francisco (under construction from 1963 until 1970), one of the first Catholic churches planned from inception according to Vatican Council directives, and despite its size maintaining a sense of closeness with no columns impeding the vision of the altar from the seating in front and along the sides; and St. Francis de Sales, Muskegon, Michigan (1967), which combined soaring height with natural light from cut-in skylights, the height by contrast with the length of the nave making priest and worshippers feel closer together than they actually were. Vast numbers of existing churches were remodeled to facilitate the new requirements of the liturgy and the vision of a community rather than hierarchy of participants.

PRESERVING HISTORY

The 1960s saw a strong desire to preserve some of the great buildings of the past. The groundwork for addressing this problem had been laid in earlier decades with the establishment of the Historical American Buildings Survey (HABS) in 1933 and the congressionally chartered National Trust for Historic Preservation in 1949. The former was to document the history of American buildings; the latter to preserve relevant information and coordinate preservation efforts. Nonetheless, destruction of historically important buildings continued to occur.

This decade was also a turning point in the struggle to retain buildings that were important within American history and culture. By the early 1960s, about 25 percent of buildings listed on the HABS had disappeared.[4] Consciousness, however, had been raised by Jane Jacobs, who in her book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) argued for "The Need for Aged Buildings." Jacobs argued that a strong contingent of representative buildings must be preserved for the sake of different types of people who had lived, worked, and played in them—buildings she described as "not museum-piece old buildings, not old buildings in an excellent and expensive state of rehabilitation—although these make fine ingredients—but also a good lot of plain, ordinary, low-value old buildings, including some rundown old buildings."[5]

One old building that stirred up considerable passion in the decade was New York's Pennsylvania



Pennsylvania (Penn) Station, New York City, a beautiful Beaux-Art style building constructed in 1910 and demolished in 1963, led to the creation of better preservation of historical landmarks. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Station, modeled somewhat on an ancient Roman bath complex. Utilitarianism won out, and Pennsylvania Railroad demolished the station in 1963. However, its loss was one reason the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission was established in 1965, charged with reviewing all buildings that had been standing for at least 30 years and designating those it deemed appropriate to be official landmarks. Owners who violated the commission's judgments were subject to penalties.

Other cities established similar commissions, including St. Louis, Denver, and San Francisco. The U.S. Congress approved a National Historic Preservation Act to require preservation of historic architectural works. Financial incentives, including tax credits, supported preservation efforts, and financial assistance was made available to private groups through the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

One of the preservation battlegrounds was the Grand Central Terminal in New York City, a 1913 Beaux-Arts train station. The Landmarks Preservation Commission named Grand Central an official landmark in 1967. The owner, Penn Central Transportation Company, challenged the decision, arguing economic hardship for the corporation, and later, as it carried its battle to the nation's Supreme Court, that the original decision was unconstitutional. The battle continued until June 1978, when the Supreme Court upheld the landmarks law. A very public train ride featuring prominent architects and Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, the former First Lady, had helped to mobilize popular opinion behind the preservation effort.

Books

Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics of the 1960s

Three giants of fiction, all of whom won a Nobel Prize for Literature in their careers, passed from the scene during the 1960s. Ernest Hemingway, who revolutionized fiction in the 1920s in both style and subject, committed suicide in 1961. William Faulkner, the chronicler of post–Civil War southern society died in 1962. John Steinbeck, who set many of his novels in his native California during the Great Depression and remains best known for *The Grapes of Wrath,* 1939 about Oklahoma sharecroppers driven from their land by 1937 Dust Bowl storms, died in 1968.

There also was a changing of the guard in American poetry during the 1960s, as a number of American poets died during the decade, including e. e. cummings (1962), Robert Frost (1963), William Carlos Williams (1963), T. S. Eliot (1965), and Carl Sandburg (1967).

Creative nonfiction joined fiction and poetry as an important literary genre during the 1960s. Creative nonfiction refers to nonfiction prose that uses language not merely to inform or to persuade, but also embraces the nuances, connotations, and complexities of fiction and poetry. New Journalism (also called the nonfiction novel) replaced the ideal of objective reporting and distancing the writer from his or her subject with the author's subjective involvement.

The 1960s also witnessed great interest in magazines and newspapers. Some of the old standards remained popular, along with new magazines that appealed to special segments of society. The decade was a time of great activity in newspaper journalism, with so-called underground newspapers sprouting throughout the country.

FICTION

New voices arose during the decade, often challenging traditional political, social, and literary norms. Many looked toward new lifestyles for their subjects, explored different ways of constructing narratives, and reexamined the very nature of what it meant to write a novel. The Beats, African American and Native American authors and proponents of what came to be known as metafiction, contributed engaging and often highly successful novels. A number of Jewish authors brought the Jewish-American experience to public consciousness.

The Beats came to prominence during the 1950s, but continued to wield great influence on the literary scene during the 1960s. Jack Kerouac achieved something of cult status with his *On the Road* (1957), which captured the wandering, nonconformist mood of many of his generation. *On the Road* remained popular throughout the 1960s, its

treatment of drug and sexual experiences appealing to a new generation of young men and women.

William S. Burroughs and Ken Kesey were also important novelists of the Beat generation. Burroughs's *The Naked Lunch,* first published in Paris in 1959, appeared in the United States in 1962. The heavily scatological content and explicit treatment of drug use stirred the fires of censorship and led to a four-year legal battle in Massachusetts that ultimately failed to suppress the book. Burroughs followed *Naked Lunch* with *The Soft Machine* (1961), *The Ticket that Exploded* (1962), and *Nova Express* (1964).

Kesey drew on his experiences working in a psychiatric ward and volunteering in a government experiment with LSD and other drugs in writing *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1962). The novel focuses on Chief Bromden, a Native American mental patient forced to undergo multiple shock treatments; a rigidly authoritarian Nurse Ratched; and the hero of the story, Randle Patrick McMurphy, whose nonconformist but humane attitude induces the patients to gain some joy from each other. Chief Bromden escapes from the "cuckoo's nest" while McMurphy is subjected to shock treatments and a lobotomy. The novel questioned who the insane ones really were and attacked the conformist powers of institutional society. The story became a successful film in the 1970s and starred Jack Nicholson as McMurphy.

The strongest black voice in American fiction during the decade was James Baldwin. Baldwin secured an important position in fiction and social protest with his 1953 novel *Go Tell It on the Mountain.* The novel was widely read during the 1960s and was followed by *Giovanni's Room* in 1955 and *Another Country* in 1962. Baldwin's fiction explored the difficulties of being African American and homosexual. Baldwin spent much of his time in France, but despite his rightful anger over racial injustice, continued to believe in the possibilities of American society. His essays, gathered in such collections as *Nobody Knows My Name* (1961) and *The Fire Next Time* (1963), were viewed by many critics as better than his fiction. Baldwin's essays also helped gain support for enforcing civil rights on behalf of black Americans.

N. Scott Momaday sought to bring both himself and modern society to a greater understanding of Native American history and culture. Momaday, son of a Kiowa father and a Cherokee mother learned first-hand of life on reservations and was educated in Kiowa and Cherokee culture as well as the broader American society. His novel *House Made of Dawn* (1968) won a Pulitzer Prize (the first novel by a Native American to be so honored) and helped introduce what has been called the Native American Renaissance, a rich harvest of outstanding fiction, poetry, and nonfiction by Native American writers. Abel, the protagonist of *House Made of Dawn,* is a returning veteran of World War II whose life reflects the alienation, alcoholism, and difficulty finding a good job that afflict many Native Americans whose culture has been systematically destroyed by white Americans. Finally, Abel overcomes his difficulties and reunites with his grandfather as the old man dies.

The Jewish American experience also yielded an impressive body of fiction, by such writers as Bernard Malamud, Saul Bellow, and Philip Roth. Malamud's *The Fixer* (1966) helped secure his lasting reputation as both an outstanding chronicler of Jewish life in the United States and one of the country's foremost novelists. *The Fixer,* about a seemingly ordinary man accused of the ritual murder of a Christian child, won both a Pulitzer Prize for fiction and a National Book Award.

Saul Bellow, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1976 grew up in Quebec, but set most of his fiction in Chicago and New York City. His highly successful novel of the 1960s, *Herzog* (1964) tells the story of Moses Herzog, a sort of everyman who complains, charms, is deceived, but survives his personal crises.

Philip Roth's *Portnoy's Complaint* (1969) features Alexander Portnoy's memories, especially of childhood, with a heavy emphasis on sex. Many readers were put off by the descriptions of young Portnoy's skills at masturbation and criticized Roth for moving away from middle-class Jewish subjects to depict Jewish characters as bizarre, even grotesque.

Kurt Vonnegut achieved great success in the 1960s, especially on college campuses, for



Kurt Vonnegut, center, visiting during the filming of one of his plays, *Happy Birthday, Wanda June,* with actress Susannah York on the right. Courtesy of Photofest.

combining social criticism with highly innovative approaches to storytelling that pulled apart the traditional concept of narrative as a coherent, cause-to-effect, beginning-middle-end plot. Vonnegut gained popular acceptance with his novel *Cat's Cradle* (1963), a strong indictment of contemporary science, religion, and politics. Vonnegut's structural experimenting reached its apex, though, with *Slaughterhouse-Five or The Children's Crusade: A Duty-Dance with Death* (1969). In it, the main character, Billy Pilgrim moves among three worlds: as a prisoner of war in Dresden during the World War II firebombing of the city, as a husband and father in the present, and in a fantasy realm on the planet Tralfamadore (where he was mated with an earthling porn star). At one point, Billy Pilgrim (his name representing his time travels), watches a war movie backward, which makes everything turn out better as the flyers return safely to their bases. Billy imagines the film continuing, with the soldiers turning in their uniforms and becoming happy high school students again; even Hitler is transformed into an innocent baby. The novel was both an antiwar book and an assault on contemporary society's dehumanizing impact, summed up in the phrase of acceptance that repeatedly appeared in the story: "So it goes."

Metafiction

Other novelists also looked closely at not only the story as artifact or product, but as a process intimately related to its author, giving rise to what critics have labeled metafiction. This approach to fiction paralleled the rejection of traditional values and expectations found throughout American society during the 1960s. The meaning of "meta" in this context is to go beyond or transcend. Metafiction goes beyond traditional views of fiction by being self-reflective, by looking closely at the act of writing and the writer. Metafiction usually is highly personal, grounded in the belief that the most important reality is personal reality. Style is often more important than plot and characterization. Heroes tend to be nontraditional types of protagonists often far removed from what readers are accustomed to viewing as heroic.

Thomas Pynchon's *V* (1963), and *The Crying of Lot 49* (1966) overturned most fictional expectations, and were centered around

labyrinthine plots that tended toward the absurd, repeatedly running serious moments into comedy and imitating other writers' styles with exuberant humor rather than satiric intent.

Richard Brautigan was perhaps the most popular metafiction writers during the 1960s, especially among college students and young people living in communes. A reclusive writer seldom seen in public or photographed, Brautigan served as a role model for the 1960s dropout. His works of fiction consisted of loosely ordered prose pieces, little plot, criticism of modern society's destruction of nature, and a irreverent tone. *Trout Fishing in America* (1967), for example, included such elements as a "Kool-Aid wino," many references to the narrator and the book itself, personification of Trout Fishing in America as someone the narrator meets at the Big Wood River near Ketchum, Idaho just after Hemingway's death (ironically linking the book with the great chronicler of fishing in America, Hemingway), a surrealistic satire on destroyers of the environment in which a trout stream is cut up and sold by the foot, and a concluding chapter entitled "The Mayonnaise Chapter" because the narrator says that he "always wanted to write a book that ended with the word Mayonnaise."

Catch-22

Seldom does a title work its way into the popular lexicon. That, however, occurred with the title of Joseph Heller's World War II novel *Catch-22* (1961), a novel that became something of a commentary on what many increasingly saw as an irrational political and military system in the United States during the 1960s, even though the novel is set in a previous war. In the novel, Captain John Yossarian tries to claim insanity to escape the certain death that would result if he were to follow his squadron commanders' insane orders. His doctor, though, points out the Catch-22 principle: that a flyer must be insane to be excused from combat, but proves his sanity by the very fact that he wants to escape from the mission. Conversely, Doc Daneeka acknowledges that Yossarian's tentmate, Orr, is crazy but that Orr must request to be grounded, which he does not do precisely because he is crazy. Unable to function logically within a crazy system, namely the war-making apparatus, Yossarian deserts. Other characters take other approaches. Orr pretends to be merely a not very bright joker and utilizes cunning to thwart the efforts of Colonel Cathcart, the ultra-authoritarian villain of the novel. The symbolic and nameless

HOW OTHERS SEE US

Parlez-Vous Franglais?

In the postwar era as never before, English-language terms and idioms surged into everyday use among non-English speakers. As people in France made plans for "le week-end" and Norwegians discussed the latest "boksing" match, linguists and critics in these countries and many others began to push back.

A 1964 polemic by French literature professor René Etiemble, *Parlez-Vous Franglais,* brought the controversy to international attention. Etiemble's goal was to fight off the invasion of Anglicisms that, he felt, threatened the French language and France's culture. His book was a sharp criticism of American mores, values, and education (or lack thereof). To resist Anglicization in language, Etiemble argued, was to resist Americanization in general. Others in France, as well as writers and TV commentators in Spain, the Netherlands, Italy, and elsewhere, echoed Etiemble's clarion call. Language academies such as L'Académie Française and the Real Academia Española turned their attention to vetting which English loan-words might have a legitimate function and which should be rejected and replaced with homegrown alternatives. Thus French speakers were encouraged to look forward to "le fin de la semaine," an authentically French term for the end-of-the-week days of rest.

It was not, however, an entirely successful effort. As linguist David Crystal pointed out, the process of word-loaning is complex and affected by many factors, from "snob value" to commercial marketing to student exchanges to sheer practicality. As mass media grew more global, holding the line on language became increasingly difficult.

Soldier in White, bandaged mummylike and kept alive while fluids enter his body at one end and exit at the other, is a grotesque joke that stands for the impersonal manipulation of individuals by the institutions of modern society.

The novel is one of the most important and lasting antiwar writings of American literature, but it also comments on the essential irrationality of the human condition. Countless people who have never even heard of the novel use the phrase "catch-22" to express irrational but irrefutable contradictions that put people in no-win situations.

Popular Authors

John Updike and William Styron were more mainstream novelists. Updike published 10 volumes of fiction during the 1960s and also wrote poetry and book reviews. Updike's novel *The Centaur,* 1963, told the story of a high school teacher during a three-day period, and was heavy in mythological allusions. It brought Updike a National Book Award and considerable critical acclaim. *Rabbit, Run,* 1960, more rooted in social realism, introduced Harry "Rabbit" Angstrom, a former high school basketball star disenchanted with his present life and what he felt were a stultifying town, job, and family. Harry would appear in several more novels.

Styron encountered controversy for his depiction of Nat Turner in *The Confessions of Nat Turner* (1967). In real life, Turner led a slave rebellion in 1831 that resulted in the deaths of more than fifty whites in Virginia. In the novel, Turner is in jail, where he reflects on his past life. His owner, Samuel Turner, had supposedly promised Nat his freedom, but went broke and sold Nat to Reverend Mr. Eppes. Having promised to free Nat, Eppes reneged and sold him to slave traders. As the novel progresses, Nat becomes increasingly filled with hatred, has a homosexual affair that induces considerable guilt, and undergoes a religious conversion that propels him into a prophetic state in which he believes he is ordained to kill whites. *The Confessions of Nat Turner* won a Pulitzer Prize for fiction but engendered great opposition from many African American writers and critics who believed the novel inaccurate and racist.

A number of women also left their lasting marks on the American reading public, including Flannery O'Connor, Harper Lee, and Joyce Carol Oates.

O'Connor brought her Roman Catholic background and Georgia heritage to her explorations of character. Her often rural figures rose above their commonplace situations as O'Connor laid bare their eternal yearnings. Her stories are rich in religious symbolism and revelations of the humanity within characters that some critics have labeled grotesques. O'Connor is considered one of America's finest short story writers as well as an effective novelist. She died in 1964 at the age of thirty-nine after a long struggle with disseminated lupus. Her second and final novel, *The Violent Bear It Away,* appeared in 1960; a second collection of short stories, *Everything That Rises Must Converge,* was published the year after her death. Despite her early death, O'Connor's reputation continued to rise. *The Flannery O'Connor Bulletin,* dedicated to the study of her life and work, originated in the 1970s and became *The Flannery O'Connor Review* in 2001.

Harper Lee's novel *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1960) presents a story of racism and injustice set in 1930s Alabama. The narrator, Jean Louise "Scout" Finch, who ages from six to eight during the story, recounts the case of Tom Robinson, an African American on trial for allegedly raping a



Gregory Peck, left, the star of the movie adaptation of *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1962), with author Harper Lee during filming. Courtesy of Photofest.

white woman. Convinced of his innocence, Jean's father, Atticus Finch, defends Robinson. Atticus demonstrates his defendant's innocence, but the white jury finds him guilty anyway. Robinson is subsequently killed trying to escape. Another important story line involves Boo Radley, who despite being treated as an outcast and even something of a monster by his neighbors, rescues Scout and her brother Jem when the father of the woman Robinson was accused of raping tries to kill the children to exact revenge on Atticus. The novel's powerful questioning of racial and social justice and institutional hypocrisy earned Lee a Pulitzer Prize. The novel was made into a film in 1962 starring Gregory Peck, who won the Academy Award for his performance as Atticus.

One of the new fictional voices in the 1960s was Joyce Carol Oates. Her first collection of short stories, *By the North Gate,* was published in 1963 and was followed by the novels *With Shuddering Fall* (1964), *Expensive People* (1968), and *them* (1969), which won a National Book Award. Oates, a prolific writer, is known for writing about the physical and emotional violence with which seemingly ordinary people find themselves afflicted.

Set in another land but with many lessons that youthful readers of the 1960s found relevant to their own searching was the fantasy fiction of British medievalist J.R.R. Tolkien. The works that stirred readers' imagination so strongly during the decade had appeared earlier: *The Hobbit* in 1937, and the three volumes that compose *The Lord of the Rings (The Fellowship of the Ring, The Two Towers, The Return of the King)* in the 1950s. A key to the popularity of these books was their issuance in inexpensive paperback editions during the 1960s. *The Hobbit* describes a place called Middle-earth, and the trilogy picks up the story about 50 years later in the same realm. Middle-earth is a simpler place, where the struggle between good and evil is rendered in concrete terms. Tolkien, drawing on his knowledge of linguistics and the Middle Ages, created not only a new place but a language, mythology, and society to make it come alive. The major story line throughout the trilogy is the effort, finally successful, to destroy a ring that contains such power that its possessor could control the world of Middle-earth.

Many Tolkien societies and discussion groups were formed during the late 1960s, while Tolkien's stories helped to legitimize fantasy as a mode of fiction to be taken seriously by readers and literary critics alike.

Best Sellers

Early in the 1960s, readers devoured copies of the political novel *Advise and Consent* by Allen Drury; the long historical novel, *Hawaii,* by James Michener; Irving Stone's story of the artist Michelangelo, *The Agony and the Ecstasy;* and lots of sex, from Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* to Harold Robbins's *The Carpetbaggers.*

By 1962, in the year of the Cuban Missile Crisis, novels of nuclear confrontation and political intrigue at the highest levels excited the general public. Two of the leading sellers of the year were *Fail-Safe,* an account of a mistaken nuclear attack on the Soviet Union by the United States, by Eugene Burdick and Harvey Wheeler; and *Seven Days in May,* about an attempt to overthrow an American president viewed by military leaders as too soft on communism, by Fletcher Knebel and Charles W. Bailey II.

Morris L. West's novel *The Shoes of the Fisherman,* 1963, about a Catholic pope, made the best seller lists in 1963, perhaps helped by public interest in the Second Vatican Council and the wide popularity enjoyed by Pope John XXIII. Spy novels such as John le Carré's *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold* and Ian Fleming's *You Only Live Twice* and *The Man with the Golden Gun* continued to be popular. Jacqueline Susann hit it big with *Valley of the Dolls,* a supposed exposé of Hollywood in the mid-1960s that appealed to readers who liked a vicarious mix of sex, drugs, and other sins.

Novels that broke through in the late 1960s included the supernatural spellbinder *Rosemary's Baby,* by Ira Levin; Arthur Hailey's *Airport,* about a plane in danger of being blown up by a mad bomber; Michael Crichton's story of the dangers of bacteriological warfare research, *The Andromeda Strain;* and Mario Puzo's account of the Mafia in *The Godfather,* which tended to portray murderers and similar types as almost sympathetic if not admirable, and was made into a series of three popular films.

NOTABLE BOOKS

Rabbit, Run, John Updike, 1960
A Separate Peace, John Knowles, U.S., 1960
To Kill a Mockingbird, Harper Lee, 1960
Catch-22, Joseph Heller, 1961
Tropic of Cancer, Henry Miller, 1961
A Clockwork Orange, Anthony Burgess, 1962
One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest, Ken Kesey, 1962
Ship of Fools, Katherine Anne Porter, 1962
Silent Spring, Rachel Carson, 1962
The Feminine Mystique, Betty Friedan, 1963
The Spy Who Came in from the Cold, John le Carré, 1964
Dune, Frank Herbert, 1965
Up the Down Staircase, Bel Kaufman, 1965
In Cold Blood, Truman Capote, 1966
The Valley of the Dolls, Jacqueline Susann, 1966
Rosemary's Baby, Ira Levin, 1967
Trout Fishing in America, Richard Brautigan, 1967
Airport, Arthur Hailey, 1968
The Double Helix, James Watson, 1968
2001: A Space Odyssey, Arthur C. Clarke, 1968
The Andromeda Strain, Michael Crichton, 1969
The Godfather, Mario Puzo, 1969
Portnoy's Complaint, Philip Roth, 1969
Slaughterhouse-Five, Kurt Vonnegut Jr., 1969

CREATIVE NONFICTION

Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood* (1966) was one of the most influential and controversial examples of New Journalism, also known as the nonfiction novel. Originally published in four installments in *The New Yorker* in 1965, *In Cold Blood* recounts the 1959 murders of Kansas farmer Herbert Clutter, his wife, Bonnie, and their two children by Dick Hickock and Perry Smith. Capote deepened his narrative into a sociological examination of the small-town milieu in which the Clutters lived, a psychological portrayal of the murderers, and an indirect indictment of capital punishment. Capote became close to the murderers during his research, which may have helped lead to the double reference of the title—to the slaying of the farm family and the governmental execution of the convicted killers.

Capote viewed his book as a nonfiction novel, an apparent oxymoron that led some critics to question how much of the account originated in the author's imagination. Capote used clear literary devices, such as beginning the account in the middle of the story, well after the murders, and presenting the crimes as a flashback after Hickock and Smith were captured. He also included long passages of dialogue that he said he recalled from memory. *In Cold Blood* received the 1966 Mystery Writers of America's Edgar Allan Poe Award, usually given to a work of fiction. Despite the controversy, Capote's book stimulated other mixed-genre



Truman Capote, author of *In Cold Blood* and other books 1966. Like his childhood friend Harper Lee, he published an exceedingly popular and well-reviewed book in the 1960s, and both of their books went on to successful film versions. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

works that staked out a middle ground between journalism and fiction. It also helped, along with Capote's flamboyant lifestyle and personality, to make him a major celebrity in both the literary and social scenes. *In Cold Blood* was also released as a critically acclaimed movie in 1967. It was directed by Richard Brooks and starring Robert Blake, Scott Wilson, and John Forsythe.

Norman Mailer was another important practitioner of New Journalism. Mailer originally gained fame with his first novel, *The Naked and the Dead,* in 1948. By the 1960s, he had turned increasingly to politics and creative reportage. A major celebrity who appeared regularly on late-night television talk shows, Mailer published during the decade, among other works, *Armies of the Night* and *Miami and the Siege of Chicago,* both in 1968. The former grew out of Mailer's participation in an antiwar demonstration at the Pentagon in 1967; the latter was in response to the political conventions of 1968 that nominated Richard Nixon and Hubert Humphrey in a placid event in Miami amid a massive storm of antiwar demonstrations in Chicago. The books featured the author as a major character within the narrative plots.

Another popular nonfiction novel was Tom Wolfe's *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (1968), about novelist Ken Kesey's travels, both physical and drug-induced. In 1964, Kesey set off in a 1939 Day-Glo-painted International Harvester bus with a group of friends known as the Merry Pranksters. Kesey and company interacted with the Hell's Angels motorcycle group and staged acid tests, which were multimedia happenings that included LSD, dancing, strobe lights, and rock music. Wolfe's account of Kesey's experiences was a subjective treatment that used fiction techniques, including typographic oddities to convey inner reality and selective descriptive details combined with authorial conclusions (often guesses as to what the characters were feeling and thinking). The effect was to convey not only the action but the spirit of the times.

Hunter S. Thompson, a journalist during the first half of the decade for such prestigious publications as *Time,* the *New York Herald Tribune,* the *National Observer,* and the *Nation* was another important New Journalism author. An article that Thompson wrote for the *Nation* in 1964 on motorcycle gangs marked a turning point both in his career and in the genre. Thompson disagreed with the common perception of Hell's Angels as a bunch of thugs and spent much time with the group in the mid-1960s. The result was a book called *Hell's Angels: A Strange and Terrible Saga* (1967). Thompson became part of the story, blurring the line between source and reporter. His unorthodox treatment of subjects usually given little serious treatment in the press came to be known as "gonzo journalism."

Susan Sontag came to public attention in the middle of the decade as a social critic with essays in such magazines as *Partisan Review, The Evergreen Review,* and *Commentary.* She followed with a book collection entitled *Against Interpretation and Other Essays* (1966). Her essays covered many subjects, including science-fiction films, pornography, and art criticism. Sontag traveled to North Vietnam during the war, itself a highly controversial act, and published an account of her experiences in *Trip to Hanoi* (1968). Another collection of essays, *Styles of Radical Will,* appeared in 1969. Sontag combined her reporting and analyses with a leftist political point of view that challenged many actions and pronouncements of the government and other American institutions.

The 1960s witnessed a growing interest in protecting the environment and living in harmony with nature, an attitude increasingly evident in the creative nonfiction of the decade. Much of the best nature writing was antiestablishment, and resisted political and economic pressures to use the land for profit.

Loren Eiseley's professional training as an anthropologist at the Universities of Nebraska and Pennsylvania, combined with a personal commitment to protecting nature, led to a number of books, beginning with *The Immense Journey* (1946). Eiseley produced several books—*The Firmament of Time* (1960), *The Mind of Nature* (1962), *The Unexpected Universe* (1969)—that revealed a deep human connection to the surrounding natural world. Eiseley wrote in a manner accessible to nonscientists in which his personal values came through clearly.

Edward Abbey combined science with a strong sense of self and a commitment to appreciating the natural environment. Abbey argued for

ecocentrism, the view that nature existed for itself rather than to serve humankind, and condoned ecodefense, including environmental terrorism (property destruction and other crimes) to protect the environment. *Desert Solitaire,* 1968, which reflects Abbey's interest in the American Southwest, is usually considered one of his most important books.

POETRY

Robert Frost was the most famous and beloved poet in the United States at the beginning of the decade. He read his poem "The Gift Outright," a celebration of westward expansion and the people's surrender to the land that he saw as defining the new nation, at the inauguration of President John F. Kennedy in January 1961. A traditionalist, Frost used formal conventions, but filled them with colloquial speech. A poet of nature and New England, he perpetuated the myth that real America was rural New England while comparing outer nature with the inner self.

The United States, however, had changed greatly. The country was increasingly urban, and truths were less absolute and harder to decipher. The individual self stepped forward in a more materialistic world in place of the collective we.

More reflective of the changing times were the Beats, who came to prominence during the 1950s and continued to wield great influence in poetry, fiction, and society during the 1960s. The Beats tended toward a bohemian lifestyle, rejected many of modern society's standards and values, and sought enlightenment and freedom through love (and sex), drugs, and Eastern religions, especially Zen Buddhism. They opposed the Vietnam War, and typically supported progressive social movements, such as civil rights. The Beats congregated in San Francisco, fusing the Beat movement with a San Francisco renaissance of the arts.

Allen Ginsberg may have been the most important of the Beat poets. He had considerable knowledge of earlier poetic traditions and incorporated some aspects of them into his own new directions in writing. The long line is one major example. Ginsberg adopted an unusually long poetic line in imitation of William Blake, Walt Whitman, Christopher Smart (another eighteenth-century British poet), and the Bible. He popularized the approach in his groundbreaking long poem, "Howl," in *Howl and Other Poems* (1956).

By the 1960s, Ginsberg was widely known as a revolutionary poet, an antiwar activist, a student of Buddhism in India, and a popular reader of his poetry on college campuses throughout the United States. His important books of poetry in the decade included *Kaddish and Other Poems* (1961), *Reality Sandwiches* (1963), and *Planet News* (1968).

Another important Beat/San Francisco poet during the 1960s was Lawrence Ferlinghetti, whose *A Coney Island of the Mind* (1958) remained enormously popular throughout the decade, especially among college students. Ferlinghetti published additional books during the decade and included a record of himself reading his poetry with *Starting from San Francisco* (1961). This encouraged the idea that poetry should be heard and helped popularize the growing phenomenon of poets giving public readings of their works. He also helped publish other poets as co-founder of City Lights in San Francisco, an all-paperback store, and publisher of City Light Books, the Pocket Poets Series, and the magazine *Beatitude.* The fourth book in the Pocket series was Ginsberg's *Howl and Other Poems.*

The Beats are often credited with helping to spawn the beatniks and hippies. The columnist Herb Caen used the term "beatnik," derived from "beat," in a *San Francisco Chronicle* column on April 2, 1958. The term caught on and was usually used in a derogatory, sometimes comic way. Images of the beatnik reached a wide audience through the character Maynard G. Krebs (played by Bob Denver) on the television series *The Many Loves of Dobie Gillis* (1959–1963) and through *MAD* magazine, with its satiric mock magazine *Beatnik: The Magazine for Hipsters,* September 1960. The line of descent from Beats to hippies can be traced through such common ground as support for peace, love, drugs, and sexual freedom, and opposition to conformity and received authority.

As the Vietnam War dragged on throughout the 1960s, the large majority of America's poets, not just the Beats, turned against it, with many engaging quite actively in antiwar efforts. Robert Lowell, who came from an old Boston patrician

family and had been sentenced to a year in New York's West Street jail for opposing America's war efforts during World War II, helped lead protestors against the Pentagon in 1967. Lowell became, through collections like *For the Union Dead* (1964) and *Notebook 1967–1968* (1969); revised as *Notebook* in 1970, and for his social commitment, one of the most respected poets of his time.

Robert Bly believed that poetry should be simple in diction, concrete in image, and direct in expression in order to combine the external landscape (often his native Minnesota) with the mystical or imaginative landscape of the mind. During the 1960s, living out his conviction that the poet should be society's conscience, Bly helped create American Writers against the Vietnam War and organize the series "Poets Reading Against the Vietnam War." Important collections of his 1960s poems include *The Light Around the Body* (1967), *The Morning Glory* (1969), *The Teeth-Mother Naked at Last* (1970), and *The Shadow-Mothers* (1970).

Social activism in poetry also included a growing commitment to other major movements of the decade, such as black consciousness and the Civil Rights Movement. At the beginning of the 1960s, Langston Hughes was the best known and most respected voice among African American poets. Known as "the bard of Harlem" and acclaimed for his use of jazz and African American rhythms in his poetry, Hughes remained productive until his death in 1967. He edited anthologies, including *New Negro Poets* (1964) and *The Best Short Stories by Negro Writers* (1967) by younger black writers and served as lyricist on the musicals *Black Nativity* (1961), *Jericho-Jim Crow* (1964), and *The Prodigal Son* (1965), which brought gospel music to the stage. His final volume of poetry, *The Panther and the Lash: Poems of our Times* (1967), demonstrated his growing involvement in civil rights and the black power movement.

One of the most widely read poets of the 1960s was Rod McKuen, who was derided by critics for his sentimental poetry but became a mass-marketed best seller devoured by youthful readers who responded to his sensitive persona and love-filled lyrics. Also a songwriter and singer, McKuen often performed his own works. His 1960s collections of poems included *Stanyan Street and Other Sorrows* (1966), *Listen to the Warm* (1967), and *In Someone's Shadow* (1969).

The image of the sensitive, troubled poet too fragile to cope with the pressures of everyday life was both persona and self for Sylvia Plath. As a student at Smith College, Plath suffered a nervous breakdown and attempted suicide. Her autobiographical novel *The Bell Jar* spoke for young modern women who resisted traditional self-defining roles of wife and mother. Originally published in England in 1963, the book was released in the United States in 1971 and became extremely popular with young American readers during the 1970s. During the 1960s, however, most American readers knew Plath as a poet, author of the collections *The Colossus and Other Poems* (1962) and *Ariel* (1966) as wife of the British poet Ted Hughes, and for her death by suicide in 1963. Plath composed the *Ariel* poems in London, where she lived with her two young children after her marriage broke up in 1962. Although some of the poems expressed a mother's love for her children, others conveyed their creator's anger against the major male figures in her life, her husband and father. In February 1963, she committed suicide.

MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

Americans continued to read old standbys during the 1960s in both magazines and newspapers. *Time, Newsweek,* and *U.S. News & World Report* brought readers national and international news. One of the publishing highlights of the year was *Time*'s "Man of the Year."

Life and *Look* were large-format weekly magazines that specialized in large photo spreads with easy-to-read stories that focused mostly on celebrities. *The Saturday Evening Post* continued its long tradition of publishing fiction and featured covers by American painter Norman Rockwell. In 1963, the magazine used the last of its Rockwell covers, its 317th, and dropped cover paintings as part of an updating designed to boost readership. The effort did not succeed, and the magazine went out of business in 1971.

Ebony was *Life* for the African American community that substituted black models in the ads and features on subjects of interest to a mainstream

NEW MAGAZINES

Tiger Beat, 1965

Southern Living, 1966

Ranger Rick, 1967

Rolling Stone, 1967

Runner's World, 1966

Surfer, 1960

WORDS AND PHRASES

a-okay

beach bunny

bowser bag (restaurant bag for leftovers)

brain drain

crash pad

crunch (crisis or showdown)

daddy-o/daddio

far out

groovy

hairy (dangerous or menacing)

jet set

kook

mind-blowing

noise pollution

nuke

out of sight

Peacenik

Pop Art

psychedelic

status symbol

swinging

teach-in

Teeny-bopper

unisex

WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant)

black readership. Johnson Publications, producer of *Ebony,* also brought out *Jet,* a news magazine that was more cutting-edge in its approach to social issues than *Ebony; Tan,* which was marketed to African American homemakers; and *Negro Digest,* which was similar to the more white-oriented *Reader's Digest.*

There were magazines for every member of the family. Women were the targets of many large circulation magazines. *Ladies' Home Journal, Better Homes and Gardens,* and *McCall's* were designed especially for homemakers. If a woman wanted a little vicarious adventure, she could read *True Confessions* and other romance magazines. *TV Guide* offered the family a weekly guide to what was playing on television. The man of the house could enjoy his sports on the page as well as on television, thanks to *Sport, Baseball Digest,* the venerable sports paper *The Sporting News,* and a variety of other sports publications. Teenagers could keep up with their favorite celebrities in *Tiger Beat.* The whole family could enjoy *National Geographic* and in its pages travel to exotic places without leaving the comfort of home.

Changing times were reflected in many magazines, including *Playboy, Cosmopolitan,* and *Ramparts.* Hugh Hefner's *Playboy* proposed a sexually free lifestyle minus commitment, along with centerfolds of young women devoid of clothes. *Cosmopolitan,* edited by Helen Gurley Brown, attempted to justify a similar philosophy for women, defending sexual pleasure apart from marriage and motherhood for the career woman. As *Playboy* and *Cosmopolitan* both reflected and contributed to a rejection of traditional sexual attitudes, *Ramparts* broke ground politically. A radical magazine, *Ramparts* featured articles by such activists as Eldridge Cleaver; printed exposés, including a report that the Central Intelligence Agency had channeled funds to religious, educational, and other cultural institutions to counter left-wing political action; published the diaries of Argentinian revolutionary Che Guevara, who had helped Castro come to power in Cuba; and argued at length that the John Kennedy assassination was a conspiracy being covered up by the government.

Major newspapers, especially eastern papers, continued to exercise considerable sway over public opinion, among them *The New York Times, Washington Post,* and *Boston Globe.* In smaller

cities and throughout the country, typical families received the local daily. The average citizen also valued his or her hometown weekly for local news and neighborly gossip. During the 1960s, though, a new type of newspaper came to prominence, usually written, produced, and primarily read by young men and women who were mostly leftwing in their political, social, and cultural attitudes.

The *Los Angeles Free Press,* which originated in 1964, was one of the early underground papers. Many others followed: the *Berkeley Barb,* the *San Francisco Oracle, The Great Speckled Bird* in Atlanta, and many more. There were over 450 of these papers by the end of the decade.[1] In addition, untold numbers of high school students operated underground papers or newsletters, most of them short-lived. University campuses also spawned a large number of the underground newspapers. The new, inexpensive off-set printing made production relatively easy and affordable.

The underground papers varied enormously in quality and professionalism, yet common political and cultural positions bound them into a journalistic movement of significance. The papers reported news with a strong left-wing, often radical, point of view. The papers were almost unfailingly antiwar. They championed the rights of women and minorities. Sex was good and should be expressed freely, although at the same time editors and writers were faced with trying to balance concepts of free love with respect for women's rights and opposition to dehumanizing behaviors.

Many aspects of the popular arts found their way into underground papers, including poetry, film reviews, and articles on rock music. Respecting the natural environment was important. Alternate lifestyles, such as communal living, were described in positive terms. Underground newspapers played an important role in the expanding drug culture by publishing information on drugs. New approaches to spiritualism received considerable exposure as well.

Radical youth tended to consider commercialism bad, but the underground newspapers found it increasingly difficult to stay aloof from it. Producing cost money, and advertisers were ready to provide funds to help papers continue. Head shops (stores that sold drug equipment), bookstores, coffeehouses, and record companies were among the advertisers that bought space in the papers. Most of the papers died out quickly, but these underground publications helped to form and express the voice of many of America's youth during the second half of the 1960s and beyond.

COMICS

Just after World War II and in the early Cold War years, comic book creators reacted to a changed world by featuring stories of monsters and aliens, which reflected the nation's growing fear of science and the atomic bomb. Other comic book publishers watched as the growing influence of television swept the nation and issued comic books that featured the top stars of the small screen, such as Lucille Ball and Davy Crockett.

In the 1960s, however, the enduring popularity of Superman led to a resurgence of superhero comics. In the late 1950s, DC launched new versions of past heroes (Flash and Green Lantern) with great success, which led to more superhero comics. While DC remained successful, an upstart company named Marvel jumped into the fray and revolutionized the industry. Marvel teamed artist Jack Kirby with writer-editor Stan Lee and created a universe of characters that would last into the twenty first century.

Together, Lee and Kirby led Marvel's ascendance by creating iconic superheroes, including The Fantastic Four, Spider-Man, the Hulk, the X-Men, and the Avengers. A major difference between the fast-rising Marvel and its primary competitor, DC, was that Lee gave his characters personalities that included foibles and challenges. Spider-Man and the members of the mutant X-Men were, in fact, misfits and outcasts. Peter Parker was a high school loser, filled with angst and doubt, before he became Spider-Man. The combination of superhero exploits and characters with lives that seemed somehow real and believable enabled Marvel to reach new audiences, such as college students and adults.

Television continued to cast a long shadow over comic books in the 1960s. In early 1966, ABC aired *Batman,* starring Adam West as a campy version of DC's caped crusader. In many respects the show changed comic books by introducing

a more light-hearted feel that picked up on the smart-alecky tone of Lee's Spider-Man. Although much different than the print version, *Batman* showed the power of merchandising, grossing more than $150 million from products such as toys, games, clothes, and costumes.

Comics in the 1960s changed radically from earlier decades, and saw DC and Marvel take their places as the industry's twin powerhouses. The era also revealed the power of superheroes as marketing tools, which would continue to drive the business into the next century.

Entertainment

of the 1960s

What happened during the 1960s in film, television, dance, and drama did not occur in isolation, but as part of the larger social, political, and aesthetic changes of the decade.

Television, which was rapidly becoming the country's foremost mass medium, sought to appeal to the large majority rather than smaller slices of American opinion. Yet even here change could not be ignored, as the growing importance of television journalism brought vivid images conflicts involving race, gender, and the Vietnam War. In the 1960s the power of the media to shape culture was both growing rapidly and becoming somewhat understood. Marshall McLuhan asserted that "the medium is the message."[1] The image came to define reality rather than represent it.

Film, drama and sometimes dance began to present frank explorations of racial, sexual, gender, and political issues.

FILMS

As the 1960s progressed, changes in society began to impact films in content and production values. Counterculture patterns, including drug use, greater sexual freedom, and a general straining against traditional mores, came up against the Motion Picture Production Code, established in 1930 by the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA), which later became the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA). Increasingly, filmmakers found themselves unable to receive approval from the Production Code Administration (PCA), which administered the Code. In 1966, Jack Valenti, the new president of the MPAA, reexamined the Code in light of Supreme Court rulings on obscenity and changing attitudes toward censorship. The result was a new, voluntary self-regulating rating system that made it easier for filmmakers to distribute their films and also enabled filmgoers to know what the films would contain in such areas as sex and violence. The ratings, which since the 1960s have undergone some revisions, included four categories: G for films suitable for a general audience; M for films suitable for a mature audience, with parental guidance suggested; R for films restricted to viewers at least 16 years of age unless accompanied by a parent or adult guardian; and X for films to which only those 16 years of age or older would be admitted. The criteria reflected in these categories were principally language, sex, and violence. Moderate profanity was allowed in R films; nudity was usually X material. Filmmakers could get away with more violence than sexual behavior and obscene language without losing an R rating.

With the new ratings system and revolutionary changes in society as context, films began to

explore new frontiers in such areas as race, sex, drugs, violence, and the supernatural.

Two of the most important films to challenge racial prejudice were released in 1967 and starred Sidney Poitier: *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* and the Oscar-winning *In the Heat of the Night*. In the former, African American Poitier comes to dinner, guest of his white fiancée, to meet her parents, played by film immortals Spencer Tracy and Katharine Hepburn. The film uses humor and accomplished acting (with Hepburn winning the Oscar for best performance by an actress in a leading role) to make tolerance more palatable.

In the Heat of the Night stars Poitier as a homicide detective from Philadelphia, who is passing through a small Mississippi town when he is arrested for murdering a prominent white man. Poitier is soon cleared but maneuvered into helping the bigoted sheriff, played by Rod Steiger (who won an Oscar as best actor for his performance), solve the crime. Poitier's character encounters redneck and southern aristocrat types who would like him dead. Finally, the successful northern black detective and the southern white sheriff discover some glimmerings of respect for each other before Poitier's character catches his train for Philadelphia. The most dramatic moment in the film comes when Poitier's character slaps a wealthy white patrician after the man had slapped him for daring to question him.

Although both films clearly broke important ground, they came under fire from more militant sectors of the Civil Rights Movement for relying on black characters (doctor, chief homicide detective) who represented only a small portion of the African American community.

Sex and drugs made their way into mainstream films as never before. *Midnight Cowboy,* which



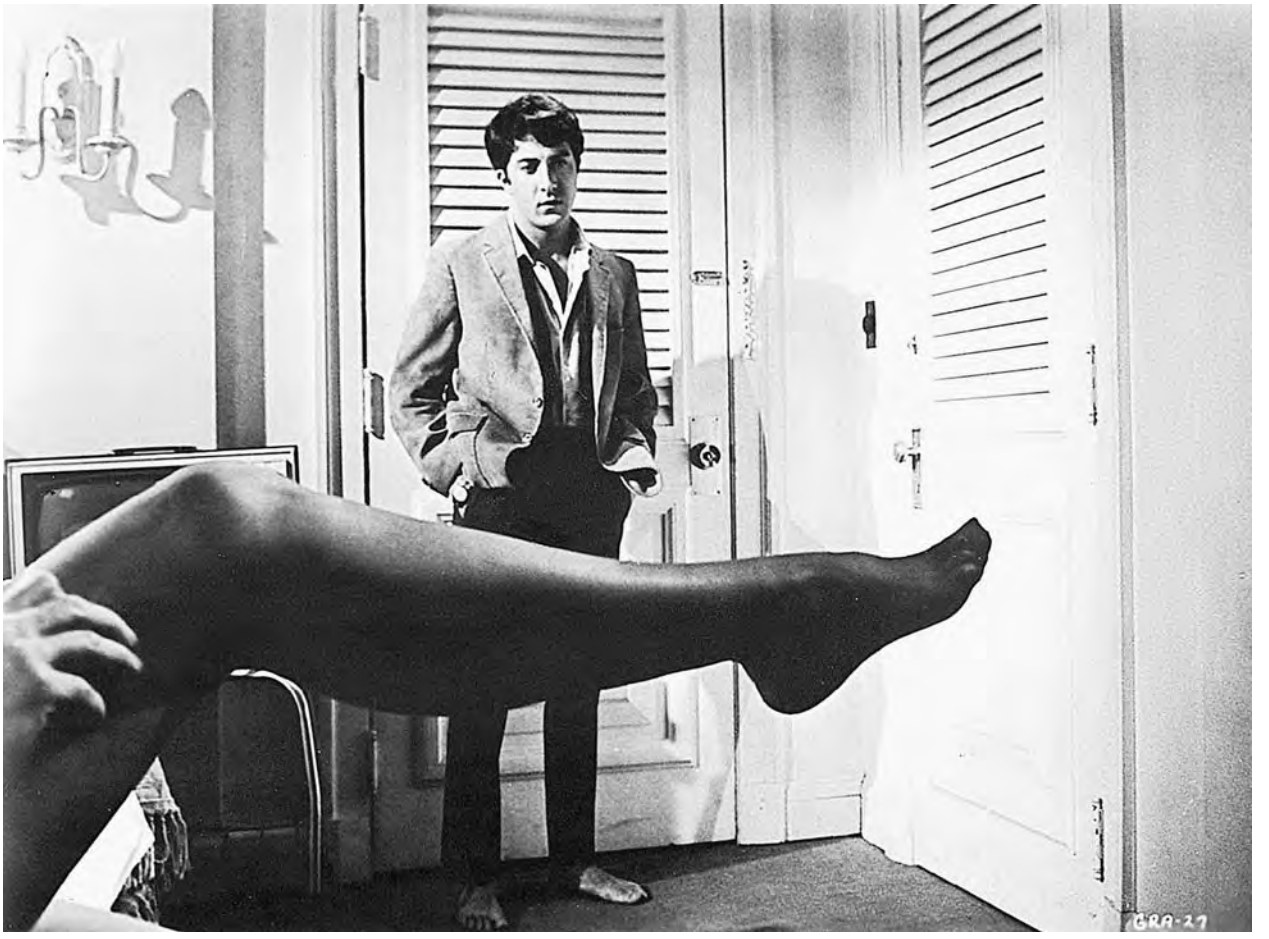
Easy Rider (1969). Directed by Dennis Hopper. Shown from left: Dennis Hopper, Peter Fonda, Jack Nicholson. It combined elements of a "road film" and a "buddy film" in a bleak portrayal of 1960s America. Courtesy of Photofest.

won Oscars in 1969 for best film and best director (John Schlesinger), introduced its audience to the world of male homosexuality in New York City. Joe Buck, played by Jon Voight, leaves Texas for New York to become a stud for wealthy women; instead, he turns to hustling tricks to support himself and his new friend, the dying Ratso Rizzo (Dustin Hoffman). The X rating the film received from the MPAA appeared not to hurt its standing with the public or with the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences.

Easy Rider was the creation of Peter Fonda and Dennis Hopper, who starred in the movie (as Captain America and Billy, respectively), wrote the screenplay, and served as director (Hopper) and producer (Fonda). Jack Nicholson played an alcoholic young lawyer who joins them on their motorcycle trip to find freedom and the real America, a trip financed by a cocaine deal. Nicholson's character is murdered along the way by rednecks, but Fonda's and Hopper's characters end up tripping through a psychedelic New Orleans. The two heroes get murdered on the road after leaving the Big Easy, a lesson of sorts in a film that attempted to portray just about every aspect of counterculture.

Meanwhile, more traditional sex fantasies were conjured up by sex kittens like Raquel Welch in *One Million Years B.C.,* 1966, in which she demonstrated that the first clothing ever invented was the bikini; Jane Fonda, who wore a skintight black suit in *Barbarella,* 1967; and Ursula Andress in the first James Bond film, *Dr. No,* 1962.

One of the most successful films of the decade, *The Graduate,* 1967, starred Dustin Hoffman as a college graduate who becomes involved with Mrs. Robinson, the wife of his father's business partner, and then falls in love with her daughter. Mrs. Robinson, played by Anne Bancroft,



Dustin Hoffman in *The Graduate* (1967). Directed by Mike Nichols, the film rejected traditional American values and made a major star of Hoffman. Courtesy of Photofest.

became a symbol of the older generation's moral degeneration, and the film ends with the young lovers heading off for a life of love and truth. Director Mike Nichols won an Oscar for the film, which depicted the alienation of the younger generation from the old. The film also earned acclaim for its soundtrack, which won three Grammy awards for Simon and Garfunkel.

Mainstream films also became much more graphic in depicting violence and increasingly glorified the outlaw. The most striking example was *Bonnie and Clyde,* 1967, which featured Warren Beatty and Faye Dunaway as Depression-era bank robbers and murderers turned anti-establishment heroes fighting an oppressive social and legal system. In addition to romanticizing the gangsters, the film, directed by Arthur Penn, offered several especially violent scenes, including Bonnie and Clyde being riddled with bullets when law officers ambush them in the film's final scene.

A similar ending occurs in *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid,* 1969, when the outlaws, played by Paul Newman and Robert Redford, are caught in a trap by Bolivian soldiers. The two die in a hail of bullets as they attempt a suicidal but heroic charge. Never have outlaws been so handsome, witty, and charming—and unrealistic. As in *Bonnie and Clyde,* the audience inevitably rooted for the bad guys to outfox the forces of law and order.

Characters such as those depicted by Beatty, Redford, and Newman reflected a growing interest in a different type of hero, the antihero. Antiheroes, rather than conveying the traditional characteristics associated with heroes, reflected values and patterns of behavior more often associated with villains, or at best with failures. The antihero tended to be portrayed not as corrupt or ineffectual, but as in some way appealing and admirable, even if ultimately defeated. As American society increasingly turned away from inherited values in politics, sex, race relations, and many other areas of life, it proved more amenable to characters who similarly defied standard notions of heroism.

Violence also came to living rooms and marital relationships in films of the 1960s. Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton starred as husband and wife Martha and George in the film version of Edward Albee's play *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?,* 1966, directed by Mike Nichols. Costarring were George Segal and Sandy Dennis as a young couple invited over to George and Martha's home after a faculty party. Martha verbally attacks George and attempts to seduce biology professor Nick. George responds by inducing the young wife, Honey, to acknowledge that George and Martha's son is dead, ending a fantasy that the childless couple had maintained to make their life more bearable. Taylor and Dennis both won Oscars for their leading and supporting roles, and although most viewers recognized the success of the film, they also found it hard to take because of its unrelenting anger and mutual abuse.

A film that led viewers into frightening supernatural terrain was *Rosemary's Baby,* 1968. The film was directed by Roman Polanski (whose wife, Sharon Tate, would become one of Charles Manson's victims in 1969) and starred Mia Farrow as a young mother who gives birth to a baby who supposedly is Satan's son, the result of an unusually graphic rape scene in which Satan assumes the form of her husband. There is no happy ending, as one of the Satanists proclaims "Here's to year one!" The forces of Satan, played, in keeping with the spirit of the times, by members of the older generation, triumph over the youthful hopes of the young mother.

In the 1960s, many antiwar films focused on the possibility of nuclear war as an outcome of the Cold War. Sometimes the enemy was Russia; at other times the enemy was closer to home, in the guise of war-hungry American military leaders and corrupt or weak American politicians. Accidental war also proved good fodder for films. The most entertaining and outrageous of these films was *Dr. Strangelove: or, How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb,* 1964, directed by Stanley Kubrick. In this movie, General Jack D. Ripper, played by Sterling Hayden, isolates his air force base and launches World War III. The commies, Ripper is convinced, are literally polluting America to rob men of their sex drive. General Buck Turgidson, brilliantly overplayed by George C. Scott, supports the first strike, but is opposed by the otherwise ineffective president, one of three roles played by Peter Sellers. Sellers also plays the British officer held prisoner by Ripper and the wheelchair-bound technical genius who becomes so excited by the prospect of war that he propels

himself from his chair shouting "Mein Führer, I can walk!"—revealing himself as a secret Nazi born again in a new attempt to conquer, or destroy, the world. Ultimately, one bomber makes it through and drops its payload on Russia. The film, though enormously funny, also proved frightening in its satiric portrayal of what might go wrong when crazies with the technological means to destroy the world run around loose.

The major commercial film depicting the Vietnam War during the 1960s was a personal project of John Wayne's, *The Green Berets,* 1968. The movie was based on Robin Moore's novel *The Green Berets,* 1965, and capitalized on Barry Sadler's "The Ballad of the Green Berets," which became a big hit in 1966. Ultimately, however, the film was a vehicle for Wayne to convey his views of the war and his definition of patriotism. David Janssen of television's *The Fugitive* played a skeptical reporter who comes around to Wayne's way of thinking after seeing Vietcong fiendishness and the suffering of innocent Vietnamese children. The film was not one of Wayne's best efforts; even geographical details were wrong, such as having the sun set in the East, into the South China Sea.

Other popular genres included horror and gothic films at one extreme and beach films at the other. Horror films made people afraid of old houses, dark nights, and even shower stalls. *What Ever Happened to Baby Jane?,* 1962, popularized a subgenre of the horror/gothic film known as the "menopausal murder story." Such films featured elderly women, often played by longtime leading actresses, who did horrible things in the darkness of their also aging homes. In this Robert Aldrich film, a reclusive Jane (Bette Davis), a former child vaudeville star known as Baby Jane, learns that her sister, Blanche (Joan Crawford), plans to have her committed to an asylum and sell off the old mansion; Jane locks the wheelchair-bound Blanche in her room. The film used two actresses who in real life were bitter rivals, which provided an interesting touch.

The master of horror during the 1960s, though, remained the director Alfred Hitchcock. His *Psycho,* 1960, included one of the most famous horror scenes of all time: Janet Leigh being stabbed to death while taking a shower in her motel room. Anthony Perkins played the murderer, who masquerades as his dead mother while running the Bates Motel. Another memorable Hitchcock horror film during the decade was *The Birds,* 1963, in which birds wage war on humans. Hitchcock also turned out espionage films during the decade and hosted his own television series, *Alfred Hitchcock Presents.*

Viewers also had numerous beach films from which to choose. American-International Pictures produced some of the most popular beach films, several of which starred former lead Mousketeer of Walt Disney's *The Mickey Mouse Club,* Annette Funicello, and singer Frankie Avalon. These included *Beach Party,* 1963, *How to Stuff a Wild Bikini,* 1965, and *Beach Blanket Bingo,* 1965. Given Annette's image, carefully maintained by Disney, as young America's pretty and pure sweetheart, the films stayed away from the social turmoil and changing sexual mores flowing through American society. Annette, in fact, was not permitted to wear a bikini, and her relationship with love interest Frankie Avalon remained unceasingly chaste.

There was plenty of other escapist fare in the 1960s. Elvis Presley, back from the army, starred in 27 films during the decade, typically featured as a singing pilot, race car driver, and so on. His costars were among the most beautiful actresses of the times: Juliet Prowse in *G.I. Blues,* 1960, and Ann-Margret in *Viva Las Vegas,* 1964. The films did little to secure Elvis's long-term fame, but they did bring in the cash. One of the great social events of the decade was the King's marriage in 1967 to Priscilla Beaulieu, whom Elvis met when she was 14 and he was stationed in Germany, as was Priscilla's father, a career military man. The approximately 10-year difference in their ages excited considerable attention but did not seem to harm Elvis's standing with his fans.

The James Bond films fed millions of men's fantasies during the 1960s, as they imagined themselves like Agent 007: handsome, suave, owner of high-powered cars and other advanced gadgets, victorious over assorted villains, and always getting the beautiful and exotic girl. The original Bond, and for many still the ultimate, was played by Sean Connery. The first Bond film was *Dr. No,* 1962, followed by *From Russia with Love,* 1963, *Goldfinger,* 1964, *Thunderball,* 1965, and *You Only Live Twice,* 1967. The stories usually occurred in exotic locations where Bond battled

HOW OTHERS SEE US

The Spaghetti Western

Hollywood's cowboy films had always found eager foreign audiences. When the American film industry turned away from the Western genre in about 1960, European studios began to fill the gap with their own product. From 1962 to 1973, filmmakers from Italy, Spain, and Germany produced 200 to 600 Westerns. Their low-budget movies were huge moneymakers outside the United States, and would eventually win a prominent place in American pop culture, though at first they had mainly a cult following among American moviegoers. Disparaging critics, while hurling insults ("those peculiar marathons of cowboys, gore, dubbing, sadism and trompe l'oeil" was one of the more restrained descriptions), dubbed the films "spaghetti Westerns"—a label that their young creators seized with pleasure.

Then-unknown Italian director Sergio Leone created the first landmark film of the genre, *A Fistful of Dollars,* in 1964. With his $200,000 budget he hired an American television actor, Clint Eastwood, and shot on location near Almeria in Spain, a desert landscape that mimicked the American Southwest. Leone's story of the mercenary Man With No Name reveled in all the stereotypes of the cowboy movie while adding a mythic quality and an operatic sensibility.

Music was a critical element in Leone's film. The score by Ennio Morricone included theme music for each major character, in keeping with the movie's broadly dramatic, classically operatic mood. Huge, empty vistas were interlaced with tiny details—a gunfighter's shifting eyes, the sound of buzzing flies—to make the film's extreme and stylized violence seem at once hyperdramatic and hyperreal.

Cold War enemies of Great Britain and the Free World. Some of the title songs, such as Shirley Bassey's "Goldfinger" and Nancy Sinatra's "You Only Live Twice," became hits; the Bond films also helped their beautiful, foreign-born actresses achieve fame, among them Ursula Andress, Daniela Bianchi, Honor Blackman, and Shirley Eaton. The Bond women, especially in the later Connery films of the 1960s, helped to change the Western world's taste in beautiful women from busty, big-hipped sex-pots like Marilyn Monroe and Jayne Mansfield to slender, youthful types who looked as if they would be as much at home riding a bike or climbing a mountain as inviting a handsome secret agent into their boudoir.

Finally, there were the alternative and underground films. Some of the films already discussed, such as *Easy Rider,* were clearly out of the mainstream in content and mode of production even though they were distributed commercially. The so-called art film tended toward less narrative continuity than most commercial films and often shifted in unusual ways between realism and subjectivity. Individual style was especially important in the art films, and the content more explicitly represented social and sexual changes in American culture than did most commercial cinema.

Andy Warhol especially stretched the boundaries of films—and sometimes the limits of viewers' patience—as he moved from minimal, avant-garde films to commercial productions. *Sleep,* 1963, for example, is simply a film of a person sleeping. For *Empire,* Warhol trained a camera on the Empire State Building from 1963 to 1964, thereby producing probably the longest film in history.

Underground films usually emanated from New York City or San Francisco and represented subcultures and their sexual, aesthetic, drug, and political proclivities. Such films were usually little more than documentaries of these groups and proved even less commercially viable than art films.

TELEVISION

Television became the dominant communications medium in American society during the 1960s. At the beginning of the decade, over 45 million households had at least one television, and that figure would rise to almost 60 million by the end of the 1960s.[2] The three major networks, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), and the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) dominated programming. A small amount of alternative programming was provided by the new Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), founded

in 1969, and by cable television, available in about seven percent of homes by the end of the decade.[3]

During the 1960s television transformed from a New York-based industry with single sponsors controlling shows to a Hollywood-based system with multiple sponsorship and network control over shows. Major film studios and independent companies produced the shows, which were licensed, distributed, and often owned by the networks. The A. C. Nielsen Corporation measured viewer attention, *TV Guide* magazine published television schedules, and the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) regulated the industry. The movement to color programming by the mid-1960s attracted even more viewers. The evening network news programs expanded in 1963 from 15 to 30 minutes, turning such news anchormen as Walter Cronkite on CBS and the team of Chet Huntley and David Brinkley on NBC into the primary dispensers of news to the masses.

These changes did not proceed without controversy. In 1961, FCC chairman Newton Minow blasted the television industry for its lack of quality programming, labeling the small screen a "vast wasteland."[4] In the same year, Senator Thomas Dodd of Connecticut opened his Senate hearings on violence in television. The hearings ran out of gas in 1964, but did prompt a partial shift from action adventure shows to sitcoms, as well as several research projects that explored the effects of television violence on children.

The Untouchables, 1959–1963, starring Robert Stack as Prohibition-era crime fighter Eliot Ness, came under fire by Dodd and also by Italian American groups who objected to the show's depiction of Italian Americans as gangsters. The series toned down its violence and incorporated more gangsters with non-Italian names.

Television sought to avoid controversy in order to not offend its viewers. Throughout the decade, television, much more than theater films, stayed as far removed as possible from the changes going on in American society. Series from the 1950s about all-American families, such as *Father Knows Best,* 1954–1963, starring Robert Young, and *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet,* 1952–1966, with Ozzie and Harriet Nelson playing themselves along with their actual sons David and future rock star Ricky, continued their success into the 1960s. Robert Young left *Father Knows Best* after the 1959–60 season, but the show continued in reruns on prime time for the next three years.

Wisdom and comedy combined in *The Andy Griffith Show,* 1960–1968. Griffith played Sheriff Andy Taylor of Mayberry, North Carolina, who provided commonsense guidance to son Opie (Ron Howard) and bumbling Deputy Barney Fife (Don Knotts). Knotts won five Emmys from the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences for his role as best supporting actor.[5] The series featured an endearing set of town characters including Frances Bavier as Aunt Bee and Jim Nabors, whose character spun off his own series, *Gomer Pyle, U.S.M.C.*

Broad comedy characterized the families and friends on *The Dick Van Dyke Show,* 1961–1966 and *The Beverly Hillbillies,* 1962–1971, two of television's all-time popular series. A favorite with

NOTABLE TV SHOWS

The Andy Griffith Show
The Beverly Hillbillies
Bewitched
Candid Camera
The Dick Van Dyke Show
Doctor Who
The Ed Sullivan Show
Gilligan's Island
Gomer Pyle, U.S.M.C.
Gunsmoke
Hee-Haw
I Dream of Jeannie
The Lucy Show
Mission: Impossible
Rowan and Martin's Laugh In
Star Trek
The Tonight Show
The Twilight Zone
Wagon Train
What's My Line

both viewers and critics, the series won numerous Emmys, including four as top program in its field, three for Van Dyke, and two for Mary Tyler Moore, who played his wife. *The Beverly Hillbillies,* which starred Buddy Ebsen as Jed Clampett, patriarch of an Ozarks family that struck it rich in oil and moved to Hollywood, was even more popular with viewers, finishing number one in the Nielsen ratings for the 1962–1963 and 1963–1964 seasons.

Some families were more unusual, and were based on popular comic series, such as the mock-horror characters of *The Munsters,* 1964–1966, and *The Addams Family,* 1964–1966. *The Flintstones,* 1960–1966, were a popular animated family that featured Fred and Wilma Flintstone. *The Flintstones* parodied suburban life in the 1960s, as the characters enjoyed all the modern conveniences of life, prehistoric style, while maintaining traditional spousal stereotypes. The show introduced the nonsense phrase "Yabba Dabba Doo!" into the American lexicon.

The most consistent reflection of political issues in television entertainment occurred on crime and western series with good triumphing over bad in moral struggles. Crime-fighting took many forms, from J. Edgar Hoover's agents (led by Efrem Zimbalist Jr.) tracking down spies, counterfeiters, and other unsavory types on *The F.B.I.,* 1965–1974, to the three youthful hippie cops of *The Mod Squad,* 1968–1973, to the interracial anti-espionage team of Robert Culp and Bill Cosby in *I Spy,* 1965–1968, to the James Bond spoof *Get Smart* starring Don Adams, 1965–1970. Raymond Burr exonerated his clients while discovering the true evildoers on *Perry Mason,* 1957–1966, and later was a wounded chief of detectives confined to a wheelchair in *Ironside,* 1967–1971.

In one of the most remarkable series of the 1960s, David Janssen starred on *The Fugitive,* 1963–1967, as Dr. Richard Kimble, who searched the country for the one-armed murderer of his wife, both to gain justice for her and exonerate himself. Kimble was being taken by train to be executed for the murder when a derailment allowed him to escape from Lt. Philip Gerard. Throughout the series, Gerard pursued Kimble, and Kimble pursued the one-armed murderer. Along the way, Kimble assumed a long line of new identities and solved countless problems for others. The series to some extent paralleled the real-life case of Dr. Sam Sheppard, who was convicted of murdering his wife but continued to claim that she had been killed by an intruder. During the years of the series, Dr. Sheppard was granted a new trial and found not guilty.

Batman, 1966–1968, was futuristic with its gadgets, including the Batmobile. Batman (Adam West) and youthful sidekick Robin (Dick Grayson) battled a host of unusual villains, such as the Penguin (Burgess Meredith) and the Riddler (Frank Gorshin), to preserve the peace and security of Gotham City.

Westerns of the 1960s reflected an increasingly complex society—for example, they emphasized strong independent women, presented a more balanced depiction of Native Americans, and de-emphasized violence when television violence became a major issue during the early 1960s. The rise of the adult western in the 1950s had introduced greater complexity into the motivation and behavior of such heroes as Matt Dillon on *Gunsmoke,* 1955–1975. Yet the genre continued to appeal to those who saw moral issues in stark good-versus-evil terms, with good triumphing. That attitude fell increasingly out of favor with the escalation of antiwar sentiment and civil strife over racial and generational issues in the second half of the 1960s, and with a growing realization that traditional ideas of right were often inadequate.

The "family" western emerged in the late 1950s and continued through the early 1960s. These films featured western families, usually minus the mother, and included *The Rifleman,* 1958–1963, starring Chuck Connors as the widowed Lucas McCain rearing his son and *The Virginian,* 1962–1971, with Lee J. Cobb and James Drury. *The Big Valley,* 1965–1969, was unusual in that the widowed mother, played by Barbara Stanwyck, headed up the family.

The most popular of the family westerns (next to *Gunsmoke,* the most popular television western of all time), though, was *Bonanza,* 1959–1973. Bonanza starred Lorne Greene as Ben Cartwright and Michael Landon, Dan Blocker, and Pernell Roberts as sons Little Joe, Hoss, and Adam. The series was the number one rated show on television for three consecutive seasons, from 1964–1967 and, resisting the overall drop in popularity of



Gunsmoke was the top-rated television show at the beginning of the 1960s and continued on the air until 1975. Its 20 years on television (1955–1975) were the most ever by a prime-time series with continuing characters. The main characters included (left to right): James Arness (as Marshal Matt Dillon); Amanda Blake (Kitty Russell); Milburn Stone (Doc Adams); and Dennis Weaver (Deputy Chester Goode). Courtesy of Photofest.



The original *Star Trek,* which was shown on television on NBC from 1966 to 1969. Shown from left: Leonard Nimoy (as Lt. Cmdr. Spock), William Shatner (as Captain James T. Kirk), and James Doohan (as Montgomery Scott "Scotty"). Courtesy of Photofest.

westerns, remained in the top 10 from 1961 to 1971. *Gunsmoke* also bucked the 1960's anti-western trend. Starring James Arness as Marshal Matt Dillon, Amanda Blake as Kitty Russell, and Milburn Stone as crusty Doc Adams, the series was set in historic Dodge City, Kansas. The show featured a supporting cast that included Burt Reynolds as part-Indian blacksmith Quint Asper (1962–1965), Dennis Weaver as Deputy Chester Goode (1955–1964), and Ken Curtis as Festus Haggen (1964–1975). *Gunsmoke* was the top-rated show from 1957 to 1961. After dropping out of the top 10 (1963–1967), it reached fourth place in the 1967–1968 season, and continued in the top 10 through 1972–1973.

The 1960s began with westerns holding the top three spots in the ratings for the 1959–1960, 1960–1961, and 1961–1962 seasons, thanks to *Gunsmoke, Wagon Train, Have Gun Will Travel,* and *Bonanza.* By 1969–1970, *Gunsmoke* and *Bonanza* stood alone as the only westerns in the top 30. The demise of the western reflected not only the political changes in the United States but also the reality that with the western directed primarily toward adults throughout the 1960s, large numbers of children had come of age without connecting with the genre. In addition, President Kennedy had proclaimed space a "new frontier," and as Americans' attention turned skyward, television followed suit.

Among the space shows during the 1960s, *Star Trek,* 1966–1969, was the most memorable. Producer Gene Roddenberry saw his series as something of a replacement for the traditional western, characterizing the series as a "Wagon Train to the stars," a reference to the *Wagon Train* series, 1957–1965. Captain James Kirk (William Shatner), the unrelentingly logical Mr. Spock (Leonard Nimoy), Dr. McCoy (DeForest Kelley), and the rest of the crew of the starship *Enterprise* engaged various forms of alien life in battle on its interstellar jour-

STAR TREK

In 1964, screenwriter and producer Gene Roddenberry proposed a groundbreaking new series to NBC studios. Roddenberry's creation, now known around the world as the "Star Trek" universe, featured a unique blend of science fiction and moral drama and became one of the most successful franchises in history. It has evolved through five hit television series, films, and hundreds of novels into a detailed fictional universe. The original Star Trek series debuted in 1966 and remained on the air for three years. Though the special effects were laughable and the acting melodramatic, if endearing, the show developed a loyal audience often known (either derisively or affectionately) as "Trekkies." Set against the backdrop of space, Star Trek addressed serious issues, like violence and race relations, that were too sensitive for more realistic series. Star Trek is also often credited with featuring the first interracial kiss on television. Though the series was cancelled for poor ratings, fans protested to such an extent that the producers decided to convert the franchise to film. Star Trek made its big screen debut in 1979 with *Star Trek: the Motion Picture,* and was followed by a series of successful sequels. NBC eventually decided to bring the universe back to television with *Star Trek: The Next Generation,* which ran from 1987 to 1993 and led to three additional series. Over the years, the Star Trek universe has had an enormous cultural impact. From spawning one of the world's most detailed fictional languages, "Klingon," to inspiring a generation of physicists and engineers to create new innovations, Star Trek occupies a unique place in American culture.

neys. Although not particularly popular during its original run, the series attracted loyal fans known as Trekkies who faithfully followed the show in reruns and staged *Star Trek* conventions.

The 1960s offered considerable diversity. Doctor shows were in, especially series that featured young, handsome doctors like Richard Chamberlain on *Dr. Kildare,* 1961–1966, and Vince Edwards on *Ben Casey,* 1961–1966. Critics loved *The Twilight Zone,* 1959–1965, created and hosted by playwright Rod Serling. The program featured unusual, provocative stories that often ended with an ironic twist. The show earned four Emmys but never ranked in Nielsen's top 35. Conversely, critics mocked *The Lawrence Welk Show,* 1955–1982, lamented that the show appealed to an aged audience, and did not take seriously the squeaky clean cast of Welk's musical family and their "champagne music." The show ran on network television for 16 years and produced additional new episodes in syndication for more than another decade. Its popularity peaked during the second half of the 1960s as a statement of traditional values.

Ed Sullivan came across as a wooden and inarticulate host on *The Ed Sullivan Show* (originally called *Toast of the Town*). From 1948 to 1971 this Sunday night fixture introduced viewers to a world of talent including trick-performing dogs, Senor Wences and his talking box, Elvis Presley, and the Beatles. Sullivan was a favorite among comedians and impressionists, and his habits of hugging himself with crossed arms and welcoming his audience to a "really big shew" were often imitated. Sullivan changed popular culture in the United States. The performances by Elvis (shot from the waist up to hide his pelvic gyrations) in 1956 and the Beatles in 1964 introduced them to millions of American viewers for the first time and remain among the most important moments in television history. In addition, Sullivan integrated television by featuring a long list of African American performers, including Lena Horne and Pearl Bailey.

Viewers could see regular people on *Candid Camera,* 1960–1967. Allen Funt started directing a hidden camera at normal people in the late 1940s, but had his steadiest run on television during the 1960s. The point was to find the humor in everyday activities by filming people simply doing what they normally did. The show also set up gags or practical jokes and filmed people's reactions. Individuals encountered vending machines that talked back and restaurants that served miniscule portions of food. Finally, the unsuspecting victims would hear the revealing words, "Smile, you're on *Candid Camera.*"

Millions of Americans continued to retire for the night with *The Tonight Show* starring Jack

Paar and, from 1962 on, Johnny Carson. Carson, with his opening monologue, comedy skits, and wide range of entertaining guests, was so popular that it was said he lowered the birth rate, as viewers refused to turn their attention from his show.

Television moved into social satire during the 1960s. *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In,* 1968–1973, emphasized humor and gentle mockery rather than serious social satire. Headed by Dan Rowan and Dick Martin and featuring a large and talented cast (Ruth Buzzi, Judy Carne, Goldie Hawn, Arte Johnson, Lily Tomlin and others), the show offered a fast-paced series of sketches, one-liners, and cameo performances by celebrities, including politicians. *Laugh-In* expressions such as "You bet your bippy" and "Sock it to me" entered the nation's lexicon. Even Richard Nixon appeared on the show, inviting the audience to "Sock it to me." The series was number one in the Nielsen ratings during its first two seasons, but declined as many of its stars moved on to other ventures.

While *Laugh-In* offended few, *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour,* 1967–1969, offended many people in high places within the industry. Tom and Dick Smothers started off inoffensively enough with folk songs, witty repartee, and enough mainstream guests such as George Burns, Jim Nabors, and Eva Gabor to offset their irreverent tone. The show appealed to a youthful audience and included Leigh French as Goldie O'Keefe, a "hippie chick" who boasted of her drug experiences in terminology that older viewers did not sufficiently understand to get upset about. *The Smothers Brothers* moved steadily leftward in its second and third seasons and ran into increasing trouble with CBS executives and censors. CBS pulled the plug on the series on April 3, 1969, claiming that Tom Smothers had not provided an acceptable tape of the show's next broadcast in time for appropriate review by the Program Practices Department and local stations.

Throughout the decade, social scientists, politicians, educators, parents, and others had been looking carefully at the effects of television programming on children. In 1969, *Sesame Street* began to offer preschool children both entertainment and education on PBS. An outstanding creative team and high production values made the show a welcome partner to parents and teachers.

HOW OTHERS SEE US

Can You Tell Me How to Get to *Plaza Sesamo?*

The children's television show *Sesame Street* was one American product that was never meant to be marketed outside the United States. Created by the nonprofit Children's Television Workshop and aimed squarely at American preschoolers, its early episodes were not filmed with separated (and therefore dub-able) sound tracks, unlike most American TV programs, which were heavily pushed into foreign markets.

Even so, TV networks from Jamaica, Canada, and Australia immediately clamored for the rights to air the show, and within three years of its 1969 debut *Sesame Street* was being broadcast in 48 nations, from Japan to Iran to Poland to Nigeria. Aired in its original English with occasional local-language voice-overs, the show soon had children the world over counting in English and singing the English alphabet.

While parents appreciated the show's high entertainment and educational value, many became concerned about its U.S.-centric point of view. (After watching a *Sesame Street* film about cows, an English father asked his son if he knew where milk came from. "Of course," said the boy, "America.") In 1972, a Spanish-language version of the program, *Plaza Sesamo,* began production in Mexico City with CTW participation. The new show was broadcast throughout Latin America and led to more than 30 *Sesame Street* siblings, including *Sesamstrasse* in Germany, *Ulitsa Sezam* in Russia, *Zhima Jie* in China, and *Alam Simsim* in Egypt. Still, the impact of the original English-language run continued to reverberate, one more factor in the rise of English as a global tongue.

The heart of *Sesame Street* was a group of Muppets created by Jim Henson—Ernie and Bert, Big Bird, Oscar the Grouch, Cookie Monster, and Kermit the Frog. The show was set on a city street to appeal to urban youth and included a serious commitment to ethnic diversity. Snappy tunes made learning the alphabet and many other things fun. Some observers worried that the rapid pace of the show would depress children's attention span, but

teachers found that youngsters who had watched *Sesame Street* started school with much better knowledge of numbers and letters than their predecessors.

RADIO IN THE 1960s

As TV's variety, comedy, and drama shows gained viewers in the mid-1950s, similar programs disappeared from the nation's radio stations. Adults continued to tune in to radio for breaking news events and informational programs, but by 1960 radio had been eclipsed as America's primary home entertainment medium.

One demographic comprised the exception: teenagers and young adults. Many broadcasters turned to rock-and-roll music to stay afloat. Local AM stations in Kansas City and Dallas developed the "Top 40" format, whose loud disk jockeys and pop songs were ubiquitous nationwide in the early to late 1960s. A new invention, the battery-operated portable transistor radio, encouraged young people to take their favorite stations with them wherever they went. Teenagers and young adults stayed glued to the radio, listening to the latest songs at home and in the car. Especially during the mid to late 1960s, everyone was listening to singles on the radio by the Supremes and other Motown performers, the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, James Brown, Bob Dylan, the Kinks, Simon and Garfunkel, the Beach Boys, Jimi Hendrix, and others. Weekly radio programs offered countdown shows of the newly ranked top 10 singles.

By the late 1960s, however, FM radio was fast becoming the favorite of music lovers. Stereo broadcasting was authorized by the Federal Communications Commission in 1961—for FM stations only. With superior sound quality, but limited geographic reach, FM outlets experimented with long-form rock broadcasting; many stations offered progressive jazz and classical music. Album-oriented rock, or AOR, and loose "freeform" programming offered an alternative to the limited playlists of the longer-reach AM stations.

MAJOR TOP-40 DJS

Johnny Dolan (WHB-AM, Kansas City)

"Murray the K" Kaufman (WINS-AM and WOR-FM, New York City)

Don Keyes (KLIF-AM, Dallas)

"Cousin Brucie" Morrow (WABC-AM, New York City)

"The Real" Don Steele (KHJ-AM, Los Angeles)

FREEFORM RADIO PIONEERS

Tom Donahue (KMPX-FM, San Francisco)

Dave Herman (WMMR-FM, Philadelphia)

John Leonard (KPFA-FM, Berkeley, California)

Scott Muni (WOR-FM and WNEW-FM, New York City)

Vin Scelsa (WFMU-FM, East Orange, New Jersey)

DANCE

Dances such as The Twist, The Frug, The Jerk, The Mashed Potato, The Funky Chicken, and The Swim were popular during the 1960s. Such dances, as short-lived as most of them were, showed teens' determination of to manufacture new forms of entertainment sharply different from those of their parents. The dances conveyed enthusiasm and spontaneity, a sense of individualism, and a clear preference for the unconventional. Like of the changing fashion, hair styles, and music, these dances belonged to a youth culture determined to create rather than inherit.

The dances had some fairly standard movements, but nothing as firmly established as the steps of most ballroom dances; however, the freedom conveyed by these dances fit the spirit of the 1960s—freedom of movement, freedom from the traditions of the older generation, and freedom to express oneself with spontaneous adjustments to the minimal patterns associated with the dances.

Pantomime played an important role in many of the popular dances of the decade. The Swim involved dancers extending and retracting their arms as if they were swimming. Sometimes, a dancer would hold his or her nose with one hand while slowly sinking to the floor as if submerging in a swimming pool. The Jerk usually included holding one arm aloft while slowly sinking to the floor in a series of jerky movements that brought

the entire body down, the arm following suit, then slowly jerking back upright with the other arm rising. The Funky Chicken usually accompanied soul music and included chicken-like movements.

The dance that most symbolized the 1960s and opened the dance floor to countless other dances, was The Twist. Unlike many popular dances of the time, The Twist had a long history. It grew out of a nineteenth century twisting dance that was popular in African American settings; in the 1930s, the Sensational Nightingales, a gospel group, invited listeners to "do the twist." The 1960s version of the dance was the work of Hank Ballard, who recorded "The Twist" in the late 1950s. The song quickly spawned an accompanying dance. By July 1960, the song was a hit, and Dick Clark wanted to feature it on his *American Bandstand* show. Clark felt that Ballard, although an important rhythm and blues artist, was too associated with songs that included sexual allusions (like "Sexy Ways") to fit his show's wholesome image. Clark therefore encouraged a young singer named Chubby Checker to record the song, which Checker tried out on *The Dick Clark Show* (an evening version of the daytime *American Bandstand*) in August 1960. Both the song and dance became hits; Checker's version climbed to the top of the charts by September. In 1962, Checker's "The Twist" became the first record since Bing Crosby's "White Christmas" to make a return trip to first place after being off the charts.

"The Twist" precipitated some two dozen "Twist" songs, such as "Let's Twist Again" (Checker,



Chubby Checker demonstrates the twist in the film *Twist around the Clock* (1961). The coats and ties worn by Checker and the band are typical attire of the early to mid-1960s pop music entertainers. Courtesy of Photofest.

1961), "Twist and Shout" (The Isley Brothers, 1961), and "Twistin' the Night Away" (Sam Cooke, 1962).

When teens were not dancing, they were often watching Dick Clark's *American Bandstand,* 1956–1989. The show was enormously influential, and helped make stars of such performers as Chubby Checker, Frankie Avalon, Fabian, and the Everly Brothers. Clark deserves credit for bringing white and black teenagers together in a social context on national television for the first time and for featuring many African American performers.

Young adults increasingly favored discotheques (so-called discos), which originated in France and featured records (disks) rather than live bands. The discotheques, such as New York's Peppermint Lounge, which featured Joey Dee and the Starlighters and gave rise to the song "The Peppermint Twist," were most often found in cities. Some of the discos also highlighted attractive young women dancing on stages, in cages, or in otherwise prominent places. These "go-go dancers" typically wore skimpy attire and high boots, which came to be known as go-go boots.

A dance that went over well with the slightly older crowd was The Limbo. An individual dancer would dance up to a stick held horizontally by two people, perhaps to Chubby Checker's 1962 "Limbo Rock," and attempt to move underneath the stick, body bent back, without falling to the floor.

Ballet also won headlines in the 1960s, often for political reasons. In 1960, the American Ballet Theatre became the first U.S. company to tour Russia. On June 16, 1961, the great Russian ballet dancer Rudolf Nureyev defected to the West while performing in Paris. He subsequently performed with the Royal Ballet in London. His defection was seen in the United States as another sign of Western superiority in the Cold War competition.

In 1962, Nureyev debuted in the United States in *Don Quixote* for Ruth Page's Chicago Opera Ballet. Nureyev excited considerable attention, not only because he had made such a bold political statement, but also for his innovative and athletic dancing style and strong personality.

Throughout the 1960s, new venues for fine ballet kept opening up. William Christensen started Ballet West in Salt Lake City in 1963. In 1964, Virginia Williams, with $7 million from the Ford Foundation, created the Boston Ballet and the New York City Ballet, which opened in Lincoln Center's New York State Theater.

The most important creative force in presenting great ballet to American audiences in the 1960s was another Russian-born defector, George Balanchine. Born Georgi Balanchivadze in St. Petersburg in 1904, the ballet dancer defected while performing in Europe in 1924. Balanchine moved to the United States in 1933 to create the American Ballet Company. Viewed by many critics as the finest choreographer of the mid-twentieth century, Balanchine continued to produce exciting ballets throughout the decade for the New York City Ballet, that in 1948 he had helped to create. These ballets included *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* 1962, *Tarantella,* 1964, *Don Quixote,* 1965, and *Jewels,* 1967.

NOTABLE THEATER

Camelot, 1960 (873 perfs.)

How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying, 1961 (1,417 perfs.)

Mary, Mary, 1961 (1,572 perfs.)

A Funny Things Happened on the Way to the Forum, 1962 (964 perfs.)

Barefoot in the Park, 1963 (1,530 perfs.)

Hello, Dolly!, 1964 (2,844 perfs.)

Funny Girl, 1964 (1,348 perfs.)

Fiddler on the Roof, 1964 (3,242 perfs.)

Cactus Flower, 1965 (1,234 perfs.)

Man of La Mancha, 1965 (2,328 perfs)

The Odd Couple, 1965 (964 perfs.)

Mame, 1966 (1,508 perfs.)

Cabaret, 1966 (1,165 perfs.)

Hair, 1968 (1,750 perfs.)

Promises, Promises, 1968 (1,281 perfs.)

1776, 1969 (1,217 perfs.)

Oh! Calcutta!, 1969 (1,314 perfs.)

DRAMA

The great masters of American drama at the beginning of the 1960s were Tennessee Williams and Arthur Miller. Williams had established himself with such hits as *The Glass Menagerie,* 1945, and *A Streetcar Named Desire,* 1947, and Miller with *Death of a Salesman,* 1949. In 1961, Tennessee Williams created *The Night of the Iguana* about a group of people at a seedy coastal hotel in Mexico, with the iguana symbolizing the bondage afflicting the human participants. *The Night of the Iguana* earned Williams his fourth New York Drama Critics' Circle Award.

By the 1960s, Arthur Miller was as well known to the general public for his marriage to actress Marilyn Monroe, previously married to baseball great Joe DiMaggio, as for his drama. They married in 1956, and Miller wrote the screenplay *The Misfits* for his wife. Released in 1960, *The Misfits* was the final film for both Monroe and Clark Gable. The following year, Miller and Monroe divorced, and Monroe committed suicide in 1962. Ironically, possibly Miller's best play during the 1960s was *After the Fall,* 1964, an autobiographical exploration of the playwright's life, including his wives.

Musicals, long popular with American audiences and viewed by many drama historians as a particularly American genre, continued to play well on Broadway with audiences that preferred traditional fare. The list of memorable musicals from the decade includes *The Sound of Music,* by Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II, which won a Tony for best musical in 1960; *Oliver!,* 1963, by Lionel Bart; *Hello Dolly!,* 1964, which starred Carol Channing and set a record by winning 10 Tonys; *Funny Girl,* 1964, by Jule Styne and starring Barbara Streisand; and *Cabaret,* 1966, by John Kander and Fred Ebb.

Camelot, 1960, another of the blockbuster musicals of the 1960s, occupies a special place in American culture. The show, by Frederick Loewe and Alan Jay Lerner, starred Richard Burton as King Arthur, Julie Andrews as Queen Guenevere, and Robert Goulet as Lancelot. The story of a faraway time and place of great ideals ruled by a brave and honorable king was a favorite of President and Mrs. Kennedy. After the president's assassination, Mrs. Kennedy compared the Kennedy presidency to Arthur's legendary city, Camelot, thereby establishing a lasting analogy between the abbreviated administration and a line from the musical: "…one brief shining moment that was known as Camelot." The association became a lasting epithet (some would say myth) that defined Kennedy's term in office and the country at that time.[6] Although musicals would continue to be produced, they would never again occupy such a powerful position on the Broadway stage.

The new star of comedy was Neil Simon, who had honed his writing skills in early television on *Your Show of Shows,* 1950–1954, starring Sid Caesar and Imogene Coca. Simon produced nine hit comedies in the decade, each examining a particular aspect of contemporary life. Finding comedy in discordant personalities, he created a spontaneous young bride and conservative husband in *Barefoot in the Park,* 1963, and most famously the mismatched roommates of *The Odd Couple,* 1965, compulsively tidy Felix Unger and slob Oscar Madison. *The Odd Couple* starred two of the great comic actors of the century, Art Carney and Walter Matthau, and translated on both the large and small screens into highly successful film in 1967 and television versions that ran from 1970 to 1975, the former teaming Jack Lemmon with Matthau, the latter substituting Tony Randall and Jack Klugman. In his later plays of the 1960s, such as *The Last of the Red-Hot Lovers,* 1969, Simon turned to the sexual revolution for comic situations. Although critics debated the quality of Simon's plays, he undeniably influenced the shape of American popular comedy.

Some of the great social issues of the day—racial justice, feminism, the antiwar movement, the continued rise of rock music, and sexual freedom—left their mark on American drama.

One of the most important African American dramatists of the decade was Lorraine Hansberry. Hansberry became the first African American woman to have a play on Broadway when *A Raisin in the Sun* opened in 1959. The play chronicled Hansberry's own family plight and highlighted a black family's difficulties trying to move from a Chicago apartment into a nice house in a white neighborhood. Critics applauded the play for its

sophisticated depth and realism in tackling racial and gender issues, and for its excellent performances, especially by Sidney Poitier as Walter Lee Younger. Some African Americans, however, saw the play as championing white middle-class values and noted its use of terms such as "Negro" and "colored," which were increasingly rejected by black activists during the 1960s as white-imposed designations. *A Raisin in the Sun* was turned into a successful film in 1961, with Poitier reprising his stage role.

In 1973, a musical version, *Raisin,* appeared on Broadway. A second Hansberry play, *The Sign in Sidney Brustein's Window,* opened on Broadway in 1964. This play consisted mainly of white characters, including a homosexual, as Hansberry demonstrated her ability to explore not only racial and gender but also sexual and political issues. Unfortunately, this very talented playwright died in 1965 of cancer. The title of a compilation of her writings transformed into a 1969 off-Broadway hit that summed up her great potential and tragic loss: *To Be Young, Gifted, and Black.*

Megan Terry was a major figure in the rise of feminist drama, and supported new venues for little known but talented playwrights. Terry helped to found the New York Open Theater and was its playwright-in-residence from 1963 to 1968. A leader in experimental theater, she was largely responsible for developing the transformation play, which required actors to engage in continuous improvisation and transform a play in response to changing settings, incidents in the plot, and nuances in character development.

Terry was also an important pioneer in using drama to protest the Vietnam War. Her *Viet Rock: A Folk War Movie,* produced by the Open Theater in 1966, was the first significant play about the war. The play departed from traditional musicals in important ways, including its use of rock music and interaction between players and audience. At the end of the play, all the performers dropped to the ground amid giant explosions, with Americans and Vietnamese killed indiscriminately. A coda, however, offered hope for the future, with the actors rising and entering the audience, each actor touching a viewer's hand, face, or hair.

Opposition to the war in American society was part of a larger movement of anti-traditionalism. Many young people rejected the status quo and authority across the board, including their parents' views on sexual morality. Changing attitudes toward sex appeared on the stage, sometimes in conjunction with rock music.

Hair: The American Tribal Love-Rock Musical premiered at Joseph Papp's off-Broadway Public Theater in December 1967. In April 1968, it opened on Broadway. The story line involves

NOTABLE ACTORS

Julie Andrews, 1935–
Richard Burton, 1925–1984
Sean Connery, 1930–
Doris Day, 1924–
Sandra Dee, 1942–2005
Clint Eastwood, 1930–
Cary Grant, 1904–1986
Audrey Hepburn, 1929–1993
Katharine Hepburn, 1907–2003
Rock Hudson, 1925–1985
Jack Lemmon, 1925–2001
Steve McQueen, 1930–1980
Paul Newman, 1925–2008
Sidney Poitier, 1927–
Elvis Presley, 1935–1977
Debbie Reynolds, 1932–
Elizabeth Taylor, 1932–
Spencer Tracy, 1900–1967
John Wayne, 1907–1979
Raquel Welch, 1940–

HIGHEST GROSSING MOVIES

1. *The Sound of Music,* 1965, $79,000,000
2. *The Graduate,* 1968, $49,078,000
3. *Doctor Zhivago,* 1965, $46,550,000
4. *Butch Cassidy,* 1969, $46,039,000
5. *Mary Poppins,* 1964, $41,000,000

ACADEMY AWARD WINNERS

1960 Picture: *The Apartment*

Director: Billy Wilder, *The Apartment*
Actor: Burt Lancaster, *Elmer Gantry*
Actress: Elizabeth Taylor, *Butterfield 8*

1961 Picture: *West Side Story*

Director: Jerome Robbins and Robert Wise, *West Side Story*
Actor: Maximillian Schell, *Judgment at Nuremberg*
Actress: Sophia Loren, *Two Women*

1962 Picture: *Lawrence of Arabia*

Director: David Lean, *Lawrence of Arabia*
Actor: Gregory Peck, *To Kill a Mockingbird*
Actress: Anne Bancroft, *The Miracle Worker*

1963 Picture: *Tom Jones*

Director: Tony Richardson, *Tom Jones*
Actor: Sidney Poitier, *Lilies of the Field*
Actress: Patricia Neal, *Hud*

1964 Picture: *My Fair Lady*

Director: George Cukor, *My Fair Lady*
Actor: Rex Harrison, *My Fair Lady*
Actress: Julie Andrews, *Mary Poppins*

1965 Picture: *The Sound of Music*

Director: Robert Wise, *The Sound of Music*
Actor: Lee Marvin, *Cat Ballou*
Actress: Julie Christie, *Darling*

1966 Picture: *A Man for All Seasons*

Director: Fred Zinnemann, *A Man for All Seasons*
Actor: Paul Scofield, *A Man for All Seasons*
Actress: Elizabeth Taylor, *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*

1967 Picture: *In the Heat of the Night*

Director: Mike Nichols, *The Graduate*
Actor: Rod Stieger, *In the Heat of the Night*
Actress: Katharine Hepburn, *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*

1968 Picture: *Oliver!*

Director: Sir Carol Reed, *Oliver!*
Actor: Cliff Robertson, *Charly*
Actress: Katharine Hepburn, *The Lion in Winter,* and Barbra Streisand, *Funny Girl*

1969 Picture: *Midnight Cowboy*

Director: John Schlesinger, *Midnight Cowboy*
Actor: John Wayne, *True Grit*
Actress: Maggie Smith, *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*

Claude, due to be inducted into the military. He decides instead to burn his draft card, but mistakenly burns his library card. Claude's friends stage a party with drugs, leading to a hallucinogenic trip about war's futility. The next day, they encounter Claude at the induction station, his hair already cut military style, and he becomes invisible to them.

Hair was shocking at the time for its male and female nudity and references to a wide range of sexual relationships, including interracial, gay, bisexual, and non-monogamous. It also seemed to condone drug use and was the first Broadway musical to use rock music. Among the songs that earned lasting popularity were "Aquarius/Let the Sunshine In," "Good Morning Starshine," and "Hair." *Hair* proved both artistically and commercially successful, running on Broadway for 1,750 performances.

The Boys in the Band, by presenting public discussion of homosexuality and a range of generally sympathetic gay characters, became part of the gay liberation movement that developed in the late 1960s. This movement was partly in response to the Stonewall Inn riot, which grew out of a police raid on a Greenwich Village gay bar, the Stonewall Inn, on Friday night, June 27, 1969. A policeman reportedly hit a patron on the head, and bystanders threw rocks and a burning garbage can into the building. Hundred of police arrived and beat gays with billy clubs, and the riot continued over the weekend. The incident is often credited with giving birth to the gay liberation movement.

NOTABLE MOVIES

Psycho (1960)
Spartacus (1960)
Where the Boys Are (1960)
Breakfast at Tiffany's (1961)
Dr. No (1962)
The Manchurian Candidate (1962)
To Kill a Mockingbird (1962)
It's a Mad Mad Mad Mad World (1963)
Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb (1964)
The Pink Panther (1964)
Mary Poppins (1964)
Doctor Zhivago (1965)
Bonnie and Clyde (1967)
Cool Hand Luke (1967)
Guess Who's Coming to Dinner (1967)
The Graduate (1967)
The Lion in Winter (1968)
The Producers (1968)
2001: A Space Odyssey (1968)
Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid (1969)
Easy Rider (1969)
The Wild Bunch (1969)

So much experimentation was going on in American drama during the 1960s that new production venues were required. Off Off-Broadway was born. Plays typically by unknown playwrights pushed the envelope in both content and form and were available to audiences that wanted to see something other than traditional imitative drama that either reflected or aspired to Broadway. Off Off-Broadway was a sure sign that drama in the 1960s was a living art form at least as much concerned with the present and future as with the past.

Fashion

of the 1960s

In an era that was reacting against the establishment, fashion both followed and precipitated political action. Americans tended toward the practical and casual in clothing. The Sears mail-order catalog was more influential than Parisian haute couture, even if Sears and its competitors were not entirely free from foreign influence.

The mail-order business brought American fashion to the farms and towns of the countryside, and only those who could not afford to buy what they saw failed to follow the prevailing fashions. Changes were occurring, however, that would prepare Americans for radical alterations in clothing. World War II lured women out of their homes and into the workplace, and many even dressed in blue jeans like men as they labored in defense plants. After the war, many women refused to merely return to the home to cook and clean.

The steady migration of farmers off the land and into towns and cities continued during the decade. At the same time, there was movement into the suburbs from the cities. The U.S. population was both increasing and growing younger. By 1965, about one-half of the U.S. population was younger than 25; and for the first time in the nation's history there were more students attending college than farmers working the land.[1] The rules transmitted from the previous generations—in politics, religion, sexuality, the roles of the sexes, use of drugs, and countless other tings—were growing more fragile by the day. For many Americans, the only rule that remained was that there were no rules. Fashion was an important part of these changes.

THE INFLUENCE OF FRENCH HAUTE COUTURE

The arbiters of fashion in Paris, though less influential on American fashion than on European dress, continued to be part of the U.S. fashion world throughout the decade, although in an increasingly reduced role. The most important conduit for French style was the First Lady, Jacqueline Kennedy, who had the single greatest influence on the way American women dressed during the decade, especially in the early 1960s. Glamorous and cultured, she exhibited impeccable taste in fashion and the arts. American designer Oleg Cassini described her taste in fashion quite simply as the best.

That best in evening wear might be a Cassini gown, black on top with a gold skirt and large gold bow at the waist. The high-bodice, floor-length empire style was especially favored by the First Lady; American women imitated her by ordering their own empire evening gowns through Sears for $25.

Then there was Jackie in a Chanel suit, with bouffant hairstyle and pillbox hat. A pillbox-hat craze swept over the United States, and again inexpensive versions were available for women of modest means. Sears featured a variety of pillbox hats in its catalogs for $3–$5.

Jackie was often photographed in casual moments. This allowed the public to see her in a riding suit complete with trousers, or wearing wraparound sunglasses, which precipitated another fashion craze. Mrs. Kennedy's influence on fashion began to decline after President Kennedy was assassinated.

After the Johnsons replaced the Kennedys in the White House, the influence of haute couture on American fashion declined sharply, especially as much of the country turned increasingly antiestablishment. French designers, though, continued to have their moments, some of them through pairing fashion with painting. Yves St. Laurent borrowed Piet Mondrian's rectangular shapes for a 1965 line of straight jersey dresses. Emilio Pucci and other designers borrowed from Op Art painters the black and white lines that created optical illusions of constant movement. Pop art, with its bright colors and bold but simple designs, also influenced fashion designers such as Mary Quant, the British popularizer of the miniskirt.

Emanuel Ungaro, born in Aix-en-Provence to an Italian tailor, opened his own design house in the mid-1960s; it was the last of the old-time haute couture enterprises. The self-contained world of high fashion could no longer dictate international fashion, and labels could not guarantee acceptance. Designers looked outward for inspiration, taking direction from what real people were wearing, and haute couture came increasingly to be viewed as old-fashioned.

FASHION TRENDS OF THE 1960s

The decade began with Jackie Kennedy's classic look, proceeded through miniskirts and the English look, and ended with hippie styles and bell bottoms. Military fashions and turtlenecks were also popular during the decade. Marketers recognized the increasing significance of clothing designed specifically for the youth market.

Women's styles included: two-piece suits; sleeveless or three-quarters sleeve dresses, A-line skirts; pillbox hats; casual slacks with chic sweaters; bouffant hairstyles; miniskirts; hip hugging pants; and pantsuits, which were common by end of decade.

Younger women's styles included: mini-skirts; crocheted dresses; granny dresses; baby doll empire waist dresses; and tops.

Men's style included: sports coats instead of suits; skinny ties; Nehru jackets; turtlenecks.

Young people's styles included: Beatle and British-influenced long hair and skinny fashions; the hippie look: jeans, T-shirts, tie-dyed clothing; day-glo colors; granny glasses; long straight hair for both males and females.

MEN'S FASHIONS

Two jackets, the Nehru and the Mao, were popular among men. Pierre Cardin saw Sammy Davis Jr. in a lapel-free jacket with a turtleneck shirt and got an idea for a modification of the jacket (no lapel and a small stiff collar) worn by Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, who had died in 1964. In 1967 and 1968 Cardin's jacket was worn by celebrities such as talk-show host Johnny Carson, football star Joe Namath, and baseball pitcher Denny McLain. Sears included a so-called perma-press Nehru in their children's Winnie-the-Pooh collection, and even featured it on the cover of their 1969 summer catalog. The Mao jacket, named after Chinese communist leader Mao Zedong (also spelled Mao Tse-tung) was similar to the Nehru but longer. It fit a growing anti-American attitude that coincided with declining support for the Vietnam War.

At the beginning of the 1960s, the well-dressed serious man still favored a dark two-piece suit with white shirt. The more adventurous man sported the three-piece Italian look. The major changes in fashionable men's suits involved synthetic fibers and lighter weight fabrics. Short hair was the norm, although mothers might have wanted their sons to get a Prince Charles cut, named after the teen heir to the British throne. The style featured longish hair on top with a touch of a ducktail at the back and bangs that fell forward about halfway down the forehead. In reality, the cut was

only a modified version of the 1950s look associated with the actor Edd "Kookie" Byrnes.

The turtleneck became ubiquitous among men, worn for all occasions and with slacks, jeans, and sport coats. As the turtleneck rose in popularity, the tie declined. Even in formal settings (except for restaurants that maintained traditional dress codes), the turtleneck minus tie with sport coat became the American look. Actors Paul Newman and Steve McQueen sported turtlenecks, and millions of other men did the same.

AMERICAN INFORMALITY

The United States' democratic spirit perceived all men (if not women) as created equal; a theoretically classless society might dress similarly. Mail-order catalogs tended to homogenize fashion while making purchases easier and sometimes cheaper. Informal clothes also fit the casualness of backyards and patios in the suburbs.

Sports also played an important role in American fashion as greater numbers of Americans went outside to play rather than work. Spectator sports, such as baseball and football, were joined by a wide range of other athletic endeavors, among them skiing, hiking, boating, golf, and tennis. Participation in these sports called for functional and comfortable clothing. Before long, stretch pants and parkas had moved from ski slopes to everyday life—along with clothes from other outdoor activities.

As Jackie Kennedy gave a kind of last-gasp rejuvenation to haute couture, the young, handsome president exuded informality, especially after his grandfatherly predecessor, Dwight Eisenhower. The American public was fed a steady diet of photographs of John Kennedy sailing or playing with his children, and of the Kennedy clan playing touch football. President Kennedy, who was often hatless, minus a tie, and wearing an open-collar shirt helped to set a youthful, active, informal standard. Hat sales plummeted for men, and as the 1960s moved forward, young women also eschewed head coverings because of changing hairstyles.

Haute couture had offered full ensembles, but the sportswear industry offered separates that consumers could mix and match as they wished. Sport coats began to replace traditional suits and came in a variety of colors and designs, including prints, plaids, stripes, and checks. Men wore them not only with dress slacks but with casual slacks and even jeans. The very nature of the suit began to change with the introduction of the leisure suit, and the seersucker suit became a popular and light alternative for the man who chose to retain some degree of formality. In the early 1960s Sears offered matching his and hers seersucker suits (for the woman, though, a skirt rather than slacks, and a double-breasted jacket with large buttons). A juvenile version was available for boys.

Synthetic fibers led to growing comfort in casual and semiformal wear. Lighter clothes that could be washed and worn without ironing or dry cleaning offered the comfort and functionality previously found only in sportswear. Suits, sport coats, and slacks were made from easy-to-care-for polyester, and double-knit polyester slacks and pant suits became enormously popular with women of all ages as the decade advanced.

Spandex clothes originally produced for sports, such as in stretch ski slacks, quickly migrated into everyday wear, including undergarments. Lycra, an Invista (formerly DuPont) trademark, yielded the Little Godiva step-in girdle in 1960. By the end of the decade, though, the girdle would virtually disappear.

The bikini, much to the delight of males, remained a favorite in swimwear, along with one-piece designs. Other popular casual items included culottes (women's trousers or long shorts cut to look like skirts) and, for an evening on the town, the simple "little nothing" black dress popularized by actress Audrey Hepburn in the film *Breakfast at Tiffany's* (1961).

THE BRITISH ARE COMING

Just as Americans seemingly threw off the last vestiges of French haute couture, they turned to the British. Much of the credit (or blame) rested with four musicians named George Harrison, John Lennon, Paul McCartney, and Ringo Starr, better known collectively as the Beatles. The Beatles arrived in the United States in 1964 and reached a national audience by appearing on *The Ed Sullivan Show,* perhaps the most influential

television program of its time. Teens took to them passionately and "Beatlemania" hit.

The Beatles' "mop-top" hairstyle was often copied by young American men. The mop-top look ushered in a decade of changing hairstyles for men and women, long for men, and either super short or long and straight for women (although the Afro also became popular). Hair became a political statement. The 1960s were not the first time in American history when hair symbolized rejection of the older generation's social, political, and sexual attitudes (e.g., women's bobbed hair during the Jazz Age), but it was the period when hair reached its highest symbolic level, before antiestablishment trends in hair were adopted by the masses and became totally respectable.

The most popular British contribution to women's clothing styles (at least with men) was the miniskirt. The British designer Mary Quant deserves primary but not exclusive credit for the new style. Rather than look toward the traditional haute couture houses, she turned her attention to what young girls on British streets were wearing. She emphasized the short skirt, worn anywhere from two to nine inches above the knee, in her designs, thereby legitimizing the miniskirt in the fashion world. Many mothers and grandmothers, of course, along with a few men, were scandalized by the revealing attire.

The London look created by Quant included miniskirt, patterned stockings, a short, tight ribbed sweater, and high boots. *Seventeen* magazine featured Quant's clothes in the 1961 spring



Two images of Mary Quant, with her trademark asymmetrical bobbed hair style, created by Vidal Sassoon, working on clothing designs in London, 1967. Quant's mini-skirts and body-skimming fashions were highly popular and influential among young women in the United Kingdom, the United States, and worldwide. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

issue, and J. C. Penney marketed her designs the next year, assuring Quant's influence on American fashion. A few years later, Quant helped popularize the woman's pantsuit.

What really set off the miniskirt was a pair of go-go boots. Go-go bars and discotheques spread rapidly in the early 1960s from Paris to U.S. cities, and usually featured young women in very short dresses and very tall boots, dancing in a readily visible location, sometimes in a hanging cage. Nancy Sinatra, Frank Sinatra's daughter, brought the go-go boots out of bars and into countless closets with the song "These Boots are Made for Walkin'" (1966). Nancy often appeared in white miniskirt and white go-go boots as her song climbed to number one on the charts.

That same year, a waiflike teen named Leslie Hornby was refining the British mod look (bobbed hair, miniskirt, long eyelashes, bright colors, and a very slim, boyish figure). Twiggy, as she was known, came from a working-class London neighborhood. She modeled for *Woman's Mirror* and was labeled the "face of 1966" by the *Daily Express*. Twiggy traveled to the United States in 1967, and Americans were enchanted by her. *Newsweek* called her hairstyle "the most radiant and evocative new image" of the year.[2] Twiggy's hair had been cut and styled by the famous hair stylist Leonard, but Vidal Sassoon was more influential overall as a hair stylist. Sassoon developed a boyish cut—short, sculpted, with sometimes asymmetrical sideburns and exposed nape of the neck—for Mary Quant's mannequins.

By 1967 Sears was advertising its women's London look designs, including hip-hugging checked pants, a "Dapper Dot" shirt with wide pointed collars and wide dotted tie, and a visor cap to match or contrast. Textured vests and paisley shirts were in for men, and ties worked only if they were wide (3½–5 inches) and similarly colorful—the idea that a man should wear a striped tie against a single-color, preferably white, shirt had been discarded. Big was the order of the day—big collars, big lapels.

THE YOUTHFUL LOOK

The designers, makers, and sellers of fashion were looking closely at what young people wanted. Young people comprised a large segment of the fashion market, along with those who turned to clothes and hairstyles to retrieve a bit of their youth. Developments like the miniskirt, the Twiggy look, and the slim ideal (styles such as hip-hugger slacks could be worn attractively only by the slim) taught the world that young was both beautiful and sexy. In many ways, the 1960s was a young decade—with its youthful president, new frontiers in space, the Job Corps summoning men and women (primarily young) to help create a better world, the declining average age of U.S. citizens—even young lifestyles were rooted in suburbia.

At the beginning of the 1960s, the traditional view remained that young people were defined primarily within the context of their families. Sears proudly championed its "look-alike" fashions, identical dresses for all the women and girls in the family, with above-the-knee skirts, of course, only for the children. The assumption was that a child wanted to dress like her parent. For play, there were matching sportswear sets of white poplin jackets and tapered slacks for mother, teen girl, and little girl. Boys were not left out; they could have the Sears seersucker suit to match Dad's.

The look-alike approach soon shifted to look-different, especially for teens. Sears continued its practice of reflecting changes in fashion, but as always avoided extremes. Hippies, for example, did not appear in Sears catalogs, but the "urchin look" did. By 1966, Sears urchins sported scooped-neck dresses with ribbed bodices and argyle-like skirts just above the knee, or turtleneck double-knit dresses with ribbing to the hips, again cut slightly above the knee. Sears urchins remained unfailingly modest.

Not so the young vulgarians, as they were called. These vulgarians were usually street-smart kids most readily found in northern urban centers. These fashion descendants of the James Dean-era rebellious youth of the 1950s usually saw themselves as rebels with a cause, sometimes with many.

The female vulgarians took over the fashionable bouffant hairstyle of the late 1950s and early 1960s, opting for its high beehive version laboriously constructed with setting gel, big plastic rollers, hair dryer, rat-tail comb, and heavy-duty

Aqua Net hairspray. Heavy eyeliner, white lipstick, tight black miniskirt, padded bra, and large mohair cardigan or high school letter jacket completed the look.

Male vulgarians spent almost as much time as the girls getting their hair right, and usually crisscrossed their hair in overlapping sections from nape of the neck to top of the head, with a large wave curling far over the forehead. This style required a heavy application of hair grease such as Brylcreem. These boys favored tight sharkskin suits, leather raincoats, and the wraparound sunglasses that Jackie Kennedy had made famous.

Both male and female vulgarians exhibited their hairstyles and dancing techniques on Dick Clark's *American Bandstand,* dancing to the songs of their favorites—Bobby Darin, Frankie Avalon, Bobby Rydell. Vulgarians also gave high marks to a number of songs by girls' groups: The Crystals' "Then He Kissed Me" (1963), The Shangri-Las' "Leader of the Pack" (1964), and The Shirelles' "Will You Love Me Tomorrow?" (1960). The young vulgarian look faded by mid-decade, but the youthful look continued to exercise its appeal in various manifestations.



A woman examines her friend's necklace as they wait for a jazz band in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park, California, in 1967. The necklace indicates which tribe one belongs to within the hippie subculture in San Francisco. AP Photo.

THE ANTIESTABLISHMENT EARTHQUAKE

Reactions against the establishment took many forms in the 1960s, including sexual, racial, and political. The drug culture interacted with some or all of these factors to create the hippies. The growing antiwar movement picked up steam after the Tet Offensive of 1968. Clothing and hair fashions reflected wearers' attitudes; to a great extent, how one looked reflected how one thought.

For example, see-through blouses, the ubiquitous miniskirt, and even pierced earrings (considered symbolically more erotic than clip-on or screw-type earrings) reflected sexual openness. Undergarments also changed, especially among young women, with bikini panties, panty hose, and tights in, and with girdles out.

Another fashion that followed liberalized sexual mores was the playboy bunny outfit. Hugh Hefner had started *Playboy* magazine in the 1950s, but decided to expand into playboy clubs in the early 1960s. Hefner opened the first of his clubs in Chicago on February 29, 1960. So-called Playboy Bunnies served drinks in their tightly corseted swimsuit-like costumes with white collars, black bow ties, fishnet stockings, rabbit ears, and the most distinctive detail—white bunny tails gracing their derrières.

Bunny costumes left nothing to the imagination regarding the gender of the wearer, but long hair on males, short hair on females, and high-heeled boots, hip-huggers, and ruffled shirts sometimes made it difficult to tell male from female. Prominent among the clothing similarities between the sexes was a shared obsession with blue jeans, often worn skin tight.

The reason a particular fashion became popular was usually impossible to reduce to just one factor. For example, one important reason for the mushrooming popularity of blue jeans during

HIPPIE FASHION

In 1960s America, fashion and politics collided in a way never before seen in American history. Dissent against the popular order spread throughout American culture, creating a vibrant counterculture that challenged the norms and values of society. In the fashion world, the trend started with the "mod fashions" of the early sixties, including loose fabrics with bold patterns and stunning decorative elements. This gave way to a psychedelic fashion trend, which featured brightly colored fabrics, paisley patterns, and other designs that brought psychedelic hallucination into fashion chic. This relatively short-lived trend gave rise to a fashion tradition now known simply as "hippie clothing," used in reference to the youth movement of the same name. The basic trends in hippie fashion were simplicity and comfort and the uniting thread was to defy the fashion conventions of previous generations. As the tradition developed and expanded well into the 1970s, designers borrowed elements from global fashion trends, including Indian and Asian designs, Native American beads, and African cloth patterns to create a gestalt sense of fashion. Ironically, while the youth movement sought to avoid conforming to existing standards of fashion, many dove headlong into a new kind of conformity, meeting the standards and norms of a culture derived from combating those same elements in society.



Model Dale Kole wears bell-bottom pants and a matching midriff halter top with cape-like sleeves presented by Geno at California's spring-resort wear shown in Beverly Hills, California, in November 1964. AP Photo.

the decade was the rejection of middle-class, materialistic norms. Jeans were initially working-class wear for farmers, miners, and manual laborers.

Quickly, however, jeans became associated with sexiness and turned fashionable. They came in a wide variety of styles during the decade, including hip-huggers, flared legs, bell bottoms, cuffed, patched, or cut off to make shorts. Because the tattered look was especially desirable, manufacturers began producing jeans that already looked seriously worn. New jeans also came with bright patches over imaginary holes. Mainstream America took up the fashion, and men began wearing jeans with their sport coats and turtlenecks.

Also popular, although never to the extent of jeans, were bib overalls previously worn by farmers and train engineers. The same rejection of the middle class applied to overalls, but they lent themselves less readily to improvisational alterations.

During the 1960s, African Americans started to switch from imitating white society to expressing their uniqueness. They embraced the concept of "black is beautiful" in many ways, including hairstyles. Instead of bleaching and straightening their hair, many African Americans started wearing the Afro, a natural style with unstraightened curls cut in a somewhat rounded shape. The Afro, however, had little to do with Africa. Tanzania even banned the Afro as an example of Western colonialism. Nonetheless, the style became quite

popular and was worn by James Brown, Jessie Jackson, and Angela Davis, among countless others. Those like Diana Ross, who preferred to keep their options open, relied on Afro wigs.

The cornrow hairdo, with hair divided into sections and braided close to the scalp, conveyed the same pride in one's African American heritage. So did the dashiki (a loose, brightly colored African garment that resembled a tunic) and the caftan (similar to the dashiki but full-length). Some Americans, including whites, adopted these styles without much attention to the clothing's heritage, giving birth to a new radical chic. White designers started employing black models for other than African American markets. Paco Rabanne was almost expelled from the Chambre Syndicale de la Couture Parisienne after he introduced black women into haute couture modeling in 1966.

Members of the drug culture especially liked bright colors and patterns that visually paralleled their hallucinogenic experiences with LSD. Psychedelic shirts and ties were popular, along with almost anything else psychedelic, such as posters. Day-Glo colors appeared in clothing as well as on posters, guitars, and vans. Then there was the tie-dyeing craze.

Tie-dyeing could be done with any garments or fabric, but T-shirts were the most common. Tie-dyeing is an ancient process, practiced by Chinese and Nigerians many centuries ago. It involves knotting the fabric and dipping the cloth into dyes to create clothing with splotches of color. The tie-dyed T-shirt was a favorite with hippies and others who wanted to rebel against traditional values: it was cheap, homemade (in the dyeing), easy, and unique with no two garments quite identical, yet it united wearers in a sort of community.

As with anything popular, commercialism reared its head and nonhippies adopted the tie-dyeing trend. Best Foods, maker of Rit dye, sent out half a million booklets showing how to tie-dye clothes and saw its dye sales jump sharply. Department stores threw tie-dye parties. Burlington Industries started manufacturing tie-dyed clothes, and customers could wander among aisles of tie-dyed items at Macy's.

The hippie culture—which consisted of students, artists, and others who had dropped out of mainstream society, and who were also known as flower children—was in full swing by 1967, when a June 16–18 concert in Monterey, California, inaugurated the Summer of Love. Hippies had surfaced two years earlier in the Haight-Ashbury section of San Francisco. Seeking a nonmaterialistic, peace-loving society in which they could be their natural and individual selves, they adopted certain fashions in clothing as well as in lifestyle. An easy openness toward sex, rejection of nine-to-five jobs, and adoption of communal living by some were a few of the behavioral characteristics of hippies.

Long, straight hair dominated among female hippies, fashioned after the folk singers Joan Baez and Mary Travers. Many males also wore their hair long, often adding beards and mustaches. Granny dresses and granny glasses were popular, the latter among both sexes. Female hippies usually either purchased their dresses in thrift shops or made them, but in either case the dresses were long and full—the antithesis of the miniskirt and mod look. Granny glasses, also known as Ben Franklin spectacles, received a huge impetus from Roger McGuinn of the Byrds, who wore them to protect his sensitive eyes from stage lights. The glasses were usually small, sometimes square, with partial wire rims.

DISPOSABLE DIAPERS TO THE RESCUE

Perhaps the most universal change in fashion and clothing in the 1960s was the decrease in the use of cloth diapers, which were cost effective and could be used repeatedly. Yet rinsing, washing, and drying dirty diapers was unpleasant and time consuming. Life became much simpler with disposable diapers. Procter and Gamble was first to enter the disposable diaper business in 1961 with its Pampers, which proved so popular that when other companies introduced their own versions, many consumers went right on calling all of them "pampers." By the end of the twentieth century, almost every parent made some use of disposable diapers, and most used nothing else, despite concern that disposable diapers increased diaper rash and caused other problems for babies.

Blue jeans were usually worn hip-hugging and very tight with bell bottoms. Bright colors on shirts and blouses, working-class, and ethnic clothes such as bandannas and Native-American style jackets and vests, love beads, peace jewelry, and flowers in one's hair—sung about by Scott McKenzie in his 1967 hit song "San Francisco (Wear Some Flowers in Your Hair")"—all helped to identify the hippie.

Vietnam War activists tended in some ways to be the opposite of the flower children. Rather than drop out of society, they became actively involved in opposing the Vietnam War through demonstrations, sit-ins, teach-ins, flag burnings, and other activities designed to raise America's consciousness against the war. These efforts increased after the Tet Offensive of 1968, which, although a major defeat for the communists, was perceived in the United States as proof that no place in Vietnam was secure from enemy attack and that the United States was no closer to winning the war than it had been years before.

There was little to distinguish Vietnam War protesters from hippies in appearance except for the overt symbols of the protesters' beliefs: military jackets adorned with flags and antiwar statements, antiwar buttons, the omnipresent antiwar symbol of the upside down bomber within a circle, the V for peace sign made with fingers, and perhaps an armful of posters or pamphlets.

Food of the 1960s

For those with sufficient money, the 1960s were a time of new favorites when eating out or dining in. International influences, especially French, became important, and increasing numbers of relatively affluent Americans turned to cookbooks and television programs to learn how to make their dinner tables *au courant* (up-do-date).

Changes in how Americans ate reflected other changes in American society. With increasing numbers of people on the move, eating habits also became more mobile, which resulted in tremendous growth in fast-food restaurants.

Many other food-related developments occurred during the 1960s. Farming continued its transition from small family farms to large agribusinesses. Technology affected farms, food processing, marketing, cooking, and consumption. At the same time, the United States was a place of considerable poverty and malnutrition. A growing social consciousness, aided by print and television exposés, led to attempts at home and abroad to address the terrible problem of hunger.

DINING IN STYLE

In the 1960s, being a good cook was not enough; that was for one's mother and grandmother. Home-style cooking, unless ethnic, was out, and nouveau cuisine was in; its influences were many, including French cuisine, instant foods, the microwave and freezer, the Kennedy administration, and Julia Child.

The new American suburban lifestyle demanded spending a lot of time on the road, and while Americans aspired to elegant dining, time was often in short supply. Instant foods and increasingly popular kitchen appliances such as the freezer and microwave helped. Freezers had been around for years, and a new compact microwave from Amana went into widespread distribution in 1967.

The makings of dinners homemakers could serve with pride could be found on the shelves of the pantry and in the freezer. Cans of condensed soup and boxes of dried soup mixes made many things possible, and so did a variety of products. With a freezer at hand, there was no need to rush off to the supermarket to buy a nice cut of meat. Suburban chefs in doubt about how to proceed could refer to the helpful 1960s cookbook, *Cooking from the Pantry Shelf. Easy Gourmet Cooking* struck culinary purists as an oxymoron, but summed up the direction that numerous new cooks took.

The more dramatic the main course, the simpler the salad might be—possibly iceberg lettuce with an occasional slice of tomato and cucumber. Roquefort, Thousand Island, and French dressings

were popular. A salad's simple flavors cleansed the palate after the inevitable preliminaries of cheese, crackers, dip, and chips. Cheese balls were popular, as was Edam cheese in its red wax shell. Lipton's dried onion soup mix combined with sour cream continued its popularity as the ubiquitous California dip. Ridged potato chips, the most famous being Ruffles, proved much sturdier than traditional chips for dipping.

A trendy alternative to traditional soup was gazpacho. This Spanish dish is a cold blend of vegetables (with a dominant tomato flavor) and red wine vinegar, olive oil, and Italian or French bread crumbs.

Of all the vegetable dishes served with home-prepared meals, none equaled green beans amandine for ease and popularity. Almonds were everywhere in the 1960s and added extra flavor to green beans. The dish was easy to prepare; simply heat a few almonds in a little melted butter, add beans, and serve. If potatoes were part of a meal, they usually were baked and served alongside meat entrees.

The main course, however, might take more effort. Two favorites of the Kennedys were beef stroganoff and beef Wellington. The former, given the availability of canned gravy, canned mushrooms, canned minced onions, and even canned roast beef, could be prepared easily. The latter, though, was more difficult to prepare, but that did not deter Americans from trying. Its French and British Isles background gave beef Wellington an international cachet. For busy gourmets, frozen beef tenderloin and frozen puff pastry simplified this popular dish.

Campbell's mushroom soups were popular in the 1960s, especially after the company released its Golden Mushroom version. The suburban chef might add Campbell's Golden Mushroom soup to make skillet-cooked chicken that looked and tasted good. String bean casseroles graced many dinner tables in the 1960s, requiring only some of the most common 1960s ingredients: string beans, mushroom soup, sherry, instant minced onions, and slivered almonds. A garnish of canned French-fried onions perfected the dish.

Wine, of course, accompanied most meals. French wines were popular, but those in the know might serve a special California vintage.

Then came dessert. Grandmother's pies and cakes were decidedly too old-fashioned. The 1960s featured cheesecakes topped by fruit pie fillings, fruit cocktail cakes, and grasshopper pies, among other sweet concoctions with or without various alcoholic additives.

Fire was also big in the 1960s. Flambéing, dousing food with liquor and then setting it on fire, could be a bit dangerous, but it made quite an impression, whether the food was a steak, cherries jubilee, crêpes suzette, or anything else combustible. Fire also helped to provide one of the most popular party dishes—fondue. Fondue seemed French (the name derived from the French verb *fondre,* to melt), but actually originated in Switzerland as a means of salvaging hard cheese and stale bread. The point was to melt cheese (and other ingredients) and dip French bread into it. People would sit around the fondue dish and take turns dipping. Variants of fondue included dipping chunks of meat into boiling oil or pieces of cake or fruit into hot chocolate.

COOKBOOKS

Many people associated nouveau cuisine with French culture, which paved the way for a teacher of fine cooking made easy, Julia Child. Along with co-authors Simone Beck and Louisette Bertholle, Child published *Mastering the Art of French Cooking* in 1961. The following year, she began her televised show, *The French Chef,* on a Massachusetts public broadcasting station. Before long, channels throughout the country were carrying her program.

Like good teachers everywhere, Julia Child made the difficult seem easy. She relied on ingredients that could be found in local grocery stores, and she led her viewers through the cooking process in a clear and methodical way. Countless households began to enjoy their own creations of boeuf bourguignon and chocolate mousse, and along the way learned the importance of using fresh ingredients.

The interest in international cuisine also led to a series of international cookbooks from Time-Life Books. In 1968 alone, Time-Life produced M.F.K. Fisher's *The Cooking of Provincial France,* Waverley Root's *The Cooking of Italy,* Emily Hahn's



Julia Child gets ready to do a program on how to roast a chicken on *The French Chef,* which ran on PBS from 1962 to 1973. Courtesy of Photofest.

JULIA CHILD (1912–2004)

Celebrity chef Julia Child paved the way for the phenomenon of television cooking, which has since culminated in the cable television Food Network and twenty-first century celebrity chefs such as Emeril Lagasse and Wolfgang Puck. After completing an undergraduate degree, Child worked in the Office of Strategic Services, a branch of the U.S. government's intelligence services and traveled to China where she met and married fellow OSS employee Paul Child. The couple was transferred to the American Embassy in Paris, where Child decided to enroll in the world famous Cordon Bleu cooking school to study French cuisine. After graduating in 1961, Child and two colleagues published the book *Mastering the Art of French Cooking,* which became a national success and made Child a household name. After returning to the United States, Child was asked to audition for a cooking show on Boston public television. *The French Chef* debuted in 1962 and was an enormous success. Child received an Emmy Award in 1966 and her series was syndicated on more than 90 television stations and extended through spin off programs for which Child tackled other types of global cuisine. Child took the mystery out of gourmet cuisine and encouraged a generation of home chefs to expand their palates. With her endearing demeanor and characteristic voice, simultaneously warbling and encouraging, Child became the first American chef to gain the type of celebrity usually reserved for film stars. Child died in 2003 at age 91, leaving a rich legacy as an inspiration to hundreds of chefs who now spin their spatulas in her shadow.

The Cooking of China, Jonathan Norton Leonard's *Latin American Cooking,* and Dale Brown's *American Cooking.*

ETHNIC AND HEALTH FOODS

As the decade progressed, interest in ethnic and health foods increased. Soul food became popular with large numbers of white Americans who sympathized with civil rights movements or who merely wanted to appear hip. Ham hocks, collard greens, corn bread, chitterlings (a pig's small intestines), black-eyed peas, and sweet potato pie were a few of the items that became popular. This interest gave rise to soul-food restaurants such as the famous Sylvia's in Harlem, which quickly became so popular that proprietors Sylvia and Herbert Wood had to move to a larger building and add on a new dining room.

Japanese food also grew in popularity. Diners could visit Japanese steakhouses and watch the chefs prepare and cook the food before their eyes. Meals were prepared at a large grill on one side of a spacious table around which diners sat; the preparation and cooking offered an exciting and dramatic experience for the audience. Sushi bars began to appear in certain areas of the country, especially on the west coast.

Other ethnic groups also contributed their foods to American tables, both at home and in restaurants. Dishes from India presented new tastes for palates unaccustomed to Eastern spices. In some restaurants, diners would sit on cushions on the floor, soaking up the environment. Southeast Asian restaurants, featuring Vietnamese, Cambodian, or Thai foods, started appearing during the decade as well.

Health food became especially associated with countercultural types during the 1960s. Many ingredients popular (or at least accepted) in previous eras—such as white sugar, monosodium glutamate (MSG), bleached white flour, processed cheese, and canned vegetables and fruits—were rejected along with the older generation's political and religious values. Organic food, brown rice, yogurt, whole wheat flour, sunflower seeds, and similar natural foods were championed. Many Americans became vegetarians, for political as much as health reasons, seeing in the nation's devouring of red meat another manifestation of the lust for violence and slaughter that produced the Vietnam War.

The most famous restaurant for antiestablishment figures may have been one that existed for less than a year but that inspired one of the era's most popular resistance songs. Alice Brock started (and closed) her restaurant, The Back Room, in Stockbridge, Massachusetts in 1965. The Back Room was a simple luncheonette where Brock baked her own bread and served health food. Arlo Guthrie, son of folk singer Woody Guthrie, wrote a song called "Alice's Restaurant," which he sang at the 1969 Woodstock festival. The restaurant came to stand for a world of peace, hope, harmony, and rejection of establishment values.

FAST FOOD RESTAURANTS

As Americans accepted the seemingly incongruous mixture of instant food and French cuisine, they also frequented fast-food restaurants to such an extent that these establishments mushroomed, especially along highways and in shopping malls. Hamburgers, chicken, tacos, and pizza, accompanied by French fries and soft drinks were among the favorites.

McDonald's, first created in 1940 as a San Bernadino, California drive-in owned by Dick and Mac McDonald, enjoyed tremendous growth after Ray Kroc bought out the brothers in 1961. McDonald's introduced its Big Mac sandwich in 1968; also during the decade it began to open restaurants around the world, cementing its position as number one among hamburger chains.[1]

Burger King also enjoyed considerable growth during the 1960s. Begun in 1954 in Miami, Florida, and having introduced its Whopper three years later, Burger King operated 274 restaurants by 1967. This number would increase to about 2,000 franchises by the mid 1970s. Hardee's began in 1961 in North Carolina, using a then-rare charcoal broiler, and had 200 outlets by the end of the decade. Wendy's was started in 1969 in Ohio by David R. Thomas, who had been successful running Kentucky Fried Chicken franchises and who named the new chain after his daughter.

Harland "Colonel" Sanders had started his Colonel Sanders' Kentucky Fried Chicken restaurants

in 1955, selling "finger lickin' good" chicken made with his "secret blend of herbs and spices." In 1964, with over 600 franchises, Sanders sold the business but continued with Kentucky Fried Chicken as a good-will ambassador.

Varying the fast-food menu, Arby's specialized in roast beef, opening its first restaurant in Ohio in 1964 and adding its first franchise the following year. Taco Bell, named after its creator, Glenn Bell, began in California in 1962 and quickly spread eastward. Busy travelers could dine on seafood at Long John Silver's Fish 'n Chips starting in 1969 in Lexington, Kentucky. Thomas Monaghan, a former seminarian and Marine, opened his first Domino's Pizza restaurant in Detroit with his brother Jim in 1960. Domino's specialized in delivering phone orders within 30 minutes.

Family restaurants were also popular during the decade. Red Lobster, an especially popular family restaurant, began in Florida in 1968—the creation of William Darden. Howard Johnson's restaurants had been around since the mid-1930s and by the early 1960s numbered over 600, many located near highways and exit ramps.

OTHER DEVELOPMENTS

All of this eating and driving was bound to result in weight gain, so it was inevitable that a chain like Weight Watchers would arise. Jean Nidetch, a Queens, New York, housewife who had shed 70 pounds, began helping other people lose weight through group therapy and careful dieting. In 1966, she published her *Weight Watchers Cookbook*.

The growing business of food production was also visible in the steady stream of acquisitions and mergers during the 1960s. Coca-Cola bought Minute Maid, Campbell Soup bought Pepperidge Farms, Proctor and Gamble bought J. A. Folger, H. J. Heinz bought Starkist (and created Charlie the Tuna to sell its product), Pepsi-Cola bought Mountain Dew, and Borden bought Cracker Jack. H. W. Lay and Frito merged to become Frito-Lay, and Frito-Lay and Pepsi-Cola merged to become PepsiCo Incorporated.

Government and religion also were involved in what people ate. The U.S. government passed the Fair Packaging and Labeling Act in 1966 to require accurate and clear labeling of food weights, and the U.S. Federal Meat Inspection Act was passed in 1967 to improve the safety of the

FOOD HIGHLIGHTS OF THE 1960s

1963 *The French Chef,* starring Julia Child and aimed at demystifying French cooking for the American home cook, premiers on Boston's WGBH-TV.

1963 The Oscar Mayer "Wiener Jingle" debuts on radio and is an immediate hit among listeners.

1963 In his first television appearance, spokesclown and goodwill ambassador Ronald McDonald is portrayed by Willard Scott, later an NBC weatherman.

1964 Pop-Tarts, pastries to "cook" in the toaster, and Lucky Charms cereal are introduced to the American breakfast table.

1965 Bugles corn snacks make their first appearance.

1965 Poppin' Fresh, the energetic and giggly spokes-character for Pillsbury's refrigerated doughs, makes his television debut. Within three years, the Pillsbury Doughboy has an 87 percent recognition factor among consumers.

1965 Shake 'n Bake mix, to coat chicken and fish, is introduced.

1965 McDonald's becomes a publicly traded company. On the first day the stock was available, an investor would have paid $2,250 to buy 100 shares; by the end of December 2006, the same investor would own 74,360 shares worth about $3.3 million.

1966 The Birds Eye division of General Foods launches Cool Whip, a nondairy dessert topping and the first product of its kind.

1969 Nearly 60 percent of Americans say they believe agricultural chemicals pose a threat to their health.

1969 Long before the era of energy bars, Pillsbury markets Space Food Sticks, an energy snack developed by Pillsbury for the Apollo moon flights.

meat products that reached America's tables. The fish industry worried in 1966 when the Roman Catholic Church dropped its ban on eating meat on non-Lenten Fridays, but there was no clear damage. In fact, many restaurants continued to offer Friday fish specials for decades.

DRINK

Diners needed something quick to drink with their fast food, and a number of new soft drinks entered the market in the 1960s. Coca-Cola introduced Sprite in 1967 to do battle with the old favorite 7-Up. Royal Crown's Diet-Rite became the first sugar-free nationally distributed soft drink in 1962, and appealed to the growing numbers of people concerned with dieting. Coke countered Tab in 1963, and two years later PepsiCo introduced Diet Pepsi.

Other new drinks were introduced during the 1960s as well. Consumers could drink their breakfast, courtesy of Carnation Company's Carnation Instant Breakfast (introduced in 1964); people could emulate the astronauts by drinking orange-flavored Tang (marketed nationwide in 1965), and many raised a glass to toast the 1969 moon landing, which Neil Armstrong and crew could reciprocate with the Tang they had in their galley; and athletes and would-be athletes could turn to Gatorade (1965) to replace fluids lost during physical exercise. Gatorade was named for the University of Florida Gators because a university kidney specialist, Robert Cade, developed it after testing the university's football players for fluid loss through perspiration.

Coffee was also a growth industry in the 1960s. General Foods started marketing Maxim, a freeze-dried instant coffee, in 1964. Taster's Choice freeze-dried instant, from Nestlé, arrived in 1966 and quickly became number one among instants. Coffee Rich nondairy creamer (named after its developer, Robert Edward Rich) gave coffee drinkers in 1960 a nonperishable milk or cream substitute. The following year, Coffee-Mate from Carnation entered the market.

Changes in containers also occurred in the 1960s. Consumers were buying most of their milk in stores rather than receiving home delivery, and that milk was increasingly packaged in waxed paperboard cartons rather than glass bottles. Aluminum cans meanwhile were becoming popular for beer and soft drinks. First used in 1960, their popularity was greatly enhanced by the development of easy-open tabs on the cans.

FOOD ISSUES IN THE 1960s

Agriculture Upheavals

Although the population of the United States continued to increase during the 1960s, and the amount of land devoted to agriculture remained fairly constant, fewer farmers were necessary to meet the food needs of the country.

Farmers improved their productivity with the help of advanced farm implements and greater use of fertilizers, pesticides, and herbicides to increase crop yield and reduce loss to insect and weed infestation. By the end of the decade, the number of farms decreased while the average size of farms increased. Large agribusinesses were squeezing out family farms, a process that would accelerate in future decades.

Farmers' own productivity worked against them by yielding large surpluses, which depressed prices. During the 1960s, federal agricultural policy included a combination of guaranteed price, soil conservation, land set-asides, and use of food surpluses in food-stamp and school-lunch programs. The Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 created price support payments for farmers to make up the difference between former and current world price levels for their products. Cash payments to remove cropland from production continued throughout the decade.

Still, large numbers of agricultural workers received no help. Migrant workers, many of them Mexican American, were worst off, working excruciatingly long and hard hours picking vegetables and fruit for whatever owners paid them. That began to change in the early 1960s when the CBS documentary *Harvest of Shame,* 1960, publicized the plight of migrant workers, and César Chávez founded the National Farm Workers Association (1962). By 1968, Chávez and the union were receiving strong public support for both their strike and their proposed boycott of table grapes. Chávez's efforts both dramatized



César Chávez's work in the 1960s on behalf of migrant workers, who are still essential to U.S. agriculture, publicized the key role they play in the food supply system in the United States. Courtesy of Shutterstock.

the boycott and brought a moral power to the effort, encouraging prominent political leaders such as Robert Kennedy, Eugene McCarthy, and Hubert Humphrey to add their support. In 1970, the boycott ended, with most table grape owners (farmers?) having agreed to recognize and negotiate with the union, now known as the United Farm Workers (UFW) after NFWA's merger with the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee.

Poverty

Michael Harrington's *The Other America: Poverty in the United States,* 1962, was one of the most important books published in the 1960s. Writing of "a culture of poverty" within the affluent United States, Harrington brought to public consciousness the existence of a nation within a nation, one easy to overlook because few Americans were actually dying of starvation.

Subsequent books, government studies, broadcast documentaries, and demonstrations brought hunger and poverty more clearly to the attention of middle class and wealthy Americans. In 1967 President Johnson's Science Advisory Committee released a massive study entitled *The World Food Problem,* which examined the effects of growing populations and demands by the wealthy on food supplies. The 1968 CBS documentary *Hunger in America* explored hunger in the country, and focused especially on malnutrition among infants, including Native Americans. In that same year, after the assassination of its original organizer, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the Poor People's March on Washington protested hunger and the government's inadequate efforts to solve the problem. Further evidence of the continuing crisis came in the same year when the Citizens Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States reported that only 18 percent of the country's poor were being helped by federal food programs.

The evidence of widespread hunger in the United States generated enough compassion and outrage to bring about changes that helped large numbers of Americans but did not completely eradicate the problem. In 1963 President Kennedy signed into law the Public Welfare Amendments to the 1935 Social Security Act. These amendments fixed federal support to states at 75 percent of the expenses for counseling, job training, and placement for individuals on public assistance.

The food stamp program, established in 1964 with the Food Stamp Act, provided a variety of food to needy families. The Agriculture Department developed eligibility criteria to attempt to ensure that those who needed the stamps received them. By the end of 1967, 2.7 million Americans were benefiting from food stamps, and food stamp funding continued to rise.[2]

Pollution

The safety of food and the welfare of the environment were increasingly, impacted by developments in manufacturing, technology, and use of chemicals during the 1960s. Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring,* 1962, did for the environment what Michael Harrington's *The Other America* accomplished regarding poverty. A book whose influence continued throughout the century, *Silent Spring* warned that pesticides such as DDT (dichloro-diphenyl-trichloroethane) were causing great damage to wildlife and, by extension, to humans. Likening the effect of heavy use of pesticides to nuclear fallout, she cautioned against a silent world in which the birds have been poisoned along with the poisoned insects they ate. In 1969, Congress passed the National Environmental Policy Act mandating that federal agencies provide environmental impact reports. By that time, Carson's warnings about DDT had been widely accepted. Studies subsequent to the publication of *Silent Spring* demonstrated that DDT accumulated in fatty tissues, increasing in concentration up the food chain, and caused cancer in test animals. Ninety percent of fish sold in the United States were discovered to be contaminated with the pesticide. Milk also began to test positive for DDT, the result of cows eating grain sprayed with it. By the end of the decade, DDT was outlawed by several states and was being phased out by the federal government. With few exceptions, it was not available for use in the United States after 1972.

Music

of the 1960s

The 1960s were a time of enormous change in music, with musical performers turning both to the past and to the new for inspiration. Folk music experienced a rebirth, with folk singers making the guitar as commonplace in the 1960s, especially for the young, as the piano was for their parents and grandparents. Folk music reflected the antiestablishment trend of the times as folk singers joined the vanguard in protesting the Vietnam War and demanding equal rights for people of color.

Country music spread from southern and rural regions into all parts of the country. Classical music opened itself to African American artists and embraced popular culture. Jazz, meanwhile, became a medium for some of the decade's most innovative musical trends, and also entered the political world as a vehicle for black aspirations and a repository of black cultural traditions.

Soul music expressed the black experience in powerful songs that were often emotionally powerful. Rock, though, was the most powerful force in music during the decade. The new revolution in rock was triggered by a British group, the Beatles, and much else also happened in rock, from San Francisco to Woodstock, and everywhere in between.

FOLK MUSIC

Folk music had declined in popularity during the 1950s, in part because much of the post-Depression folk music had been antiestablishment. Senator Joseph McCarthy, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), and others attempted to hunt down musicians and other artists who seemed sympathetic to communism. To criticize the United States struck such witch-hunters as playing into the hands of the red menace.

By the late 1950s, however, folk music, especially commercial folk music, was making a comeback. The Kingston Trio led the way with a string of successful songs, including Pete Seeger's "Where Have All the Flowers Gone?" The Kingston Trio formed in 1956 when Dave Guard, Bob Shane, and Nick Reynolds came together in California.

Pete Seeger and the Weavers, a group he helped form, ran into trouble in the 1950s because of their left-wing politics. Seeger left the Weavers in 1958, and the group disbanded in 1963. Seeger himself was convicted of contempt for Congress in 1961 as a result of his refusal to answer questions before the HUAC in the mid-1950s. The conviction was overturned in 1962, but Seeger continued to be blacklisted from network television. His political difficulties, however, endeared him to the folk music crowd, and he was vitally important in the folk music revival of the 1960s. Woody Guthrie's songs remained popular, with "This Land Is Your Land" becoming a rallying cry for those who struggled for freedom and equality during the 1960s.



Bob Dylan, with guitar and harmonica, recording in 1965. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Woody Guthrie's son, Arlo, took his own place in folk music during the 1960s. His song, "Alice's Restaurant," was about an antiestablishment restaurant that he discovered, draft resistance, and a vision of peace and harmony. He sang the song at the Woodstock Festival in 1969, the same year the song served as the centerpiece of a film by the same title.

Leading folk musicians in the 1960s were Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, and the trio of Peter, Paul, and Mary, all of whom took folk music back into social activism, especially in support of the Civil Rights Movement and in opposition to the Vietnam War. Woody Guthrie was Dylan's hero and model. Dylan's first album, *Bob Dylan,* 1962, was primarily a collection of traditional folk songs and included the Dylan-composed homage "Song to Woody." His 1964 album *The Times They Are a-Changin'* continued to establish him as a leading protest singer. By the middle of the decade, Dylan had moved into folk rock, shocking the audience at the 1965 Newport Folk Festival by switching to an electric guitar. Folk purists objected, but the change only increased Dylan's fame. Throughout the decade, Dylan was widely revered not only as a singer and musician but also as a poet. Many of his songs were sung by such luminaries as Joan Baez and Peter, Paul, and Mary, the latter striking it big with "Blowin' in the Wind."

Joan Baez released 12 albums of folk songs and songs of protest during the 1960s, among them the anthem of the Civil Rights Movement, "We Shall Overcome." Consistently taking stands on behalf of justice and peace, Baez spoke and sang at many demonstrations in southern cities, marched with Martin Luther King Jr. in the March on Washington in 1963, established the Institute for the Study of Non-violence in California in 1965, and

AMERICA'S SONGWRITER: BOB DYLAN (1941–)

Born Robert Zimmerman in the small city of Duluth, Minnesota, the musician, writer, performer, and producer known worldwide as Bob Dylan eventually became one of the most influential figures in American music. Dylan adopted his pseudonym, a tribute to poet Dylan Thomas, while performing at small clubs in Minneapolis. In 1960, Dylan left college and moved to New York City where he became a regular at New York coffee houses and helped to establish Greenwich Village as the epicenter of the folk rock movement. In 1962, after one of his performances was reviewed in the *New York Times,* Dylan was offered a recording contract and released his first album to critical acclaim. Dylan's second album, entitled "Freewheelin' Bob Dylan," was a much larger hit and heralded his emergence as a leader of the genre. While Dylan's characteristically gravelly voice and penchant for moving lyricism made him a popular, if unusual, performer, it was as a songwriter that Dylan exerted his strongest influence. Over the years, Dylan has written dozens of the most popular songs in the history of American rock, earning him numerous honors, including being listed among *Time* magazine's 100 Most Influential Individuals of the Twentieth Century. From protest songs that mirrored the sentiments of a generation of disenfranchised youth to becoming one of the most popular songwriters of a century, Dylan is an iconic figure in American culture who has also changed with the times, remaining relevant into the twenty-first century.

withheld a portion of her income taxes to protest defense spending.

In 1961 Peter Yarrow, Paul Stookey, and Mary Travers founded the enormously popular trio Peter, Paul, and Mary. Yarrow and Stookey played acoustic guitars, and the trio excelled in lyrical renditions and pleasing harmonies. Like many other folk artists, they combined folk songs with protest themes. Their 1962 hit recording of "If I Had a Hammer," composed by Pete Seeger and Lee Hays, called for justice, freedom, and love; the following year they had another hit with Bob Dylan's "Blowin' in the Wind." Another of the trio's top recordings was Woody Guthrie's "This Land Is Your Land," and one of their most acclaimed children's songs was "Puff (the Magic Dragon)," which narrates a boy's loss of youthful imagination and capacity for fantasy as he grows into adulthood.

Two very different venues for folk music demonstrated its popularity during the 1960s—the television show *Hootenanny* and the series of Newport Folk Festivals in Newport, Rhode Island. Pete Seeger is usually credited with popularizing the hootenanny. A hootenanny features performers playing and singing seemingly more for each other than for the audience. There is considerable interaction among performers, but the audience is also often engaged in active participation. The hootenanny proved popular at festivals, clubs, and private parties. The television version was hosted by Jack Linkletter and was taped before live audiences at college campuses. Performers ranged from traditional folk singers such as the Carter Family to modern groups, among them the Chad Mitchell Trio and the Limeliters. Unfortunately, the program blacklisted some performers, among them Seeger and the Weavers, because of their left-wing views. That led many artists, including Joan Baez, the Kingston Trio, and Peter, Paul, and Mary, to boycott the program. Television's *Hootenanny,* partly because of the political controversy associated with it, lasted only from April 1963 to September 1964.

The Newport Folk Festival occurred nine times from 1959 to 1969, and featured a wide array of individuals and groups. George Wein, a Boston pianist, conceived the idea of the festival and coproduced the first one; however, Wein discontinued the festival after two years because it lost money. Pete Seeger then persuaded Wein to create a nonprofit organization, the Newport Folk Foundation, to sponsor the festival and use proceeds to support folk music research and scholarships. The nonprofit Newport Folk Festival began in 1963 and was held annually through the rest of the decade. In its first year, some 40,000 people attended the three-day concert, listening to, among others, Joan Baez, Judy Collins, and Bob Dylan. The 1965 festival was the venue at which Dylan switched from pure folk to folk rock. The switch in musical technique and lyrics (which lacked the social-activist content commonly associated with his early music) so surprised and upset his fans that they roundly booed his performance as a sellout of pure folk music and the fight for social justice.

As the decade progressed, rock music played an increasingly important role at the Newport festivals, and drugs became a serious problem. Under pressure from the Newport City Council, the Newport Folk Foundation canceled the 1970 festival, and the next year the city council withdrew the foundation's license.

Bob Dylan was one of the performers responsible for merging folk themes, including social and political protest, with big-beat music and electric sounds, to produce folk rock. Dylan's album *Bringing It All Back Home,* 1965, used a backup rock-and-roll band; combined with his performance at the 1965 Newport Folk Festival, the album placed him in the vanguard of the folk rock movement. Jim McGuinn and songwriter Gene Clark formed The Byrds and reached number one on the charts with Dylan's "Mr. Tambourine Man" (1965). *Sweetheart of the Rodeo,*1968, was especially important among The Byrds' albums in fusing folk with rock. Paul Simon and Art Garfunkel hit it big with "Scarborough Fair," "Sounds of Silence" (their first number one hit), and a string of other popular songs that often combined folk and rock. Their successful albums included *Parsley, Sage, Rosemary, and Thyme,* 1966, *Bookends,* 1968, and *Bridge Over Troubled Water,* 1970. Simon and Garfunkel recorded the soundtrack for the film *The Graduate,* 1967). One of the songs on the soundtrack, "Sounds of Silence" reaching the top of the charts and the soundtrack winning three Grammy Awards.

BRITAIN'S OWN FOLK MUSIC

Legendary American songwriter Bob Dylan rose to fame with his acoustic protest music of the early 1960s and reinvented himself (to the initial horror of folk traditionalists) when he "went electric" in 1965. Dylan toured Great Britain that spring, appealing to listeners on that side of the Atlantic and inspiring rock musicians there, including the wildly successful British Invasion bands. The new musical genre that emerged from the U.S. and Canada in the mid-1960s, a fusion of folk and rock music, formed the foundation for an eclectic style of electric folk music in Britain that was pioneered by such bands as Pentangle and the Fairport Convention.

Early members of the Fairport Convention looked to America for inspiration and material, so much so that the band was heralded as the "British Jefferson Airplane" with its 1968 debut album. Many listeners presumed the band was American, and the pollenization was not viewed as a liability; vocalist Iain Matthews has said the band did nothing to dispel that notion.

Fairport Convention's early albums combined original material with songs by American artists, including Dylan, and the group entered the British singles charts with "Si Tu Dois Partir," a French-language cover version of Dylan's "If You Gotta Go." As the band defined its own sound, it drew increasingly on traditional European and especially Anglo-Celtic roots. Calling Fairport Convention "England's seminal folk-rock band," one critic wrote that the band's vitality came from "merging the contemporary electric mode with ancient Celtic folk motifs."

Following the release of the band's classic album *Liege and Lief,* founder Ashley Hutchings left Fairport Convention to form Steeleye Span. Forty years later, Fairport Convention continues to tour Britain and the United States with its acoustic lineup, and its spin-off band The Dylan Project is a tribute to Bob Dylan's entire oeuvre.

COUNTRY MUSIC

Country music began to escape from its traditionally southern, rural, and white roots during the 1960s. There were several reasons for the spread of country music: A growing feeling of alienation by individuals in large urban centers and a desire to return to their roots; a moderation of the nasal twang associated with country singers; replacement of the fiddle and steel guitar with a wider range of instruments; and a rise of artists who transcended the hillbilly and honky-tonk image. Market studies indicated that by the middle of the decade a large majority of country music consumers were urban dwellers.

Nashville, Tennessee, was the heart of country music, and performing at the Grand Ole Opry in Nashville was a sure sign that a country music artist had arrived. By the end of the 1960s, about 300 country performers, 300 record labels, 400 publishers, and 900 songwriters were based or represented in or near Nashville.[1] The so-called Nashville West was located in Bakersfield, California, where Merle Haggard and Buck Owens moved. Also during the 1960s, a country music center emerged in Austin, Texas. Known as the center of progressive country (a mixture of country and western), Austin hosted Willie Nelson among others.

During the 1960s, radio stations, primarily AM, brought country music to listeners throughout the United States, and American soldiers in Vietnam and elsewhere helped spread country music around the globe. Strangely enough, given country music's virtually all-white history, one of the entertainers most responsible for the rapid diffusion of country music during the 1960s was an African American, the great rhythm and blues singer Ray Charles. Charles released *Modern Sounds in Country & Western* in 1962 and followed with *Modern Sounds in Country & Western, Volume 2* the next year. Among the songs on these albums were "I Can't Stop Loving You" and Hank Williams's "Your Cheating Heart." As with Bob Dylan's transformation into a folk rock performer, Charles's movement into country caused considerable controversy among his fans. It would still be several years, however, before the color barrier in country music truly fell. Charley Pride was an important pioneer, though he sang ballads in a voice that did not sound particularly country. He appeared at the Grand Ole Opry in 1967, the first African American ever to headline there.

The Queen of Country Music during the early 1960s was Patsy Cline. An individualist and

versatile singer, Cline influenced future generations of country singers even after her death in a 1963 airplane crash. Her hits included "I Fall to Pieces," "Crazy," "Walkin' After Midnight," and the posthumous "Sweet Dreams (of You)" and "Faded Love."

Patsy Cline's successor as most popular female country vocalist in the 1960s was Loretta Lynn. Born in Butcher Hollow (pronounced "Holler"), Kentucky, in 1936, Lynn was a true rags-to-riches story. Married at 13, pregnant at 14, and the mother of four children by 18, she overcame her early poverty and became one of the first female country singers to have wide appeal among women as well as men. She related to real problems women encountered with such stand-up-for-your-rights songs as "Don't Come Home A-Drinkin' (With Lovin' on Your Mind)" and "You Ain't Woman Enough (To Take My Man)."

Many listeners contrasted Loretta Lynn with Tammy Wynette, whom many unfairly saw as pushing a doormat philosophy of womanhood with her most famous song, "Stand by Your Man" (1968), which she co-wrote with her producer, Billy Sherrill. Often referred to as the First Lady of Country Music, Tammy Wynette became one of the most successful female country vocalists of all time. When she married male country star George Jones in 1969, the couple became known as Mr. and Mrs. Country Music.

During the 1960s, country music remained politically conservative. Merle Haggard, a former San Quentin inmate, was inspired by a Johnny Cash concert at the prison to join the prison band. By 1960, Haggard was free and starting his singing career. "I'm a Lonesome Fugitive" (1966) hit number one on the country charts, but the song that made him nationally famous (or infamous, depending on one's political beliefs) was "Okie from Muskogee" (1969), which venerated the nation's flag while attacking hippies and draft-card burners. The song made Haggard President Nixon's favorite country singer and helped Haggard win a pardon for his earlier burglary conviction from California Governor Ronald Reagan.

Chet Atkins entertained President Kennedy in 1961 at the Press Photographers' Ball and also performed at the White House. A skilled guitarist who cut numerous records, Atkins also served as a talent scout, record producer, and vice president for the RCA Corporation. Among the future country stars that he at least partly discovered were Charley Pride, Bobby Bare, and Waylon Jennings.

Johnny Cash established himself as a country giant during the 1950s and 1960s. Cash identified with the down-and-out, including prison inmates. Two of his top albums in the decade were *Ring of Fire,* 1963, and *Johnny Cash at Folsom,* 1968. Cash also recorded *Johnny Cash at San Quentin,* 1969. In 1968, he married June Carter, a member of the famous folk music family, the Carters, and the following year had his own television show from Nashville. *The Johnny Cash Show* ran until May 1971, bringing country music to a mass audience. Among the regulars were Mother Maybelle and the Carter Family, wife June, the Statler Brothers, and Carl Perkins.

Other country singers had television shows as well. Glen Campbell starred on *The Glen Campbell Goodtime Hour* from 1969 to 1972. The theme song was Campbell's hit "Gentle on My Mind," which won a Grammy in the country category in 1967, the same year that Campbell won in pop for "By the Time I Get to Phoenix." The most popular country television show was *Hee Haw,* co-hosted by Buck Owens and Roy Clark. The show, a medley of country music, corny humor, and appearances by guest stars, all done from a very fake cornfield, originated in 1969. CBS dropped the show in 1971 even though it was in the top 20, and *Hee Haw* went into first-run syndication until 1993, a hit for most of its long life.

POP

Rock had been pushing traditional pop music aside since the 1950s, but pop never died out. Audiences remained for the easy listening, often romantic and nostalgic lyrics of singers such as Frank Sinatra, known as the "Chairman of the Board" and "Ol' Blue Eyes." His hit singles in the 1960s included "It Was a Very Good Year," and "Strangers in the Night." His successful albums included *Sinatra's Sinatra,* 1963, *September of My Years,* 1965, *Strangers in the Night,* 1966, and *My Way,* 1969.

Other pop hits included Tony Bennett's "I Left My Heart in San Francisco" (1962), Connie

Francis's "Everybody's Somebody's Fool" (1960) and "Where the Boys Are" (1961), and Bobby Vinton's "Roses Are Red" (1962).

Smooth crooners like Andy Williams, Perry Como, Johnny Mathis, and Nat "King" Cole remained popular. Williams had two of the top albums for 1963 with *Days of Wine and Roses* and *Moon River and Other Great Movie Themes.* Throughout most of the 1960s, Williams had a regular variety show on television and did occasional television specials. Perry Como reached gold with his 1963 and 1966 Christmas albums. Johnny Mathis registered a string of hit albums in the early 1960s, including *Heavenly,* 1960, and *Faithfully,* 1962. Nat "King" Cole's album *Unforgettable* reached gold in 1964.

The two most successful composers of pop music in the decade were Henry Mancini and Burt Bacharach. Mancini achieved his first great success with "Moon River," from the film *Breakfast at Tiffany's,* 1961. Mancini won two Academy Awards for his score for the film as well as a Grammy for "Moon River." Another Grammy Award and Oscar followed for "The Days of Wine and Roses" from the 1962 film of the same title. Burt Bacharach also created highly successful movie scores, earning Academy Award nominations for the songs "Alfie" (from *Alfie,* 1966) and "The Look of Love" (from *Casino Royale,* 1967). Bacharach won an Academy Award in 1969 for "Raindrops Keep Fallin' on My Head" (from *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*).

Bobby Darin, winner of two Grammy Awards in 1959, for Best New Artist of the Year and Best Vocal Performance, Male (for "Mack the Knife"), was a gifted songwriter and singer. He established his own music publishing and recording firm in 1963 and steadily moved away from the teenage market toward adult audiences. He focused more on albums than singles. He also turned to acting, winning an Oscar nomination for best supporting actor in *Captain Newman, M.D.,* 1963.

Among women vocalists, the 1960s belonged to Barbra Streisand. Her first album, *The Barbra Streisand Album,* 1963, went gold, as did her next six albums. She starred in the 1964 Broadway musical *Funny Girl,* based on the life of singer and comedienne Fanny Brice. Starting in 1965, Streisand turned to television and appeared in a series of popular specials, including a 1967 concert taped live in New York City's Central Park. Her first television special, *My Name Is Barbra,* 1965, won five Emmy Awards. In 1968, she won an Oscar for a film reprise of her *Funny Girl* role.

As successful as these artists were, however, they were no longer in the mainstream of modern music. The takeover by rock in the 1950s was slowed by the "payola" scandals of 1959–1960. Congressional investigations revealed widespread pay-offs by record companies and music publishers to induce disc jockeys to play their material. The scandals' fallout led to over 250 disc jockeys being convicted for accepting cash or gifts to play certain records. Elvis Presley's induction into the army also contributed to rock's problems. Elvis returned from the army in 1960 and resumed his recording career with considerable success.

The teen audience in the 1960s was heavily influenced in its choice of favorites by Dick Clark, who followed Bob Horn as host of *Bandstand* on WFIL-TV in Philadelphia in 1956. By August 1957, Clark's renamed *American Bandstand* had gone national on ABC. The approach was simple but successful. Teens danced to records as guest stars lip-synched their own records. The dance contests, spotlight dances, and rating of new songs became staples of the program. Dick Clark helped make stars, including Chubby Checker, Buddy Holly, Frankie Avalon, and the Everly Brothers. In 1963, the daily program was reduced to Saturday afternoons. Nonetheless, Dick Clark remained with *American Bandstand* until 1989, adapting endlessly to new music and becoming a music icon. One important accomplishment of the show was that it featured white and black teenagers together on a national television program for the first time and offered African American singers and musicians national exposure.

The Beach Boys appeared on *American Bandstand* in the early 1960s. Hailing from California, Brian, Dennis, and Carl Wilson formed a band in 1961 with their cousin Mike Love and friend Al Jardine. They went through several names before settling on the Beach Boys, a happy complement to some of their early hits, such as "Surfin'" (1962), "Surfin' Safari" (1962), "Surfin' USA" (1963), "Surfer Girl" (1963), and "Fun, Fun, Fun" (1964). Three later songs—"I Get Around" (1964), "Help Me, Rhonda" (1965), and "Good

HIT SONGS OF THE 1960s

"Are You Lonesome Tonight?" (Elvis Presley)—1960

"The Twist" (Chubby Checker)—1960

"Crazy" (Patsy Cline)—1961

"I Want to Hold Your Hand" (The Beatles)—1964

"(I Can't Get No) Satisfaction" (The Rolling Stones)—1965

"Good Vibrations" (Beach Boys)—1966

"Light My Fire" (The Doors)—1967

"Respect" (Aretha Franklin)—1967

"Hey Jude" (The Beatles)—1968

"Aquarius/Let the Sunshine In" (The Fifth Dimension)—1969

Vibrations" (1966)—reached number one on the charts. "California Girls" (1965), another hit, helped create the mystique of the beautiful California girl. The Beach Boys' close harmonies, coupled with dense musical layering, helped create what came to be known as the California sound. One of their greatest artistic accomplishments was *Pet Sounds,* 1966, usually credited with being the first concept album, a unified cycle of music intended to be heard from beginning to end. Artistically successful but commercially disappointing, the album was the model for the Beatles' later *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band,* 1967.

ROCK

Music and American culture were changed forever in 1964 when John Lennon, Paul McCartney, George Harrison, and Ringo Starr, better known as the Beatles, arrived in the United States. Their appearance on *The Ed Sullivan Show* launched Beatlemania. Huge crowds turned out for Beatles concerts at such places as the Coliseum in Washington, D.C. and New York's Carnegie Hall. Girls swooned, and boys grew their hair long in the Beatles' mop-top fashion. The media reported on every detail of the band members' lives. The invasion made everything British (including music, hair, and clothes) popular.

The hits followed fast and furious. "I Want to Hold Your Hand" sold more than a million copies within 10 days of being released in the United States in 1964. Twelve Beatles records were among the 100 bestselling records in April of that year. Five occupied the top five positions. In that same year, the singles "I Want to Hold Your Hand," "Can't Buy Me Love," "A Hard Day's Night," and "I Feel Fine," and the albums *Meet the Beatles!, The Beatles' Second Album, Something New, Beatles '65,* and *The Beatles' Story* all went gold.

The Beatles also turned to films, with *A Hard Day's Night,* 1964, and *Help!,* 1965. As the group showed greater complexity in their music, they withdrew from live performances. The Beatles experimented with Indian mysticism and drugs, made additional films (*The Magical Mystery Tour,* 1967, and the animated *Yellow Submarine,* 1968), and released the concept album *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band,* 1967, and the double album known officially as *The Beatles,* 1968, and unofficially as the "White Album" after its cover.

Romantic themes began to yield to social consciousness in songs such as "Eleanor Rigby" and "Paperback Writer." There was increasing intellectual subtlety in both lyrics and music in the *Sgt. Pepper's* collection and the "White Album," as well as greater attention to how songs fit together. The Beatles introduced new sounds with orchestral instruments, especially stringed instruments. Even album covers became part of the artistic effect for the Beatles. The *Sgt. Pepper's* cover, for example, combined psychedelic and pop art effects.

John Lennon married the Japanese artist Yoko Ono, and Paul McCartney married photographer Linda Eastman. With career aspirations diverging and personal and legal tensions rising among the four, they split in 1970. For years, Beatles fans longed for a reunion. That dream died with the murder of John Lennon outside his New York City apartment in 1980.

The popularity of the Beatles triggered a deluge of British groups into the United States, including Herman's Hermits, the Dave Clark Five, the Who, and the Rolling Stones. Most British groups, if not imitating the Beatles, at least tried to capitalize on their popularity. The Rolling Stones, though, were deliberately pitched as an anti-Beatles group. Featuring vocalist Mick Jagger and guitarist Keith



The Beatles performing in their second film, *Help!* (1965). Directed by Richard Lester. Left to right: Paul McCartney, George Harrison, Ringo Starr, and John Lennon. Courtesy of Photofest.

Richards, the group also included bass player Bill Wyman and drummer Charlie Watts. The Rolling Stones projected an image of sex, drugs, violence, and occultism. Their music, derived ultimately from the earthiest versions of rhythm and blues, differed from the Beatles' sound, which evolved out of the rock music of Elvis Presley, Buddy Holly, and the Everly Brothers. The Stones' hits included "(I Can't Get No) Satisfaction" (1965), "Ruby Tuesday" (1967), and "Honky Tonk Woman" (1969). They also released albums with titles like *Their Satanic Majesties Request,* 1967, and *Let It Bleed,* 1969. When the Rolling Stones performed "Let's Spend the Night Together" on *The Ed Sullivan Show* in 1967, they mumbled or altered the most objectionable lines at Sullivan's insistence.

A group named the Monkees was the brainchildren of Columbia Pictures, which decided to fashion a television show about a group of young men trying to make a go of a rock-and-roll band, in imitation of the Beatles' film *A Hard Day's Night,* 1964. Three stars were from the United States (Mickey Dolenz, Peter Tork, Mike Nesmith); one (David Jones) was from England. Musical talent was less a requirement than the right mixture of personalities.

The television show, *The Monkees,* ran two seasons (1966–1968) on NBC and the group released a number of hit songs, including "Last Train to Clarksville" (1966), "I'm a Believer" (1966), and "Daydream Believer" (1967). They also had several gold albums. Live performances, however, revealed to audiences that the Monkees had not played their instruments on their records. After a public rebellion by the Monkees, Screen Gems let them play as well as sing on their records and, by the end of the decade, the Monkees' attempt to become a serious band came to an end.

San Francisco became the center of flower power, hippie life, and psychedelic rock during the 1960s. A Swiss chemist, Albert Hofmann, invented a drug in 1938 that he named Lysergsaure-diathylamid and abbreviated LSD-25. The drug distorted time, created a sense of the self

melting into one's surroundings, and made objects appear fluid. By the 1950s, the term "psychedelic" had been applied to these phenomena. In 1965, the federal government banned the distribution of LSD, widely known as acid. Musical performers attempted to parallel the effects of LSD in their music by creating less structured performances, increasing volume, and adding other sensory stimuli such as flashing lights.

One of the most famous San Francisco groups was the Grateful Dead, led by Jerry Garcia. The Grateful Dead actually played a mix of folk and blues in addition to psychedelic rock, but became associated with drugs because of their advocacy for legalizing marijuana, the fact that they lived for a time on Ashbury Street in the Haight-Ashbury section of the city, and their performances (before adopting the "Grateful Dead" name) at Ken Kesey's acid tests (symposia sponsored by the writer at which participants took LSD). The Grateful Dead released popular albums such as *The Grateful Dead,* 1967, and *Anthem of the Sun,* 1968, but achieved more lasting fame for their enthusiastic live performances and remarkably faithful fans who called themselves Dead Heads.

The Jefferson Airplane debuted in San Francisco in 1965, and in 1966 Grace Slick joined the group as lead vocalist. The group lived together in Haight-Ashbury and tied themselves closely to the psychedelic rock-drug movement. The album *Surrealistic Pillow,* 1967, was a hit, and two of its songs, "Somebody to Love" and "White Rabbit," made the top 10. The latter, loosely based on Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland,* was an explicit call to use drugs. Grace Slick combined considerable singing and songwriting talent with an outrageousness that varied from dressing like a nun to flashing her breasts.

Jimi Hendrix and Janis Joplin were two of the most talented and tragic figures of the San Francisco psychedelic scene. Hendrix, one of the most gifted guitarists of the decade, teamed with Noel Redding and Mitch Mitchell to form the Jimi Hendrix Experience. Hendrix was especially skilled at creating striking effects with feedback from his guitar, and his music fused blues, rock, and jazz improvisations.

Hendrix's most memorable appearances included his performances at the Monterey International Pop Festival in 1967 and the Woodstock Music and Art Fair in 1969. At the former, his performance included simulated masturbation and the actual burning of his guitar; the latter featured his unusual and controversial interpretation of "The Star-Spangled Banner." On September 18, 1970, Hendrix died after a drug overdose. He was not quite 28 years old. The combination of extraordinary talent, drugs, and an early and tragic death made Hendrix for many people a symbol of the promises, confusions, and excesses of the 1960s.



Jimi Hendrix fused blues, rock, and jazz improvisations and was especially skilled at creating striking effects with feedback from his guitar. Courtesy of Photofest.

Influenced by Billie Holiday and Bessie Smith, Janis Joplin helped create "blue-eyed soul," blues sung by white artists. Her live performances, like Hendrix's, could be outrageous. She often drank whiskey while performing and mingled singing with running, jumping, and occasionally screaming. Heavy drinking made her voice raspy, which, along with her haggard appearance, caused her blues renditions to seem all the more genuine. Her albums included *Cheap Thrills,* 1968, and *I Got Dem Ol' Kozmic Blues Again Mama!,* 1969. After at least half a dozen overdoses, Joplin died

MUSIC FESTIVALS

The June 1967 Monterey Pop Festival ushered in the so-called Summer of Love. Festival organizers included an all-star cast, among them John Phillips of the Mamas and the Papas, Paul McCartney of the Beatles, Paul Simon, Smokey Robinson, and Brian Wilson of the Beach Boys. The three-day festival included Country Joe and the Fish, Janis Joplin, Jefferson Airplane, Otis Redding, and the Grateful Dead. Jim Hendrix introduced the Jimi Hendrix Experience to American audiences, lighting his guitar on fire and breaking it over an amplifier. The Monterey Pop Festival was enormously successful and generally trouble free, and inspired a number of other large-scale festivals, including the Woodstock festival.

The Woodstock Music and Art Fair (as it was formally called) occurred in New York State from August 15 to 17, 1969. Organizers named it after the village of Woodstock, Bob Dylan's home, hoping that the folk-rock star would participate. He didn't; however, many other stars did participate, including Jimi Hendrix, Joan Baez, the Who, Janis Joplin, the Grateful Dead, Jefferson Airplane, and Creedence Clearwater Revival. The highlight of the event was the controversial rendition of "The Star-Spangled Banner" by Jimi Hendrix. Woodstock encountered numerous problems, including overcrowding, a lot of rain and mud, inadequate restroom facilities, and demands by some performers to be paid in advance. On the whole, the festival remained peaceful despite the hardships endured by the audience of close to half a million.

The festival earned a permanent place in American culture as a defining moment of the 1960s. It represented an open, classless society of music, sex, drugs, love, and peace, all the more so because the event remained largely free of violence and the tragic consequences one might expect from so large a gathering of young people.

from a heroin overdose at age 27, three weeks after Jimi Hendrix's death. A 1979 film, *The Rose,* starring Bette Midler, was based on her life.

Many other groups and individual artists also left their mark on the 1960s. The Doors, for example, became a symbol of the decade's combination of enormous talent and tragic lack of self-discipline. Jim Morrison, a talented singer, poet, and musician, founded the group. The Doors were successful with their first album, *Doors,* in early 1967. The single "Light My Fire" reached number one in July. The Doors' music combined hard rock with broad images and psychological insights.

Things began to go downhill for the group in March 1969, when Morrison arrived late and intoxicated at a concert in Miami. He reportedly exposed himself on stage and was convicted of profanity and indecent exposure. This resulted in canceled concerts and difficulty getting airtime for their records. The group rebounded in 1970, but then Morrison left for France. In July 1971, Morrison was found dead of an apparent heart attack. Oliver Stone made a successful film about the group, *The Doors,* 1991, starring Val Kilmer as Morrison.

Another enormously successful group was the Mamas and the Papas, consisting of John Phillips, his wife Michelle, Ellen Naomi Cohen (known as Cass Elliott), and Dennis Doherty. Appreciated for their well-written lyrics, melodious harmonies, and versatility, the Mamas and the Papas released such hits as "California Dreamin'" (1966) and "Monday, Monday" (1966). They also had a string of top 10 albums, but by the end of the decade the Mamas and the Papas had decided to go their own ways. "Mama" Cass, unfortunately, had little time to pursue an individual career, as she died in a London hotel in 1974, by, according to legend, choking to death on a ham sandwich, but in reality apparently of a heart attack.

SOUL

Soul emerged out of gospel music and rhythm and blues (R&B). The term "soul" had been used in relation to gospel music long before its adoption by rhythm and blues and later by "soul" performers. Ray Charles popularized the style with his synthesis of religious and R&B. In 1960, Charles had his first number one hit, "Georgia on My Mind," a soulful rendition that fused with pop. Part of his genius was in taking a song, for example "Take These Chains From My Heart" (1963), that had essentially nothing to do with

soul traditions and giving it a soul treatment. The result increased his own popularity and that of soul music with mass audiences.

Soul music fit well with the 1960's social movements, especially Civil Rights, and developments like Black Power and the Black Is Beautiful theme. In addition, growing numbers of whites who wanted to express solidarity with African Americans, or who merely wanted to be chic, sought out soul, including fashions and food.

Aretha Franklin was perhaps the finest of the female soul singers, and had such hits as "I Never Loved a Man (The Way I Love You)" (1967), "Chain of Fools" (1967), "Since You've Been Gone" (1968), and "I Say a Little Prayer" (1968). Drawing from such sources as singing with her minister father in Detroit, the sounds of Ray Charles, and personal tragedies (especially her mother's departure and death when Aretha was 6 and 10, respectively years later), she poured personal emotion into her songs.

Otis Redding also helped to spread soul music and convert white audiences. A shy young man from Georgia, Redding was signed by Jim Stewart, who, although white, emphasized soul on the STAX label that he started with his sister, Estelle Axton (the name of the company derived from the first two letters of brother and sister's last names). By 1965, Redding's songs, such as "Mr. Pitiful" and "I've Been Loving You Too Long," were being well received. He proved enormously popular while touring Europe and performed at the Monterey Pop Festival in 1967. In November 1967, he recorded the song that would become his greatest hit, "Dock of the Bay." On December 10, Redding was killed in a plane crash. Redding's "Dock of the Bay" was released in January; it sold four million records by the end of May.[2]

The ultimate soul performer, though, was James Brown, the "Godfather of Soul." Also known as the "Hardest-Working Man in Show Business," Brown worked almost every night, performing to audiences in large concert halls. The song that most forcefully called out to the social and racial struggles of the decade was "Say It Loud, I'm Black and I'm Proud" (1968). Brown, himself from a troubled background, promoted stay-in-school campaigns for youth, encouraged African American business efforts, and worked for equal rights. He entertained the troops in Vietnam, and wherever he performed did so with extraordinary energy.

The largest black-owned company at the end of the 1960s was Motown, short for Motortown (Detroit). Berry Gordy Jr., a former Detroit autoworker, started Motown in 1959. He hired talented writers, musicians, producers, engineers, arrangers, and singers, and established a sort of assembly-line approach to music under strict controls. Gordy also made extensive use of modern recording technology, gaudy costumes, and carefully choreographed dance steps for his performers. He brought soul music closer to pop so his recordings would appeal to a wide audience, including white listeners. The Motown sound tended to be smoother than the sharp-edged soul that some other labels were producing, but still often retained such traditional soul techniques as rhythmic repetitions and call-and-response patterns of phrasing. Gordy liked to sign young performers, often complete unknowns, and mold them into Motown artists.

The list of Motown hits in the 1960s was impressive: Marvin Gaye's "How Sweet It Is (To Be Loved By You)" (1964), and "I Heard It Through the Grapevine" (1968); Barrett Strong's "Money (That's What I Want)," Motown's first national hit (1960); Smokey Robinson and the Miracles' "Shop Around," the first Motown song to reach number one (1960), and "My Girl" (1964). An ability to coin lyrics that connected deeply with listeners' fears, hopes, and anxieties was a hallmark of Motown, a direct result of the talented lyricists that Gordy employed. For example, Jimmy Ruffin's "What Becomes of the Broken-hearted" (1966) was seemingly aimed directly at each listener and to the times. The Four Tops' "I Can't Help Myself (Sugar Pie, Honey Bunch)" (1965) and "Reach Out I'll Be There" (1966) were popular as well.

Motown was known for its girls groups. The Marvelettes hit it big with "Please Mr. Postman" (1961), which reached number one on both the pop and R&B charts. Martha Reeves and the Vandellas had "(Love Is Like a) Heat Wave" (1963), "Dancing in the Street" (1964), and "Jimmy Mack" (1967). Other hits included Mary Wells's "My Guy" (1964) and Gladys Knight and the Pips' "I Heard It Through the Grapevine" (1967), which was released prior to the Marvin Gaye version.

The most successful girl group was the Supremes, which later became Diana Ross and the Supremes. The original trio consisted of Detroit singers Diana Ross, Florence Ballard, and Mary Wilson, who started their career as the Primettes before signing with Berry Gordy in 1961. Their first chart-topper was "Where Did Our Love Go?" in 1964. Their most famous song was "Stop! In The Name of Love" (1965), the fourth of five consecutive number one singles. "You Can't Hurry Love" (1966) began a run of four more consecutive tunes that topped the charts. In 1967, the name of the group was changed to give top billing to Diana Ross, and Florence Ballard was replaced by Cindy Birdsong. The final hit before Ross departed to pursue a solo career was "Someday We'll Be Together" (1969).

Even children were potential Motown performers. Little Stevie Wonder, blind like the great Ray Charles, was just 12 years old when he began with Motown. In 1963, at age 13, Wonder had several successful singles and his first two albums, *The 12 Year Old Genius* and *Tribute to Uncle Ray,* the latter a homage to Ray Charles. Later 1960s hits included "Uptight (Everything's Alright)" (1965), with its effective use of hip slang ("Everything's alright. Uptight. Out of sight."), "Shoo-Be-Doo-Be-Doo-Da-Day" (1968), "For Once in My Life" (1968), and "Yester-Me, Yester-You, Yesterday" (1969).

Phil Spector was another highly successful producer during the 1960s. The Crystals recorded "Uptown," "Da Doo Ron Ron," and "Then He Kissed Me." The Ronettes' hits included "Be My Baby," "Do I Love You?" and "Walking in the Rain." Spector's other successes included hits by the Righteous Brothers (e.g., "You've Lost That Lovin' Feeling") and, in 1963, what many consider the finest Christmas album ever produced, *A Christmas Gift for You,* more commonly known as *Phil Spector's Christmas Album.*

CLASSICAL AND JAZZ

While not in the music headlines during the 1960s, classical music and jazz retained fans, and even gained new ones. Classical music accounted for between 5 and 10 percent of record sales during the 1960s.[3]

Aaron Copland and Leonard Bernstein were widely recognized as the foremost American composers of their time. Copland's 1960s compositions included *Nonet,* 1960, composed for nine stringed instruments; and *Connotations for Orchestra,* 1962. Copland also conducted the New York Philharmonic and in 1960 directed the Boston Symphony on a tour of the Far East.

Leonard Bernstein was a great showman and educator as well as composer and director. He popularized classical music through music, books, and television specials. Bernstein directed the New York Philharmonic from 1959 to 1969 (including a special television concert in 1963 in honor of the assassinated John F. Kennedy) and inaugurated the New York Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts in 1962.

The first television superstar of classical music, Bernstein conducted three nationally televised Young's People's Concerts (1964, 1965, 1966) in which he used Beatles songs to clarify aspects of classical music. He also wrote books in which he sought to make classical music more understandable and fun.

As the 1960s progressed, Bernstein became increasingly political. His concerns included civil rights (championing the Black Panthers), ending the Vietnam War, and supporting Israel.

The pianist Van Cliburn, who had won the Moscow Tchaikovsky Competition, sold albums on which he played Beethoven, Chopin, and Mozart.

African Americans won widespread acceptance in classical music in the 1960s. Leontyne Price, inspired by Marian Anderson, who had been the first African American to sing at the New York Metropolitan Opera (1955), appeared there in 1961. Her performance as Leonora in Verdi's *Il Trovatore* earned her a 40-minute standing ovation. African Americans also moved into important conducting positions: Henry Lewis was the conductor of the New Jersey Symphony, Paul Freeman was the associate conductor of the Dallas Symphony, and George Byrd was the assistant conductor of the American Ballet Theater.

Jazz enthusiasts during the 1960s could still enjoy the music and showmanship of perhaps the most important figure in the history of jazz, Louis Armstrong.

Armstrong recorded "Hello Dolly" for the stage show in 1964, and the song soon became the top song in America. Ill health, however, caught up with Louis by 1968, and he was unable to perform for several months. When he returned to the stage, he was under doctors' orders not to play the trumpet. He passed away in 1971.

Duke Ellington, composer, pianist, and bandleader, still performed in venues from Europe to Africa to American proms. In 1969, on his 70th birthday, he was honored at the White House with the Presidential Medal of Freedom. President Richard Nixon played "Happy Birthday" to him on the piano.

Dizzy Gillespie was still playing his trumpet in the 1960s. Saxophonist Stan Getz won a Grammy Award in 1964 for "The Girl from Ipanema." In 1964 Thelonious Monk returned from several years of self-imposed absence from public performances.

A white quartet headed by pianist Dave Brubeck continued with its so-called progressive jazz in the 1960s. Brubeck's music was often labeled cool jazz, with its smooth phrasing and absence of any overt sense of the blues tradition, although Brubeck was daring in rhythm and improvisation. Brubeck was especially popular on college campuses, and one of his most famous performances occurred at the New York World's Fair in 1964. Throughout the 1960s, though, jazz was largely dominated by African American artists.

At the most daring edge of jazz in the decade were John Coltrane, Ornette Coleman, and Miles Davis. Hard bop, or funky jazz, was a reaction against cool jazz, an attempt to return jazz to its roots in black culture. Hard bop was strong, passionate, and heavily reliant on improvisation. One of the leaders of the movement was Miles Davis, a great jazz trumpeter. John Coltrane, who had worked for Davis, pushed the movement farther ahead. Coltrane had enormous range with his saxophone. He incorporated African and Asian music into his work and achieved great nonharmonic complexity. Coltrane did not identify himself as a black nationalist, and despite his deep concern with African music and civil rights he refused to define jazz as a black art form. He saw jazz as a matter of music rather than skin color, and maintained his sensitivity toward those who were suffering. When four young African American girls were killed in the bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham in 1963, he composed and played an elegy for them that he called "Alabama."

The next step from hard bop was free jazz, which included clarinet squeals and saxophone shrieks, a strong sense of the blues, and even more improvisation than in hard bop. The result sometimes seemed more chaotic than musical. Free jazz varied with the performer, with considerable improvisation made possible by freedom from pre-set chord progressions, abandonment of regular patterns of rhythm, use of extremes in notes, and occasional silences. Free jazz was especially energetic, with drummers and other musicians feeling free to be as irregular as the spirit moved them to be. In some cases, musicians in a group all seemed to be playing solos at the same time.

Free jazz mirrored the growing anger of black nationalists. It rejected status quo rules and traditions and conveyed passionate feelings that paralleled blacks' passion for freedom from white domination. Seen as a primitive music, free jazz appeared to hearken back to African rhythms and the primitive roots of black consciousness.

Leading the free jazz movement was saxophonist and composer Ornette Coleman, who led the Ornette Coleman Quartet. Coleman even challenged the tradition of musicians specializing in one instrument; he played the saxophone, violin, and trumpet. Coleman's *Free Jazz,* 1960, was a milestone in the history of jazz, and inspired countless musicians. It also gave a name to the new style of jazz.

Toward the end of his career, John Coltrane was influenced by Coleman and moved closer to free jazz's spirit and sound. The Coltrane's free playing sometimes sounded chaotic as the band members, including two drummers, improvised individually and sometimes drowned each other out. Miles Davis, who initially preferred what he called "controlled freedom," also began to change. His music grew more spontaneous, and he even paid his band members not to practice at home in order not to sound too polished. By 1969, Davis was combining jazz with rock; his *Bitches Brew* album sold 400,000 copies during its first year.[4]

Sports

and Leisure of the 1960s

The 1960s were marked by war abroad and social upheaval at home, but the nation found itself at times able to turn away from political and social divisions to revel in playful and light-hearted pastimes. Yet so strong were the social dynamics of the decade that even play sometimes gravitated toward the ideological, and sometimes mirrored the conflicts and preoccupations that were threatening to unravel the social fabric of the country.

SPORTS

Professional Football

One of the most dominant figures in American sports during the 1960s was Vince Lombardi, the coach of the Green Bay Packers in the National Football League (NFL). "Winning isn't everything, it's the only thing," was Vince Lombardi's signature quotation, although others had made the statement before him.

Lombardi, a New Yorker, settled in a relatively small town in the football hinterlands, Green Bay, Wisconsin, where he started building a dynasty in 1960. During the next seven years, Lombardi's Packers won five NFL championships and the first two Super Bowls (1967 and 1968).

Lombardi, with his insistence on hard work and discipline and his unswerving commitment to winning, seemed to be an anomaly in the turbulent decade of the 1960s. Yet, as his biographer David Maraniss points out, he was progressive in his attitudes toward race relations and homosexuality.[1] He insisted that African American players on his team be treated the same as white players, refusing, for example, to house his team at hotels that would not accept African Americans and insisting on employing Native American caddies at a Green Bay golf course year-round when it was customary to lay them off in the summer in favor of white youngsters. When he coached the Washington Redskins later in the decade, he threatened to fire anyone who belittled a gay Redskins player because of his sexual orientation.

The two greatest players of the decade were quarterback Johnny Unitas of the Baltimore Colts and fullback Jim Brown of the Cleveland Browns. The expansion Dallas Cowboys began their rise from mediocrity to become "America's Team." The American Football League (AFL) was born in 1960, competing and finally merging with the older National Football League by 1970. The Super Bowl, conceived in competition and then cooperation between the two leagues, began its ascendancy toward its eventual status as America's most spectacular sports event. The contest that set it on that track, though, was neither of Green Bay's triumphs, but Super Bowl III, when



In Super Bowl III, the AFL's New York Jets scored a historic upset win over the NFL's Baltimore Colts. Clockwise from top left: Jim Turner kicks a field goal; Kyle Rote interviews Joe Namath; Namath prepares to take a snap from center; announcer Curt Gowdy covers the game. Courtesy of Photofest.

quarterback Joe Namath of the upstart AFL New York Jets predicted a victory over the NFL Colts and then made good on his promise.

The National Football League, winner of the first two Super Bowl games by decisive margins, was the prohibitive favorite to extend its winning streak in the third meeting between the league champions. Joe Namath, known as "Broadway Joe" for his flashy lifestyle, was the quarterback of the American Football League champion New York Jets. Namath, showing little respect for the older league and unfazed that his own Jets were 17-point underdogs, guaranteed victory. On January 12, 1969, Namath delivered on that guarantee, showing that the new league was the NFL's equal and setting himself on a path that would lead to the Pro Football Hall of Fame.

College Football

College football remained popular. A small number of college powerhouses ruled the gridiron. The University of Alabama won two national championships and shared a third during the 1960s, while the University of Texas won twice. The University of Southern California won two national titles and featured two Heisman winners, most notably O. J. Simpson, who would go on to a record-setting career in the National Football League and in the 1990s be the defendant in one of the most sensational murder trials in history. The University of Notre Dame, under coach Ara Parseghian, returned to prominence when the Fighting Irish captured a national title in 1966 during one of the most famous games ever: a 10–10 tie with Michigan State. This was also one of the most controversial games in college football history because Notre Dame, its starting quarterback and halfback out with injuries, elected to run out the clock.

Boxing

Muhammad Ali shares top billing with Vince Lombardi among 1960s sports figures. The young Cassius Clay, light-heavyweight gold medalist at the 1960 Olympics and heavyweight champion of the world at age 22, was an "in-your-face" fighter, predicting the round in which he would win and celebrating his greatness with whimsical verses such as his self-description, "Float like a butterfly, sting like a bee."

Clay fought Sonny Liston, a heavy favorite, in a 1964 fight for the heavyweight championship of the world. Liston had won the title with a first-round knockout of then-champion Floyd Patterson in 1962 and retained his title by again demolishing Patterson in a single round the following year. Faced with Clay's speed and taunting, though, the older fighter could not connect, and when the seventh round began, the champion remained seated in his corner. The stunning upset was followed by an even more bewildering rematch in 1965, with Liston going down for the count in the first round, victim of a "phantom" punch that no one saw land. Rumors circulated that Liston had thrown the fight.

By the second fight with Liston, Clay had converted to the Nation of Islam and changed his name to Muhammad Ali. The Nation of Islam advocated black separatism and encouraged its adherents to reject their old names, often given to their ancestors by slave masters. As Ali spoke out against racism, the media began to turn against him, even as he continued his mastery of the boxing world.

By 1967, Ali had established himself as one of the greatest, if not the best, heavyweight boxers ever. He had also become increasingly outspoken against the Vietnam War, which he saw as a racist war against another colored race. Ali was drafted into military service and sought unsuccessfully to receive a conscientious objector classification. Denied that status, he refused induction. The penalties were heavy: At the very peak of his career, Ali was stripped of his heavyweight title. He was brought to trial for refusing induction, convicted, and sentenced to five years in prison. Ali appealed the conviction, but in the meantime was deprived of his career. He traveled widely throughout the country, much in demand as a public speaker, especially on college campuses. As the decade approached its conclusion, increasing numbers of African Americans shared Ali's view, asking why they should fight in Vietnam for a government that back home refused them the rights for which they supposedly were fighting and dying to provide for the Vietnamese. As opposition to racism and the war merged in the minds of large



Cassius Clay (who changed his name to Muhammad Ali) standing over a fallen Sonny Liston in the boxing ring, 1965. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

numbers of African Americans, Ali became an inspiring force within the Black Power movement.

In the 1970s the Supreme Court overturned his conviction and Ali returned to boxing, twice more becoming world champion. Ali continued to rise in popularity and became one of the most loved figures in America, so much so that he was invited to light the Olympic Flame at the opening ceremonies for the Atlanta Olympics in 1996.

Baseball

Professional baseball looked about the same in the 1960s as it had in previous decades except for the growing number of teams, but the winds of change were buffeting baseball.

The decade opened with Bill Mazeroski, the great defensive second baseman of the Pittsburgh Pirates, hitting a ninth-inning home run in game seven of the 1960 World Series to give his Pirates the championship and put a dent in the New York Yankee dynasty. The Yankees continued, though, to be the Yankees of old through 1964, when another Series loss, this one to the St. Louis Cardinals, temporarily ended the long run of Yankee successes.

The most important on-field baseball happening of the 1960s featured Roger Maris, the Yankees' right fielder, at a time when the greatest active Yankee hero was still Mickey Mantle. In 1961 Maris broke the beloved Babe Ruth's home-run mark, which had stood at 60 since 1927. Maris suffered under the stress of media attention and considerable fan unhappiness that the great Bambino's record had been broken. For most fans, if the record had to be broken, it should have been broken by Mantle. The commissioner of baseball, Ford Frick, a former newspaperman and ghostwriter for Babe Ruth, did his best to retain Ruth's status by adding the most famous asterisk in history to Maris's record, indicating that he had played a 162-game schedule, 8 more games than in Ruth's time.

In 1962 Maury Wills, shortstop for the Los Angeles Dodgers, took on another legendary star, Ty Cobb, outrunning Cobb's single-season stolen base record 104 to 96. The year also saw other remarkable events. A young Dodgers lefthander, Sandy Koufax, struck out 18 batters in a single game, tying the all-time single-game record. Casey Stengel, let go after the 1960 season by the Yankees, resurfaced to manage the expansion New York Mets, and lost 120 games.

From 1903 until 1953, the same 16 teams in the same 16 cities had constituted the major leagues. In the mid-1950s several teams changed residences, including the Dodgers (Brooklyn to Los Angeles) and the Giants (New York to San Francisco). In 1961, the American League added the Los Angeles Angels (who moved to Anaheim in 1966) and the second version of the Washington Senators. The Houston Colt .45's (later Astros) and New York Mets joined the National League in 1962. The Kansas City Royals and Seattle Pilots (later the Milwaukee Brewers) in the American League, and the San Diego Padres and Montreal Expos in the National League (the first inclusion

of a major league team from another country) joined the majors for the 1969 season. Also in 1962, Jackie Robinson, the first African American player in the modern major leagues, was inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame at Cooperstown, New York. The enshrinement of Robinson was especially significant in the decade that witnessed so much striving after racial justice.

No major league team would completely replace the Yankees in the 1960s, but many would try, with the Los Angeles Dodgers coming closest. The Dodgers won the National League pennant in 1963, 1965, and 1966, and captured the World Series in 1963 and 1965. The Dodgers were led by one of the greatest pitchers ever, Sandy Koufax, who won 25 to 27 games 3 times in 4 years, struck out a then-record 382 batters in 1965, threw 4 no-hitters, including a perfect game, and captured three Cy Young and one Most Valuable Player Awards. Koufax retired at his prime with an arthritic elbow after the 1966 season.

Warren Spahn, who spent most of his career with the Boston and Milwaukee Braves, winning 20 or more games 13 times, completed his career in 1965 with 363 wins, the most ever by a left-hander. Two players won Triple Crowns in the 1960s, leading their league in home runs, runs batted in, and batting—Frank Robinson of the Baltimore Orioles in 1966 and Carl Yastrzemski of the Boston Red Sox in 1967.

In 1968, Denny McLain won 31 games for the World Series champion Detroit Tigers, the first pitcher to reach 30 since Dizzy Dean of the Cardinals in 1934. Don Drysdale of the Dodgers set a record by pitching 58⅔ consecutive innings without allowing a run. Bob Gibson of the Cardinals compiled a phenomenal earned run average of 1.12. Don Wilson of Houston recorded 18 strikeouts in a 9-inning game, and Luis Tiant of the Cleveland Indians fanned 19 in 10 innings.

The remarkable decade ended with one of the most improbable stories in baseball history. The previously hapless Mets, by now one of 24 teams playing in a divisional structure that introduced a preliminary playoff prior to the World Series, went the distance behind their great young pitcher Tom Seaver to capture the World Series.

Perhaps the most significant development in baseball during the 1960s occurred off the field.

WORLD SERIES

1960 Pittsburgh Pirates (NL), 4 games; New York Yankees (AL), 3 games

1961 New York Yankees (AL), 4 games; Cincinnati Reds (NL), 1 game

1962 New York Yankees (AL), 4 games; San Francisco Giants (NL), 3 games

1963 Los Angeles Dodgers (NL), 4 games; New York Yankees (AL), 0 games

1964 St. Louis Cardinals (NL), 4 games, New York Yankees (AL), 3 games

1965 Los Angeles Dodgers (NL), 4 games; Minnesota Twins (AL), 3 games

1966 Baltimore Orioles (AL), 4 games; Los Angeles Dodgers (NL), 0 games

1967 St. Louis Cardinals (NL), 4 games; Boston Red Sox (AL), 3 games

1968 Detroit Tigers (AL), 4 games; St. Louis Cardinals (NL), 3 games

1969 New York Mets (NL), 4 games; Baltimore Orioles (AL), 1 game

In 1966, the Major League Baseball Players Association hired Marvin Miller as executive director. Within a decade, Miller would transform a fraternal organization into one of the most powerful unions in the world. By the time the 1960s ended, Miller had negotiated a collective bargaining agreement with major league baseball. This led to the end of free agency in the following decade, with the resulting player mobility producing vast leaps in player salaries.

Basketball

Professional basketball during the 1960s was dominated by the Boston Celtics and two players huge in physical stature as well as talent. The Celtics were National Basketball Association champions every year during the decade except 1967. That year marked the first season that Bill Russell, the Celtics' center and player-coach, succeeded the legendary Red Auerbach. Russell brought his team back to the top in 1968 and 1969 before retiring. A master rebounder and

defensive player, Russell brought defense into the forefront of basketball, changing the game forever. Along the way, he won five Most Valuable Player Awards and became the first African American head coach in any major professional sport in the United States.

The one blemish on the Celtics' record in the 1960s was caused by the Philadelphia 76ers, led by Wilt "The Stilt" Chamberlain, the most prodigious scorer in basketball history. In Chamberlain's first season (1960), he set a new scoring record with 37.6 points per game. He won 7 consecutive scoring titles, averaging an astronomical 50.4 points per game in 1961–1962. In one game that season, he scored 100 points against the New York Knicks. Also a great rebounder and playmaker, Chamberlain won the Most Valuable Player Award four times in his career and led his team to the NBA championship twice, once in 1967 season and again with the Los Angeles Lakers in 1972. Throughout the 1960s, the greatest matchup in the NBA was between Russell and Chamberlain, two powerful and proud individuals. Although Russell's team usually prevailed, which player was greater continues to be debated.

College Basketball

As with professional basketball, college basketball featured a dynasty in the 1960s, the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). The National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) championship belonged to Ohio State University, the University of Cincinnati, and Loyola of Chicago during the first four years of the 1960s. In 1964, UCLA took over, ruling as NCAA champions for the rest of the decade (except 1966) under John Wooden, possibly the greatest college basketball coach of all time with 10 national titles in 12 years. After Texas Western interrupted UCLA's reign in 1966, the California university returned to the top with a new superstar, center Lew Alcindor, college player of the year in each of his three varsity seasons (1967–1969). In 1968 Alcindor became a Muslim and, as Cassius Clay had done earlier, chose a new name—Kareem Abdul-Jabbar. As the decade closed, Abdul-Jabbar, now with the professional Milwaukee Bucks, won the Rookie of the Year Award for 1969–1970 and began a career that would last until 1989 and include six Most Valuable Player Awards, six NBA championships (one with Milwaukee and five with the Los Angeles Lakers), and the all-time career scoring record.

Hockey

Hockey was growing in popularity during the 1960s, although in most of the United States it remained behind baseball, football, and basketball. A sign of the sport's growth was the expansion of National Hockey League clubs from 6 to 12 for the 1967–1968 season. The new teams were Los Angeles, Minnesota, Oakland, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis. Except for the two ends of the decade, though, Canadian teams dominated, with the Toronto Maple Leafs and Montreal Canadiens capturing the Stanley Cup. The Chicago Blackhawks won the championship in the 1960–1961 season, and the Boston Bruins in 1969–1970. The great players on U.S. teams during the 1960s included Bobby Hull and Stan Mikita of the Blackhawks, Gordie Howe of the Detroit Red Wings, and, by the end of the decade, Bobby Orr of the Bruins.

Golf

Golf took on more of a popular, if not populist, tone during the 1960s. At the beginning of the decade, golf, despite such famous stars as Slammin' Sammy Snead and Ben Hogan, was perceived as pure country club. That image faded at the skilled hands of Arnold Palmer and Jack Nicklaus. Palmer, son of a greenskeeper, won six major professional tournaments between 1960 and 1964. Palmer excited large numbers of fans, "Arnie's Army," who exulted in his patented late drives for victory, the so-called "Palmer's Charge." Although past his prime by the decade's midpoint, he continued to play good golf throughout the decade, never losing the public's goodwill.

Following Palmer into the golfing limelight was Jack Nicklaus, whose blond hair and sturdy physique earned him the nickname "the Golden Bear." In his early twenties, he won the U.S. Amateur and U.S. Open tournaments. Between 1959 and 1967, he brought home nine major titles. Like

Palmer, he continued to compete throughout the century while maintaining the respect and admiration of his fellow golfers and the public.

A number of golfers, including Julius Boros, Billy Casper, Ken Venturi, and Lee Trevino, helped golf come of age. As the decade progressed, television viewers could watch matches on the weekend, as *The Wonderful World of Golf* offered golf tournaments especially created for television. Not until the next decade, however, did women's golf, featuring Nancy Lopez, attain a level of popularity in any way approaching that of men's golf.



Billie Jean King playing at the South Africa Tennis Championship match, 1967. AP Photo.

Tennis

At the beginning of the 1960s, tennis was locked in tradition, with most of the major tournaments still played on grass and the players compelled to wear all white (the participants themselves were white). For most of the decade, only amateurs were allowed to play in major tournaments in an attempt to maintain the game's purity.

In the late 1960s, tournaments began to admit professionals in order to offer the best talent available. Metal racquets became popular with many of the top players. Meanwhile, two figures brought vitality and diversity to the sport: Billie Jean King and Arthur Ashe.

Billie Jean King helped popularize women's tennis and bring the sport closer to parity with men's tennis in terms of media attention and financial rewards. Playing an aggressive game that was copied by most top women players, King compiled a remarkable string of tournament victories, including 20 Wimbledon titles by the end of the 1970s. She won her first Wimbledon doubles title in 1961 when she was 17, and added additional doubles titles at Wimbledon in 1962, 1965, 1967, and 1968, as well as the Wimbledon mixed doubles title in 1967 and the singles title in 1966, 1967, and 1968. Among her many other victories were the U.S. Open singles, doubles, and mixed doubles in 1967. That same year she was named Associated Press Female Athlete of the Year. In 1973, she defeated Bobby Riggs in a tennis match labeled the "battle of the sexes."

Arthur Ashe, an African American, came early to tennis, then an almost totally white game. As the son of a parks supervisor in Richmond, Virginia, he had access to parks and became an outstanding tennis player when he was still a child. By the age of 10, he was touring under the sponsorship of the American Tennis Association. A tennis scholarship took Ashe to UCLA, where he became the national collegiate singles and doubles champion.

Arthur Ashe's fame was secured with his 1968 triumphs in the U.S. Open and as a member of the U.S. Davis Cup team. In a society and sport still imbued with considerable racism, Ashe became the first African American to be recognized as a top tennis player. A turning point for Ashe came in 1969 when he was denied a visa to travel to South Africa to play in a tournament. After that rejection, he became more involved in political action, increasing the public's awareness of the evils of apartheid.

Ashe spent his later years working for human rights and education. In 1988, he wrote a three-volume book entitled *A Hard Road to Glory: A History of the African-American Athlete,* 1988. After contracting AIDS through a blood transfusion while undergoing heart surgery in 1983, Ashe worked diligently to raise public awareness of the disease and its impact on those infected and their families. Arthur Ashe's impact on tennis, while great, was transcended by his contributions to the larger society. He died in 1993.

The 1960s Olympics

The three Olympics of the 1960s generated excitement that was driven as much by political issues as by popular interest in the sports themselves. The 1960 Olympics were held during the height of the Cold War, and in the middle of an international incident that seriously affected United States–Soviet Union relations. Between the winter and summer Olympics, the Russians shot down an American U-2 spy plane. Even more than usual, competition between the U.S. and Soviet teams came to be viewed as a contest for national pride and ideological supremacy.

For Americans, the highlight of the winter games was the gold medal won by the U.S. hockey team in a stunning upset of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia; that the match was held in Squaw Valley, California made victory all the more sweet. The U.S. basketball team, paced by future basketball immortals Jerry Lucas, Oscar Robertson, and Jerry West, took home a gold medal in the summer games in Rome. Cassius Clay (the future Muhammad Ali) won the gold as a light heavyweight boxer. Wilma Rudolph captured three gold medals in the 100- and 200-meter races, and as the anchor of the 400-meter relay event.

Wilma Rudolph had contracted polio as a child and, unable to walk, was forced to wear a brace. Gradually, she recovered, became an outstanding high school athlete, and won a bronze medal at the 1956 Olympics in Rome. She was the first African American woman to capture three gold medals in track and field, along the way setting a new record in the 100 meters. In 1962, she received the Zaharias Award, given to the individual considered the best athlete in the world.

The Olympic summer games were held in Tokyo in 1964. The Cold War continued. The U.S. team took 37 medals in swimming and diving. Joe Frazier won the gold in heavyweight boxing.

The 1968 games came as antiwar sentiment was increasing in the United States and much of the country was aflame, metaphorically and literally, over racial injustice. African American athletes threatened to boycott the Olympics if South Africa were permitted to participate, and eventually the Olympic Committee decided to ban South Africa from the games. The winter games in Grenoble, France, were reasonably non-confrontational; U.S. figure skater Peggy Fleming and French skier Jean-Claude Killy were among the best known victors.

By the summer Olympics, held in Mexico in October, both Martin Luther King Jr., and Robert F. Kennedy had been assassinated. After Dr. King's death, riots erupted in many U.S. cities. The Tet Offensive early in the year had made it clear that victory in the Vietnam War was far away, if it were ever to come. African Americans increasingly came to the realization, as Muhammad Ali and Dr. King had done, that the Vietnam War should be seen within the context of racism.

With South Africa and its system of apartheid excluded from the games, African American athletes competed, but many still looked for a way to make a political statement. Two, Tommie Smith and John Carlos, did so very publicly. After winning the gold and bronze medals respectively in the 200-meter race, they mounted the podium shoeless but wearing black socks, each wearing a black glove on one hand to represent black power and black poverty in the United States. They raised their black-gloved hands and bowed their heads, gestures that led to their expulsion from the rest of the Olympics.

Reactions to Smith and Carlos's demonstration varied widely. The U.S. Olympic Committee promised severe penalties for any athletes who engaged in political demonstrations during the Olympics. Many others argued that the Olympics should be nonpolitical, although many who felt that way were happy to see their country capture more gold medals and more total medals than the Soviet Union in the games that year. Others saw the demonstration by Smith and Carlos as both brave and appropriate, given the continuing failures at home to establish racial equality.

There were other, less controversial medals for American athletes. For the fourth straight Olympics, Al Oerter won the gold in the discus throw. George Foreman, like Ali and Frazier a future world heavyweight champion, finished first among heavyweight boxers. Debby Meyer captured the gold in three swimming events, while Mark Spitz won four medals, two of them gold, as a prelude to his seven gold medals in the next Olympics. A U.S. athlete who did not win gold

was perhaps the most important male runner of the decade. In 1964, Jim Ryun had become the first high school runner to break the four-minute mile. Although defeated in the Tokyo Olympics, he smashed the world record for the mile in 1967, running it in 3:51.1, a record that would endure for eight years; however, the high altitude of Mexico City hurt him in 1968, and he finished second.

Horse Racing

The "Sport of Kings" featured an impressive stable of horses in the 1960s but perhaps no legends. There were no Triple Crown winners in the decade, but several horses came close, winning two of the three races. Jockeys Bill Shoemaker and Bill Hartack continued to accumulate victories; Shoemaker was the top money-winner among jockeys every year from 1958 through 1964.

FADS

The 1960s included a great many fads because of the nation's general prosperity during the decade. More disposable money meant that less thought needed to be given to the long-term value of a purchase.

For example, Lava Lites were popular cylindrical lamps that contained a yellow wax that took on varying forms and hues as it was heated. The Lava Lite was not bright enough to be a reading light; its purpose was to set a mood.

The water bed, invented by Charles Hall to provide something more comfortable than the then popular beanbag furniture, became instead a major sex symbol of the late 1960s. It appealed to the counterculture and to the wealthy. Hugh Hefner established a king-sized model in his Chicago mansion. Water beds, however, had an unfortunate tendency in their early days to collapse floors and spring leaks that proved dangerous to the electrical heaters that kept the water warm.

Individuals tripping on LSD were fond of "black lights," which could be purchased in so-called headshops along with fluorescent paints and dyes. In the presence of black light bulbs, fluorescent clothes or posters created visual counterparts to the effect of LSD. Restaurants and nightclubs installed black lights to appeal to those seeking drug (or drug-like) effects. Posters, sides of vans, guitars, and countless other types of objects were painted in Day-Glo. Since the 1960s, Day-Glo colors have been used in such everyday items as swimsuits and high-lighting markers.

Buttons that proclaimed slogans or favorite political candidates achieved a level of popularity in the 1960s never enjoyed before or since. The more serious messages on these buttons were usually antiwar or reflective in some way of social attitudes. "Make love, not war;" "Tune in, turn on, drop out;" "Kill a Commie for Christ;" and other statements expressed one's opinion and perhaps converted others'. Many slogans, such as "Cure virginity," addressed the increasingly liberal attitudes toward sex. Most popular on buttons was the peace symbol, expanded from its antinuclear origins into a somewhat abstract bomber pointed straight up. Many buttons, of course, were strictly frivolous.

At the same time, bumper stickers appeared on many automobiles. Bumper stickers were more evenly divided between the established culture and the counterculture. Individuals, often older, expressed their opposition to the new culture while affirming traditional values: "God bless America" or "Support your local police."

GAMES AND TOYS

The spirit of play in the United States continued even as the political climate of the nation changed dramatically in the second half of the 1960s. Many older games, such as cards and checkers, continued to be played by young and old. Poker and euchre were common across the age spectrum, though bridge was usually associated with an older and more upscale crowd. College students enjoyed cribbage, and increasing numbers of students and young adults turned to chess, which received a great boost from Bobby Fischer, the first chess player to become widely recognized in the United States. Robert James Fischer taught himself chess at the age of six and won the U.S. Junior Championship and the U.S. Championship by age 15. He was U.S. champion every year from 1958 to 1967 with the exception of 1962. In 1972,

he defeated Russian Boris Spassky for the World Championship.

By the middle of the decade, Tarot cards, used in fortune-telling, had become popular, in part because of a growing interest in alternative forms of spirituality. Similar impulses toward antiestablishment norms helped popularize the Ouija board, which included a planchette that, when touched, allegedly moved to point out letters on the board to spell out messages.

Adult board games introduced during the 1960s tended to mirror real-life situations and/or appeal to the supposed intelligence of adults. Acquire and High Bid were stock market games. Jeopardy posed answers and required players to supply the questions. The person with the best vocabulary was most likely to prove victorious in Scrabble. Acting out words was the point of Charades, a popular party game.

Over three million Americans were playing with slot cars by mid-decade, including Robert Kennedy and CBS anchor Walter Cronkite.[2] Universities, including several Ivy League schools, were home to slot-car teams. The small (usually two-inch) plastic slot-car derived its name from a slot in the track on which the cars were raced. A projection under the car fit into the slot, and electricity powered the vehicles. By 1967, however, the slot-car craze was over.

One of the most popular toys of the 1960s was the super ball, a small, dense ball which could bounce much longer than other balls. Wham-O produced 170,000 balls per day at the height of the craze.[3] McGeorge Bundy, National Security Advisor to President Lyndon Johnson, purchased super balls for 60 members of his staff, apparently as much to help them reduce stress as for entertainment. Skateboarders liked to bounce super balls while they skated down the street, and children used them to play jacks. Yo-yos, as well as Wham-O's Frisbee and Hula-Hoop, all of which were introduced in the late 1950s, remained popular through the 1960s.

Two very different dolls were popular in the 1960s: Barbie and G. I. Joe. Mattel produced its first Barbie in 1958. Within 5 years, 9 million Barbies had been sold and she received 500 letters a week.[4] Barbie had expensive tastes, and countless clothes and accessories were available for purchase. Some of Barbie's clothes cost more than the doll did (about three dollars). Keeping the doll inexpensive was a brilliant marketing strategy to hook youngsters and then induce continuing expenditures to keep Barbie in style.

Mattel offered friends for Barbie, the male Ken and the female Midge, both of whom also required clothes. Critics saw the Barbie phenomenon as a symbol of much that was wrong with the United States, including its commercialism and gender stereotyping.

G. I. Joe was another popular and controversial doll, created in 1963 but seemingly out of sync with the growing antiwar sentiment. By 1966, however, G. I. Joe was in 10 million homes. Sales of the doll slid toward the end of the decade, after Dr. Benjamin Spock condemned it in his *Baby and Child Care,* and the doll was marketed as more of an explorer and adventurer, though its overt combat persona was later restored. Hassenfeld Brothers created Joe's face from a composite of 20 actual Congressional Medal of Honor winners. Like Mattel with Barbie, the manufacturer kept the price of the doll low (about four dollars), while the full range of clothes, equipment, and weapons ran about $200.

Other dolls had their moments. The Troll Doll, also known as the Dammit Doll after its inventor, Thomas Dam, became a favorite among college women in the 1960s. By the end of the decade, only Barbie was outselling the Troll Doll.[5] Unlike the sexy Barbie, the Troll was an ugly gnome with big ears, long stringy hair, and a wide nose, so ugly as to be cute. College students were not the only ones who favored the doll, which was supposed to bring good luck; pilot Betty Miller had a Troll Doll co-pilot on her duplication of Amelia Earhart's 1935 flight, and Lady Bird Johnson had one in the White House.

As the equal rights movement picked up steam in the later 1960s, toy makers noticed. Baby Nancy, from Shindana, appeared in 1968. Nancy was clearly African American in features, color, and hair, and sold for five to six dollars. The Black Doll Toy Company produced "Soul Babies" and black-equivalents to previously white dolls, such as astronauts. Barbie and G. I. Joe appeared as Afro-Americans. Remco made black Baby-Grow-a-Tooth and Li'l Winking Winny, the latter with an Afro hairstyle.

Other popular toys during the decade included James Bond dolls and cars. During the early 1960s, JFK coloring books helped millions of young children learn more about the young president and his family. A child's version of disposable pop art was available with the Etch-A-Sketch. "Mr. Machine" was a robot that children could take apart and, at least in theory, reassemble without tools.

HOBBIES

Hobbies continued to occupy large numbers of Americans. The most physical of these pastimes included bowling, sailing, surfing, skateboarding, and touch football. Many men and women bowled, either informally with friends or relatives or in leagues at a local bowling alley. Teams often were sponsored by businesses, which received advertising on the backs of the team members' shirts. ABC began televising tournaments in the early 1960s.

The Kennedy administration increased the popularity of both sailing and touch football during the early 1960s. It was not unusual to see photographs of President Kennedy skippering his family sloop off Hyannis Port, family members aboard. The coastlines, rivers, and lakes of the United States meanwhile offered relaxation and adventure to millions of less famous boaters. Touch football was another Kennedy pastime, with Attorney General and later Senator Robert Kennedy often in the middle of the game. Touch football, Kennedy style, was a rugged and highly competitive endeavor shared by enthusiasts on college campuses and residential lawns.

Few outdoors activities are more associated with the 1960s than surfing. An ancient sport that almost died out in the nineteenth century, surfing was reborn in Hawaii early in the twentieth century and became popular in California during the middle of the century. Surfers comprised an important division of the counterculture of the 1960s, adopting a distinctive attire (typically striped shirts, white jeans, and sunglasses for the males), a peculiar jargon (phrases like "daddy-o" and "kook"), and enough followers to warrant their own magazines (e.g., *Surfer,* started in 1960 and still in existence). Surfing was so popular to millions—young and old who never came near a wave—that it inspired a new genre of surfing movies and gave rise to a unique kind of music (called "surf music") that was transported around the world by the Beach Boys and other groups. Among the songs glorifying surfing were the Beach Boys' "Surfin' USA" (1963) and Jan and Dean's "Surf City."(1963). (See Music of the 1960s.)

In the early 1960s, surfers devised the skateboard, an earthbound version of the surfboard, to keep in practice when they were away from the waves. The original mass-marketed skateboards were made of wood or plastic with wheels underneath; the rider controlled the board with his knees and by shifting his body weight to simulate the act of surfing.

Other outdoor activities were popular in the 1960s. A 1966 poll showed approximately 59 million bikers, 40 million volleyball players, and 36 million fishers and campers in the United States.[6] Many people also took up jogging, an activity not often seen prior to the 1960s. Many of these participants were encouraged in these activities by President Kennedy's 1961 call for Americans to exercise more and become more physically fit.

Americans who preferred their hobbies indoors had many options, one of which was collecting baseball cards. Youngsters continued to buy packages of cards with flavorless pink gum during the 1960s, as they looked for their heroes: Willie Mays, Hank Aaron, Mickey Mantle, Sandy Koufax, Tom Seaver, Frank Robinson, and many others. Al-



A popular hobby for both boys and girls in the 1960s was collecting baseball cards. Courtesy of Shutterstock.

though collecting baseball cards remained primarily a love-of-the-game hobby throughout the decade, the commercialization of card collecting had already started. The pivotal moment in this transformation was the publication of Jefferson Burdick's *The American Card Catalog* in 1967. From then on, card condition, price, and value began to shove aside the old traditions of collecting, trading, and playing imaginative games with the cards. Even young fans started to look at baseball cards as financial investments.

Building model planes and ships remained popular hobbies, primarily with boys, but also with some adults. With the space race blossoming in the 1960s, companies began offering space vehicle models. Scientifically inclined youngsters also enjoyed science kits, which were especially popular as Christmas presents from parents eager to encourage their children's academic pursuits.

Photography received a boost as a hobby in 1963 when Kodak introduced its Instamatic camera, which used a cartridge and required no real expertise. The musically inclined increasingly turned toward the guitar, in response to the resurgence of folk music among professionals.

Travel

of the 1960s

The 1960s witnessed travel on a scope never before seen as humankind explored the planets and, at the close of the decade, walked on the moon. At the same time, earthly travel also was changing; railroad travel declined, as people chose airplanes for long journeys and the automobile for shorter trips. With interstate highways increasingly available, families enjoyed new opportunities for vacations.

SPACE TRAVEL

The United States had come to think of itself as the most powerful nation in the world and the leader in all things important. It was shocking, then, when the nation's primary Cold War rival, the Soviet Union, was first in the space race when Russia launched its satellite, *Sputnik I,* into orbit in 1957. Russia became the first nation to put a man, Yuri Gagarin, into space on April 12, 1961, but the United States would soon pull ahead.

In 1961, President Kennedy declared, "I believe that this nation should commit itself to achieving the goal, before this decade is out, of landing a man on the moon and returning him safely to the earth."[1] Kennedy did not live to see his goal reached, nor did he initiate the American space program; however, he gave it the drive and focus essential to energize both the taxpaying public and the aerospace industry.

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) was created in 1958, the year after *Sputnik I* was launched. NASA's first major space program, called Mercury after the Greek messenger of the gods, began that year with the goal of putting Americans into space. Seven astronauts were selected in 1959 to carry out the Mercury missions and instantly became America's new heroes: M. Scott Carpenter, L. Gordon Cooper, John Glenn, Virgil I. "Gus" Grissom, Walter M. Schirra, Alan B. Shepard Jr., and Donald "Deke" Slayton. Their exploits were later chronicled in the book *We Seven,* 1962. Other programs were developed to move the lunar project forward, including the Gemini and Apollo programs. Gemini consisted of two-person spacecraft designed to test systems and maneuvers necessary for space exploration, such as spacewalks and dockings with other spacecraft. The Apollo program would fulfill President Kennedy's lunar-landing goal.

Other space programs gathered important information about the moon and planets in the 1960s. Lunar Orbiter flights mapped the surface of the moon, and Surveyor craft landed on the moon's surface to gather data concerning the lunar environment. Mercury probes explored planets, principally Venus and Mars.

The United States began manned flights in 1961 with a series of Mercury launches. Less than



John H. Glenn Jr. wearing his silver Mercury pressure suit in preparation for launch, 1962. NASA image.

a month after Gagarin's success, Alan Shepard became the first American to reach space during a 15-minute excursion aboard *Freedom 7*. Gus Grissom followed Shepard into space in July on *Liberty 7*. The first American to orbit the Earth was actually a chimpanzee named Enos, who made 2 revolutions around the planet on a 3-hour 21-minute flight.

Russia claimed the first dual flight in 1962 with two cosmonauts maneuvering their vehicles close together. The Russians later put the first woman into space in 1963, launched the first multiperson flight (with three cosmonauts in 1964 aboard *Voskhod I*), and inaugurated floating in space in 1965.

The first U.S. manned orbital flight, on February 20, 1962, launched John Glenn into space. Glenn orbited the Earth three times in *Friendship 7,* seeing four sunsets before he landed, and introducing the term "splashdown" into the English language. Later that year, Scott Carpenter made another three-orbit flight and Walter Schirra circled the Earth six times. Mariner II passed by Venus on August 27, and completed the first successful interplanetary probe.

The initial unmanned Gemini test flights (1964 and 1965) tested booster and spacecraft systems; Gemini III, in 1965, was the first U.S. two-man orbit, with Gus Grissom and John Young aboard. Meanwhile, Mariner IV sent back 21 pictures of Mars, which showed Martian craters and indicated an atmosphere comprised mainly of carbon dioxide. The first commercial satellite was launched to transmit telephone and television signals. Both

JOHN GLENN (1921–)

Pioneer astronaut John H. Glenn was born in Cambridge, Ohio, into what he later described as an "idyllic" childhood. Glenn became a naval pilot in 1941 and flew over 100 combat missions in World War II and Korea. Already a hero, Glenn then became a "test pilot" working with experimental aircraft for the military. Among other accomplishments, Glenn set a speed record in 1957 when he piloted an experimental plane from New York to Los Angeles in just over three hours. A renowned pilot, Glenn was one of only seven candidates selected to become astronauts in the emerging space program. In 1962, after a grueling training program, Glenn rode the Friendship 7 as the first American to orbit the earth. Though he wanted to return to space, Glenn settled for something closer to home and entered politics. Glenn was elected to the senate in 1974 and became the first Ohio democrat to win re-election four times. In 1983, Glenn made an unsuccessful bid for the presidency. In 1997, Glenn retired from politics and returned to NASA as an advisor. In 1998, Glenn (at 77 years) became the oldest person to travel into space and participated in experiments to investigate the effects of space travel on the elderly. With piloting and politics behind him, Glenn and his wife established Ohio State University's Institute of Public Service, which offered training to students interested in political service. From pilot to space pioneer and politician, Glenn spent the majority of his life in public service. In addition to his contributions to the space program and the citizens of Ohio, Glenn's life and his example have inspired a generation of Americans.

Russia and the United States managed soft lunar landings with unmanned spacecraft in 1966. In addition, Lunar Orbiter I took the first pictures of Earth from the back side of the moon.

Tragedy struck on January 27, 1967 as a three-man crew—Roger Chaffee, Gus Grissom, and Edward White—were engaging in preflight preparations for the Apollo I flight. As the three men engaged in a simulation exercise within the spacecraft, a fire broke out. The pure oxygen fire generated intense heat, and the three men died of asphyxiation from toxic gasses before anyone could open the craft's door. The Russians also lost one of their space explorers that year, a cosmonaut who died on reentry. Some Americans and scientists questioned the advisability of continuing manned space flights, not only for safety reasons but because, the argument went, unmanned flights could gather the necessary information for less cost.

Other U.S. missions were more successful in 1967. Lunar Orbiter V photomapped the lunar surface, and Mariner V passed by Venus to measure the density of the planet's atmosphere.

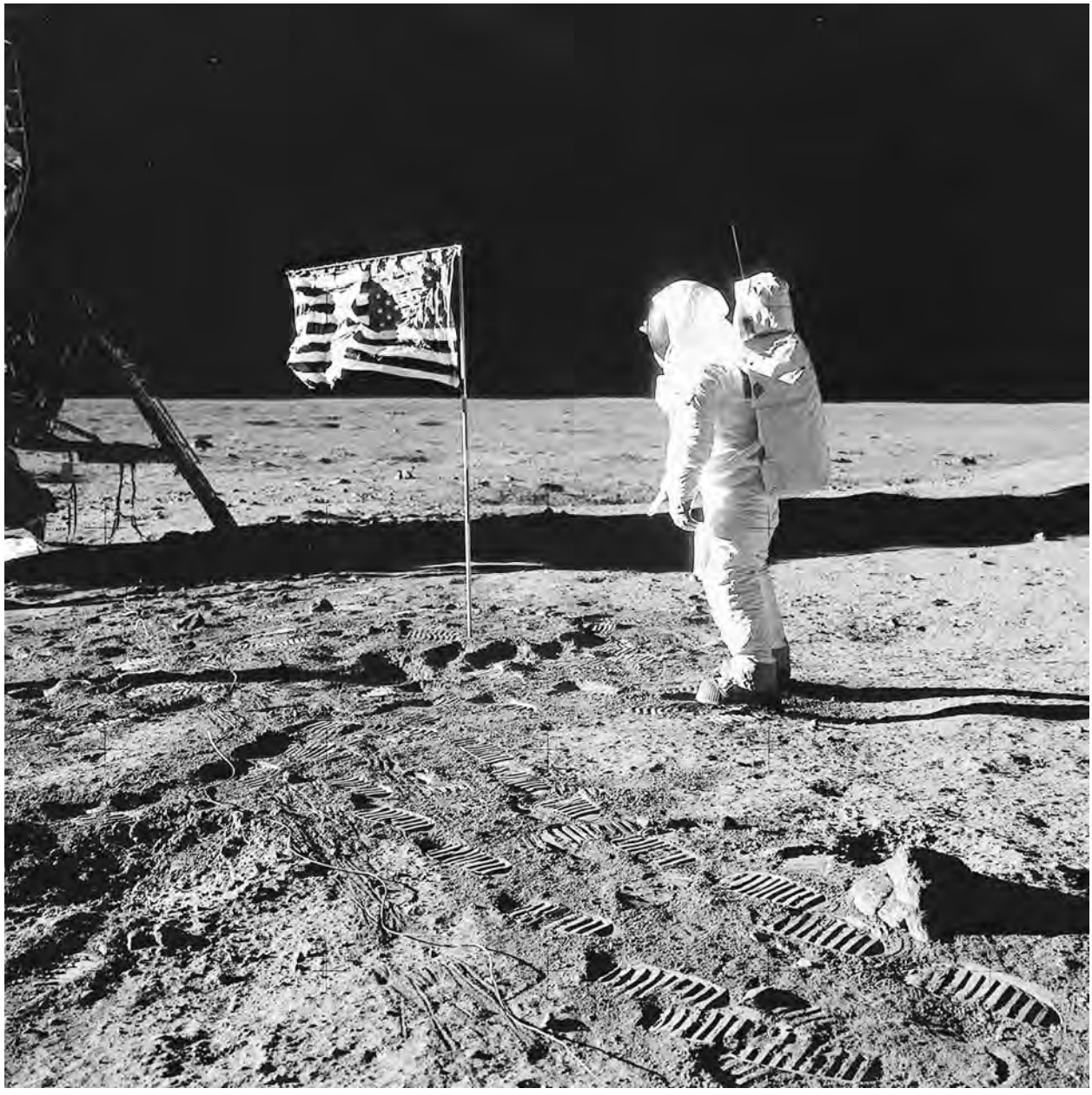


The prime crew of the first manned Apollo space flight, Apollo/Saturn Mission 204, is suited up aboard the NASA Motor Vessel Retriever in preparation for Apollo water egress training in the Gulf of Mexico in October 1966. Left to right, are Astronauts Edward H. White II, Virgil (Gus) Grissom, and Roger Chaffee. The three were later killed in a January 1967 accident during further training. NASA image.

The first manned Apollo flight took place October 11, 1968, when Apollo VII astronauts Walter Schirra, Donn Eisele, and Walter Cunningham carried out an 11-day test of their command and service modules. They conducted eight propulsion firings and sent back seven live television broadcasts. Apollo VIII orbited the moon on Christmas Eve. In May 1969, Apollo X came close to the moon after separating the lunar module from the command module and descending to within approximately nine miles of the moon's surface.

While preparations were under way for the first manned landing on the moon, unmanned spacecraft continued to explore more distant regions of the solar system. Mariner VI and Mariner VII transmitted images of the Martian world.

The climactic space effort of the 1960s began on July 16, 1969, with the takeoff of Apollo XI,



Astronaut Edwin E. "Buzz" Aldrin Jr. poses for a photograph beside the U.S. flag deployed on the moon during the Apollo 11 mission on July 20, 1969. NASA image.

carrying Neil Armstrong, Buzz Aldrin, and Michael Collins. On July 20, Armstrong stepped onto the lunar surface, commenting for history that he was taking "one small step for man, one giant step for mankind." Almost as memorable was Armstrong's earlier declaration when the lunar module touched down: "The *Eagle* has landed." The landing spot bore the name Tranquillity Base on the Sea of Tranquillity, names reflecting both the receptive terrain of that portion of the moon and the hope for future of peace and brotherhood among the nations of the world.

Armstrong was followed onto the moon by Aldrin; together they collected lunar rocks and soil for analysis while Michael Collins remained aboard the command module, *Columbia.* Pictures of the moon landing filled television screens throughout the world. In an attempt to keep up, Russia attempted an unmanned lunar landing at approximately the same time, but the Russian craft, Luna 15, crashed onto the moon on July 21.

One more lunar landing would occur in 1969. Apollo XII, despite being struck by lightning after takeoff, reached the moon in November. The crew, featuring astronauts Pete Conrad, Alan Bean, and Richard Gordon, brought back more moon samples.

The space programs in the 1960s reestablished America's supremacy in space even as it was being severely tested by the war in Vietnam. There were many practical benefits to the space programs. Smaller computers required for space flights led to desktop computers; miniature cameras suitable for handling by astronauts yielded more compact and efficient handheld video cameras and miniature televisions; sensors to monitor astronauts' health found important applications in hospitals. Even the fastener Velcro soon began turning up on people's clothes.

SPACE TRAVEL ON THE BIG AND SMALL SCREENS

The ultimate space film of the 1960s was *2001: A Space Odyssey,* 1968, directed by Stanley Kubrick. Minus the usual fare of science-fiction films, such as monsters from outer space, the transforming effects of radiation, or the impending destruction of Earth by approaching meteorites, and also without any romance, the film seriously tackled the elusive concepts of time and space.

Kubrick's reliance on the visual ($6.5 million of the film's $10.5 million budget went for special effects)[2] contributed mightily to the mythic dimension of *2001.* The film asked vital questions about humankind through its images: What has humankind's creativity really wrought? Is humanity to be defined by creative tools or destructive weapons?

Planet of the Apes, directed by Franklin J. Schaffner, was also released in 1968. Far more concrete and traditional than *2001*—with a clearly defined plot, battles, and a love interest for the protagonist, astronaut George Taylor, played by Charlton Heston—the film nonetheless covered some serious social ground. In the movie, the astronauts landed, not on a distant planet, but on an Earth two thousand years in the future that had been devastated by the technological failures of the human race.

Space travel also reached the small screen in the 1960s. Producer Gene Roddenberry created *Star Trek* as a futuristic version of the western television series *Wagon Train,* 1957–1965, an approach consistent with President Kennedy's theme of the New Frontier. *Wagon Train* chronicled the journeys of American pioneers westward. William Shatner filled the role as wagonmaster, or in this case, captain of the *Enterprise.* Leonard Nimoy's Mr. Spock, DeForest Kelley's Dr. "Bones" McCoy, and other characters helped Captain Kirk "boldly go where no man has gone before." Although the NBC series lasted from 1966 until 1969 and never finished higher than 52nd in the Nielsen ratings, it spawned a huge number of dedicated Trekkies, as well as sequels on television and film (the latter featuring several of the original cast).

THE AUTOMOBILE

Americans had been driving automobiles for more than half a century when the 1960s dawned, but the decade nevertheless experienced great change. 1950s cars featured high tail fins and a lot of ornamentation, but due to the influence of smaller foreign imports, including the German Volkswagen, consumers began to prefer simpler,

sleeker, more compact cars. In addition, both the number of cars and drivers grew dramatically. Car registrations increased by 25 million during the decade, and urban passenger-car travel increased by almost two hundred million miles.[3] By 1969, more than 80 percent of U.S. families owned at least one car. The four largest U.S. automakers (General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, American Motors) increased their gross revenues from about $20 billion at the beginning of the decade to nearly $47 billion by the end.[4]

One of the first automotive superstars of the 1960s was the Ford Thunderbird. Originally introduced in 1955, the Thunderbird had grown so attractive by 1961 that President-elect Kennedy requested 25 for his inaugural parade. Having sold out of its stock, Ford was not able to oblige the president. The Ford Mustang won considerable popularity in the 1960s. Launched in 1964 and billed as a young people's car, 418,000 Mustangs were sold in the first year.[5] Designed by Lee Iacocca, who would later serve as chairman and save Chrysler from bankruptcy, the Mustang came in notchback, fastback, and convertible styles with so many options that a customer could have almost an individually designed vehicle.

Another of the decade's most popular cars was the Chevrolet Corvette, long America's only sports car. Its luxurious interior, quick acceleration, and easy handling made it a favorite, especially after introduction of the Corvette Stingray. The original 1963 Stingray had a split rear window that was altered in later models. Today the 1963 Stingray is a leading collector's item.

The 1965 Oldsmobile Toronado introduced front-wheel drive, which offered greater traction and easier handling, to the American mass market. Other favorites in the 1960s were the Mercury Cougar, something of an upgraded version of the Mustang; the Chevrolet Camaro; and the Pontiac Firebird Trans Am with its distinctive sexy striping and a name borrowed from the Trans-American road race.

The most infamous car of the 1960s was the Chevrolet Corvair, first released in 1959 for the 1960 model year. The Corvair had a rear-mounted, air-cooled engine and a stylish exterior that appealed to consumers. When a convertible version appeared in 1962, the Corvair became even more popular. However, the car seemed to suffer an unusual number of accidents. Ralph Nader, then a young lawyer only a few years removed from Harvard Law School, was so concerned about its dangers that he published one of the most influential books of the decade, *Unsafe at Any Speed: The Designed-in Dangers of the American Automobile,* 1965. The book strongly condemned the Corvair, claiming that the car's design caused it to oversteer and go out of control.

Nader, a squeaky-clean consumer advocate, readily survived investigation and harassment by General Motors (GM), who hired a private investigator to get something on him. Nader's work led to

CONSUMER COUNTERCULTURE

The 1960s was a decade of great change in American society, and for many it was an era that ended the societal "consensus" of the 1940s and 1950s. In the 1960s, a larger number of Americans expressed dissatisfaction with societal norms than at any other time in history, and this freedom of dissent soon found its way into consumer culture. While some companies continued to produce advertisements that placed their products in an idealized family setting, similar to the campaigns of the 1950s, others followed the American counterculture with advertisements that stressed change, individuality, and the "hip consumerism" that came to dominate ensuing decades. The change in strategy was exemplified by companies like Volkswagen, which used a groundbreaking "think small" slogan to market the so-called beetle, with the vehicle pictured in stark imagery against a desert scene. This new approach was a complete reversal of previous trends, which used flashy images and slinky models to sell cars as glamorous accessories. Interestingly, though the methods diverged the goal was the same—to encourage consumption on a massive scale. The marketing trend extended to every industry, as consumers were encouraged to seek individual expression rather than social acceptance. In the twenty-first century, both strategies are used, with some companies stressing independence and others stressing social acceptance.



Ralph Nader in an appearance on NBC's *The Tonight Show*, circa 1966. Courtesy of Photofest.

abandonment of the Corvair by GM and the birth of serious congressional concern for automobile safety. Nader was asked to testify before Congress, which passed the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act in 1966 to assert federal authority over automotive design. Nader, aided by legions of idealistic young Americans known as "Nader's Raiders," took on an array of safety issues in the decade, among them dangers in the meat, natural gas, and coal industries. In response, a large body of important safety legislation came out of Congress to help the American public stay healthy.

The growing popularity of the automobile had its origins in the efforts by President Dwight Eisenhower to create a new interstate highway system for both civilian and military use. The resulting Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956 authorized a National System of Interstate and Defense Highways for 42,500 miles across the United States. As construction proceeded in the 1960s, increasing numbers of families began to vacation at considerable distances from their homes. Motels, gasoline stations, and chain restaurants mushroomed along the highways to accommodate the new tourists. Touring also became more aesthetically pleasing as the Highway Beautification Act of 1965, pushed by President Lyndon B. Johnson and his wife Lady Bird, encouraged

MOTORING IN THE MEDIA

Films and television reflected the growing popularity of automobiles during the 1960s and contributed to an image of some cars as sexy and adventurous. In addition to the red Corvette travelling along Route 66, other vehicles journeyed across the nation's screens.

In *Bullitt,* 1968, Steve McQueen pursued murderers up and down the hills of San Francisco in a wild car chase that would influence later cinematic chases. Viewers were even taken inside McQueen's Mustang and given a driver's view through camera shots outward through the windshield. Ultimately, the Mustang got the better of the criminals' Dodge Charger in the 12-minute chase. McQueen did much of the driving for the movie himself.

Viewers of *The Graduate,* 1967, especially students, envied Dustin Hoffman his graduation present, an Alfa Spider, the last car completely designed by the renowned Battista Pininfarina of Turin, Italy. James Bond drove eye-catching automobiles heavily adorned with imaginative gadgets. *Goldfinger,* 1964, featured the Aston Martin DB5, a British sports car synonymous with aristocratic style that had an ejector seat, radar, and machine guns. The James Bond film *You Only Live Twice,* 1967, starring Sean Connery, featured a Toyota convertible 2000GT, a particularly beautiful product designed to improve Toyota's image, and the Agent 007 flick *On Her Majesty's Secret Service,* 1969, with George Lazenby, showed its hero in an Aston DBS and a Mercury Cougar.

The car most associated with gadgets may be Batman's vehicle in the ABC television series *Batman,* 1966–1968. Although the vehicle was equipped for speed and fighting Gotham City evildoers, the show, starring Adam West as Batman and Burt Ward as youthful sidekick Robin, received an award from the National Safety Council because the car's occupants always buckled up before taking off. The show attained such a high level of camp that many famous actors, including Liberace, Jerry Lewis, Sammy Davis Jr., Edward G. Robinson, and former JFK press secretary Pierre Salinger, appeared on at least one of its episodes.

states to keep billboards away from highways. Terms such as "merge," "off ramp," and "exit" were introduced to drivers.

A victim of the new interstate highway system was the old one—Route 66. Dedicated in 1926 though not completed until 1937, the highway traversed eight states (Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California) and some 2,400 miles. Route 66 wound past some of the nation's most beautiful natural sites. Woody Guthrie and Pete Seeger sang of it during the Great Depression, Jack Kerouac wrote of it in the 1950s, and the Columbia Broadcasting System filmed it. Television audiences could travel the highway on the series *Route 66,* 1960–1964, with Martin Milner and George Maharis (in a red Corvette). As the highway declined and large segments closed, disappearing into dirt and grass, many fans of the romantic route sought with some success to keep Route 66 alive.

More people became commuters during the 1960s, driving longer distances to work. Automobile use encouraged movement to ever expanding suburbs, and cars also became more necessary as less of the family's life revolved around the immediate neighborhood. Businesses followed workers out of the city, and taxes followed both, creating serious economic problems for the inner cities of America. The financial problems for inner cities and neighborhood businesses accelerated as the suburban shopping mall became the place to go for purchases—as well as a favorite teen hangout. The car had transformed the life of the nation.

After oil companies lowered the prices they were paying for oil, five nations (Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela) met in 1960 to address ways to restore prices and control production. They agreed to make their organization permanent. Not until the 1970s would many Americans focus on the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

PLANES, TRAINS, AND TRUCKS

The airplane became a common mode of travel, both domestic and abroad, in the latter case largely eliminating ships as a means of crossing the oceans. What took days by ocean liner was reduced to hours by air.

The introduction of the jet plane at the end of the 1950s was crucial to expanded air travel. In 1960, airplane passengers numbered about 56 million; that number almost tripled by 1969, to over 158 million.[6]

Boeing dominated plane production with the 707 and 747. In 1966, Pan American announced an order for 25 of the new 490-seat 747s, the first plane with two aisles. The 747—able to cruise faster than other jets (at an average of 633 miles per hour) and fly farther (6,000 miles)—proved so reliable and popular that it continued in production beyond the end of the century.

One of the negative effects of increased air travel was a burst of skyjackings. In 1968 alone, 18 successful hijackings of U.S. planes occurred, and that number rose to 30 the following year.[7] Fortunately, improved security procedures at airports quickly reduced the threat, leaving the skies more crowded yet relatively safe.

As automobile and plane travel increased, train travel declined. Although the number of train passengers did not decline dramatically, trips were generally shorter, often business commutes between neighboring cities or between outlying areas and the downtown business section.

Railroad work remained labor intensive, which helped explain the industry's serious financial problems. To address these problems, the railroads attempted to make up in freight what they lacked in passengers. Although freight revenues increased slightly during the decade, by 1969 the total was only about what it had been 20 years earlier.[8]

Nonetheless, there were further efforts to stem the bleeding, including plans to develop a high-speed Northeast Corridor between New York City and Washington, D.C. Several companies tried with some success to speed up freight service and started to diversify what they carried, including trash and garbage. They also increased the practice of "piggy-back" trailer service, hauling trailers on flat cars.

The overall importance of the railroad was in decline throughout the 1960s. Where once Americans looked to the railroad as their primary means of traveling long distances and saw train travel as pragmatic, comfortable, and even romantic, they had come to see the railroad, usually when they

were forced to stop their cars at railroad crossings, as at best a somewhat useful hauler of various products, but not as a conveyance for people.

Trains could not even exert dominance in hauling freight, for the 1960s was also an era of increasing truck transports. The same highways that encouraged the passenger car called forth the truck, and families and truckers came increasingly to share the highway.

Manufacturers of trucks had gained valuable experience constructing heavy trucks for use in World War II and applied their expertise to domestic vehicles in postwar years. Various technological advances in the 1950s and early 1960s also contributed to the popularity of trucks for hauling freight: power steering, especially important for large, heavy tractor-trailers; individual front suspension and variable rear suspension; the "Jake Brake" engine brake system; more powerful diesel engines; and air conditioning, tinted windows, and other advancements in providing for the comfort of the trucker on long hauls.

Certain trucking terms came into common usage by U.S. motorists and others: "rig" for the combination tractor (or cab) and trailer (sometimes dual trailers); "semitrailer" for the trailer pulled by the tractor, but usually shortened to "semi" and applied to the whole rig. As the 1960s began, a new type of enterprise arose in response to the new interstate highway system and increasing numbers of rigs on the road—large truck stops that catered especially to long-distance truckers. Tourists stopped in at the truck stops, too, when they were not flying to their destinations. Best of all, odds were good that both trucker and motorist would reach their destinations without having to stop even once at a railroad track to let a train pass.

Visual Arts

of the 1960s

As with so many areas, the 1960s were a time of tremendous variety, creativity, and aesthetic rebellion in visual art. Millions of Americans continued to love Andrew Wyeth's realistic and emotional paintings and Norman Rockwell's illustrations and paintings, especially his covers for the *Saturday Evening Post.* Many artists during the 1960s, however, not only pushed the aesthetic and conceptual envelope of art but ripped it apart. What was discovered within was troubling to some, especially traditionalists, but exciting and inspiring to many others.

ABSTRACT PAINTING

Abstract expressionism was the dominant style of painting from World War II to the 1960s. The movement included such important figures as Jackson Pollock, Franz Kline, and the Dutch-born Willem de Kooning. Abstract expressionism was the attempt to express powerful content by removing all that was ephemeral and inessential and retaining what was intrinsic and essential. Cubists earlier in the century had sought to express the essence of objects, analyze subject matter into its parts, and rearrange those elements through abstracts of familiar shapes and forms. Abstract expressionists in the postwar years borrowed these techniques from their cubist predecessors.

By the 1960s, Pollock was dead following an automobile accident, but his influence continued. Pollock popularized the concept of "action painting," in which the artist moved across a large canvas spread on the floor and dripped, squirted, and flung paint onto the surface, using such simple instruments as house-painting brushes, meat basters, and trowels. Despite the apparent randomness of Pollock's application, he maintained that he consistently remained in control of the painting process. Close examination of his paintings, such as *Autumn Rhythm,* 1950, with its complex lines and intertwined colors, bears out that claim.

Franz Kline, who died in 1962, was best known for his large black-on-white abstractions painted with the gestural strokes that supplied an alternate name for abstract expressionism—so-called gestural abstraction. Kline used house-painting brushes and gestured with them as non-artists would with their hands, to express feeling and for emphasis.

Willem de Kooning may have been the most influential of the abstract expressionists. De Kooning saw himself within a long tradition of painting, a "painterly painter." Although highly abstract, with broad gestural strokes and multilayer painting, his pictures contained recognizable images as well as references to earlier paintings. Complex and metaphorical, they seemed created

to express truths regarding the painter's environment and his own condition as an artist.

By the early 1960s, a reaction had set in against abstract expressionism, especially against its use of brushwork and cubist figures to imply three-dimensional space that supposedly denied the reality of flat paintings. Increasingly, regularity was preferred to the illusion of randomness, and flat brushing or staining was preferred to heavy smearing, an approach that emphasized color or the painting as object to the artist's individually expressed ideas and feelings. The impression sought by the new generation of abstractionists practicing what sometimes was referred to as "post-painterly painting" or "post-painterly abstraction" was a detachment that came to be labeled "cool." Because of the use of bright colors in the new acrylic and the absence of obvious brushwork, the style also was called "hard-edge painting."

POP ART

Of all styles of art practiced during the 1960s, pop art remains the one most associated with the spirit of the times. It marked a radical departure from past practice, more in attitude even than technique.

Pop art grew quickly out of various antecedents, including a group of British artists impressed with post–World War II U.S. culture, transitional neo-dada artists, the American democratic spirit, and growth in American commercialism and technology in the 1950s and 1960s.

The United States, untouched directly by World War II, and with its economy booming, was growing steadily in many areas, including advertising, print and screen media, and technology. England meanwhile was struggling to rebuild after the destruction caused by German bombs. The energy of the youthful and exuberant United States appealed to a group of young artists in England who called themselves the Independent Group in the early 1950s. In 1956, the Independent Group exhibited their art in London at an exhibition entitled "This Is Tomorrow."

A collage by Richard Hamilton, *Just What Is It That Makes Today's Homes So Different, So Appealing?* served as the poster for the exhibition and introduced important characteristics of pop art to the public. It featured an assemblage of images taken from popular culture, among them the cover from a cartoon magazine entitled *Young Romance,* an advertisement for a vacuum cleaner, a canned ham, the Ford logo, a male modeling his physique, and a nude woman in a sexually provocative pose. The man was holding a Tootsie Pop forward as a phallic symbol, and the picture was one of the first to include the word "pop."

As excited as British artists were about pop art, it remained principally American in inspiration and among the most famous pop artists. England could not claim sole credit for giving birth to pop art.

Dada had grown out of World War I disillusionment with both artistic traditions and modern society. The neo-dadaists shared their predecessors' rejection of traditional artistic styles and the notion of art as elitist, but not their cynicism. Instead, despite occasional forays into irony, they tended to accept modern popular culture with its mass consumerism as, if not necessarily a good thing, at least the way life is. The line between art and life quickly began to disintegrate.

By the 1960s, perhaps the two most important neo-dadaists in the United States were Robert Rauschenberg and Jasper Johns. Rauschenberg, by borrowing the collage technique of the cubists, had developed a style of "combine" or "assemblage" painting. This approach included using three-dimensional objects, such as in the early *Bed,* 1955, which Rauschenberg created by pouring paint over his pillow and bedclothes. *Monogram,* 1955–1959, consisted of a stuffed angora goat with a tire around its stomach. The goat stood on a canvas that included painted wood, photographs, and cutout letters. During the 1960s, Rauschenberg turned to flat canvases with combinations of silk-screened images and painted additions.

Johns also helped break down the distinction between paintings and sculptures. His best known works include *Flag,* 1955, which depicted a flag painted in oil on fabric-covered plywood and included a collage of printed articles and advertisements within the red and white stripes; and *Painted Bronze II: Ale Cans,* 1964, two bronze cans heavily painted as Ballantine ale cans. The latter supposedly grew out of a joke told about an

art dealer who, according to Willem de Kooning, could sell even two beer cans as art.

The heyday of pop art featured many successful and talented artists; the two best known—at least within popular consciousness—were Roy Lichtenstein and Andy Warhol.

Lichtenstein's paintings were easy to recognize because of their comic-strip approach. His subjects and techniques were borrowed from the comics, down even to the benday dots that characterized the printing process used in preparing comic books. *Whaam!,* 1963, consisted of two panels, was over thirteen feet long, and jumped into the middle of its "story" with an American jet destroying an enemy fighter. The usual balloon dialogue of comics appeared in the painting: "I PRESSED THE FIRE CONTROL . . . AND AHEAD OF ME ROCKETS BLAZED THROUGH THE SKY." The right panel, which depicted the exploding enemy plane, had a typical comic strip sound effect: "WHAAM!"

Aesthetically, Lichtenstein saw his painting as different from comic strips. His objective was to create a unified whole rather than engage in an extended narrative. Even when he turned to a quasi-abstract approach, as in *Yellow and Red Brushstrokes,* 1966, he continued with the comic-strip technique. Against the omnipresent dots, the brushstrokes appear as if they might have been made by an abstract expressionist, with one sweep of a brush for each color.

Andy Warhol was a series of contradictions. Like other pop artists, he sought to distance himself from his art, yet he became even more famous as a personality than as an artist. Some of his images, such as the *Big Campbell's Soup Can,* 1962, became enormously recognizable, but none as much as his own image with his bleached blond hair. He contributed to his fame with many self-portraits, associations with the rich and famous, and flamboyant behavior. He claimed that everyone would be famous for 15 minutes, but far exceeded that for himself.

Warhol's paintings also enjoyed brief fame, as he painted such everyday objects as soup cans, stamps, dollar bills, and bottles of coca cola. He filmed a man sleeping and another one getting a haircut. Yet he also chose as subjects such famous people as Marilyn Monroe, Jacqueline Kennedy, and Elvis Presley. He turned to the banal as subject matter for many of his creations, as did other pop artists, because, he felt, the banal constituted the essence of American life. Yet Warhol reassured his audience that he implied no criticism, that he merely painted what he knew best. Campbell's soup, for instance, he claimed to eat regularly for lunch. (See Art of the 1970s.)

Born to working-class immigrants in Pittsburgh, Warhol and his family struggled through the Great Depression. His father died when Andy was 14, but had set aside money for his son's schooling. Andy, who would later change his last name from Warhola to Warhol, attended the Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pittsburgh to prepare for a career as a commercial artist. Even then, he demonstrated a strong bias against the normative in art, and even created a self-portrait with his finger in his nose (1949).

Warhol moved to New York City in 1949 and became a successful illustrator for fashion magazines and department stores. By the early 1960s, he turned to fine art, with comic-strip paintings of the fictional detective Dick Tracy, highly realistic depictions of the commonplace subjects already mentioned, and portraits of celebrities. During the 1960s, Warhol established his studio in a loft that he called the Factory and turned from painting to a silk-screen process that involved photographic enlargements silk-screened onto a canvas, often in multiple images, with a layer of coloring applied. Instead of one cola bottle, *Green Coca-Cola Bottles,* 1962, for example, depicted several rows of bottles much as they would be stacked on shelves in a store. In some paintings, such as *Marilyn,* 1967, different screens were used to apply different colors, in this case, yellow hair, green eyelids, red lips, and a pink face against a green background.

At the same time, Warhol continued with commercial art and also started making films, adopting the simple approach of turning a camera on such commonplace subjects as the Empire State Building or, as mentioned earlier, a man sleeping. He explained that he saw his films as analogous to wallpaper—in other words, something one might glance at from time to time but that did not require close attention. He also adopted a rock group called the Velvet Underground, produced their first record in 1965, and filmed them on stage.



Two celebrated Warhol images based on famous actresses of the 1960s: Left, *Liz Taylor* (1964). Right, *Marilyn Monroe* (1967). Courtesy of Photofest.

In addition to the celebrity portraits, Warhol captured the decade of the 1960s in his so-called Disaster pictures. Done in his silk-screen technique, these pictures presented in multiple images such events as race riots, automobile accidents, and a suicide leap.

Many other American artists played important roles within pop art, although none equaled Warhol in fame. James Rosenquist, a former billboard painter, utilized billboard techniques in his large, flat, collage paintings, such as *President Elect,* 1960–1961, with its large partial face of President Kennedy along with fingers holding a piece of cake and an automobile fender. Claes Oldenburg, born in Sweden, combined sculpture with painting. *USA Flag,* 1960, for example, consisted of muslin in plaster over a wire frame, the whole painted with tempera. Robert Indiana produced the most famous single image to come out of 1960s pop art—the word "LOVE" in stencil-like letters imitative of signs, with the "O" tilted (1966). Indiana both painted the message and sculpted it in aluminum. The image soon appeared virtually everywhere: on posters, on buttons, on almost any object that could contain the word, and fit well with such slogans as "Make love, not war" and with the general countercultural ambiance of hippies and flower children.

No discussion of pop art should ignore the so-called pop art happenings of the 1960s. Warhol, Rauschenberg, and Oldenburg were among the pop artists who sponsored these events. Typically (although no happening was truly typical), a happening occurred in a specially created environment that might include theatrical sets, psychedelic colors, musicians, a radio or television blaring, a wind machine blowing confetti—anything that contributed to a mood of randomness and spontaneity. Participants improvised responses. The total experience shared more with the collage or assemblage approach to art than with theater, for little was plotted ahead of time

OP ART

Op art, or optical art, vied with pop art for attention during the 1960s. Op art, however, was very different from pop art, residing more in the abstract tradition than in the representational. While pop art, even abroad, was thoroughly American in inspiration, op art reached greater heights in Europe than in the United States.

Influenced by the growth of science and technology, op art sought visual effects through such techniques as repeating periodic structures or geometric figures, (like concentric circles that change in circumference and radius), the phi

phenomenon (the impression that fixed images such as dots are moving), moiré patterns (superimposing one periodic structure on another to create a watery or shimmering effect), hard-edged designs to enhance contrast, and sharply contrasting colors. Some works of art created optical effects through movement (as in mobiles and other kinetic art forms), others by utilizing the impact of light on the work or even incorporating light sources into it; however, arguably the purest type of op art required the viewer to concentrate on a static work to register the illusion of movement. Many op art works were in black and white, because most of the optical effects that artists desired could be created with this contrast. Many op artists also used color to good effect, employing new acrylic and emulsion paints to create glossy surfaces that enhanced the optical illusions.

There were several fine American op artists. Josef Albers, an American immigrant mentioned earlier in this chapter, played an important role in the history of op art in the United States. While at Yale, Albers taught Richard Anuszkiewicz, a prominent figure in the American op art world, and was a major reason American op art favored color contrasts rather than the black and white that dominated European op art. Although not primarily an op artist, Albers experimented with optical illusion, especially in his paintings of squares. Anuszkiewicz was part of an international exhibit of op art in 1965 at the Museum of Modern Art, and favored, as in *Radiant Green,* 1965, interactions among colors.

PHOTOGRAPHY

The dominant style for art photography at the beginning of the 1960s was "straight photography," which presented realistic images in beautiful prints prepared with meticulous attention to light, shadow, framing, and perspective. Much of straight photography was aesthetically and spiritually uplifting, and depicted magnificent scenes of both the small details and the majestic grandeur of nature. Documentary photography of human subjects usually exhibited compassionate understanding and empathy. Operating along these traditional paths were such important photographers as Ansel Adams, Minor White, and Wynn Bullock.

Two of the most important milestones along the road to photographic innovation were books, Robert Frank's *The Americans,* which first appeared in the United States in 1960, and John Szarkowski's *The Photographer's Eye,* published in 1966. Frank took the photographs in this collection during the middle 1950s. He was concerned with subjects that other photographers had certainly explored—racism, poverty, religion—but he established a new style for the photographic documentary. Rather than praising his subject or indicting society, Frank's pictures were often slightly out of focus or idiosyncratically framed, his subjects' gestures and expressions more candid than posed.

John Szarkowski, director of the photography department at New York's Museum of Modern Art, was an influential figure in the world of art photography. That influence increased dramatically with publication of *The Photographer's Eye,* in which he reexamined the history of photography while focusing attention on photographic theory. With Szarkowski leading a critical and historical discussion of photography, and Frank leading through practice, the medium produced striking but far from conventionally beautiful photographs.

Paralleling pop art in painting, the new photographers turned increasingly to the commonplace, the banal, and the bizarre. Rather than objective representation heightened with considerable technical skill, these photographers looked to the art form as heavily subjective and at the same time clearly artifice. Thus was born the "snapshot aesthetic"—pictures that exhibited an amateur-like crudeness in lighting, focus, and arrangement.

Three of the most successful of the new photographers were Garry Winogrand, Lee Friedlander, and Diane Arbus, all three included in the important "New Documents" exhibition of 1966–1967 at the Museum of Modern Art. Winogrand was an air force photographer and later photojournalist whose work appeared in such magazines as *Sports Illustrated, Look,* and *Life.* His art photographs are especially notable for the busy, teeming numbers of people captured with wide-angle lenses. Humor, irony, even mockery appeared in many of his pictures, including those taken at the New York City Zoo and the Coney Island Aquarium and published in *The Animals,* 1969.



Photographer Diane Arbus poses for a rare portrait in the Automat at Sixth Avenue between 41st and 42nd Street in New York City circa 1968. Photo by Roz Kelly/ Michael Ochs Archives/Getty Images.

Friedlander's photographs often appeared to be random snapshots of urban scenes, catching whatever happened to be there that moment. The result was a collage or assemblage effect similar to much of 1960s painting. His pictures were notable not only for their detail but also for their metaphoric impact, like a church in the background behind traffic and pedestrians, a trash can and stop sign in the foreground, *Santa Fe,* 1969.

Diane Arbus is the most disconcerting of the three. She gravitated toward the bizarre, often photographing people she referred to as "freaks"—midgets, giants, transvestites, and other social outcasts.

Photojournalists, with a level of skill that blurred the line between photojournalism and art photography, captured many of the most important moments of the 1960s, and other moments that might easily have been missed had not a skilled man or woman with a camera been present. They helped shape both the public's vision of the decade and history's judgment of it. Unfortunately, many of these moments were shocking, disconcerting, even tragic: photographs by Robert Jackson of Jack Ruby shooting Lee Harvey Oswald, November 24, 1963; by Malcolm Browne of the Buddhist monk Thick Quang Duc burning himself to death in Saigon on June 11, 1963; by Eddie Adams of the instant when the bullet from South Vietnamese General Nguyen Ngoc Loan's gun entered the head of a Viet Cong prisoner, February 1, 1968; by Cecil Stoughton of the moment aboard *Air Force One* when the new president, Lyndon Johnson, with the new widow Jacqueline Kennedy by his side, took the oath of office on November 22, 1963.

DIANE ARBUS (1923–1971)

The photography of Diane Arbus, both beautiful and disturbing, first came to media attention in the 1960s. Arbus was born and raised in New York City, where she and her husband Alan worked as fashion photographers. Arbus first learned photography from her husband, who was trained in the New Jersey Signal Corps. After separating from her husband in the 1950s, Arbus continued working as a photojournalist, taking assignments for *Esquire* and *Harper's Bazaar.* As a photographer, Arbus had an uncanny ability to bring out the humanity in her subjects, creating portraits that were compelling and strangely disturbing. Her photography was a perfect fit with the "new journalism" movement, which sought to bring journalism closer to the artistic sensibilities of fiction. Arbus won two Guggenheim Fellowships, in 1963 and 1966, and expanded her repertoire with portraits of subjects whose physical features set them apart from the crowd, such as circus performers, transvestites, and drag queens. Arbus was one of several artists featured in the 1967 exhibit "New Documents" at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York City, and was hailed as one of the most visionary photographers of her age. Arbus committed suicide in 1971 at age 48, after reportedly struggling with severe depression. Though her career was cut short, a posthumous exhibition of her work at the MoMA was the most popular, single-artist, photographic exhibition in the history of the museum, and a monograph of her work became one the best selling art books in history.

ENDNOTES FOR THE 1960s

OVERVIEW OF THE 1960s

1. Most of the financial figures in this section are drawn from Kurian's *Datapedia of the United States.*
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3. Kurian, *Datapedia of the United States, 1790–2000,* 156.
4. The following figures relating to the Vietnam War are from Harry G. Summer Jr., *Vietnam War Almanac* (New York: Facts on File, 1985).

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1. George Thomas Kurian, *Datapedia of the United States, 1790–2000* (Lanham, MD: Bernan, 1994), 299.
2. Kurian, *Datapedia of the United States, 1790–2000,* 8.
3. The figures relating to African-American demographics and purchasing, and to advertising directed at the African-American community, are from D. Parke Gibson's important study, *The $30 Billion Negro* (London: Macmillan, 1969).

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1. Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture,* 2nd ed. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1977), 16.
2. Carole Rifkind, *A Field Guide to Contemporary American Architecture* (New York: Dutton, 1998), 81.
3. *The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy,* in *The Documents of Vatican II,* ed. Walter Abbott, trans. Joseph Gallagher (New York: Guild, America, Association Presses, 1966), sections 2, 14, 48.
4. Carter Wiseman, *Shaping a Nation: Twentieth-Century American Architecture and Its Makers* (New York: Norton, 1998), 232.
5. Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961), 187.

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1. Robert J. Glessing, *The Underground Press in America* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1970).

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1. Marshall McLuhan, *The Medium Is the Massage* (New York: Random House, 1967).
2. George Thomas Kurian, *Datapedia of the United States, 1790–2000* (Lanham, MD: Bernan, 1994), 299.
3. United States, Bureau of the Census, vol. 2 of *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970,* Bicentennial ed. (Washington DC: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1975), 796.
4. Newton N. Minow made this comment in a speech to the nation's broadcasters in 1961. For a more recent examination of Minow's views on television, see his and Craig LaMay's *Abandoned in the Wasteland: Children, Television, and the First Amendment* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995).
5. Much of the information in this chapter on Emmy awards, Nielsen ratings, and related matters is based on Tim Brooks and Earle Marsh's useful reference work, *The Complete Directory to Prime Time Network and Cable TV Shows, 1946–Present,* 25th anniversary ed. (New York: Ballantine, 1999).
6. Jackie Kennedy made the connection to Camelot in an interview with Kennedy biographer Theodore H. White on November 29, 1963. White then expanded on the comment in a piece that he wrote for *Life,* "For President Kennedy: An Epilogue," which appeared on December 6, 1963.

FASHION OF THE 1960s

1. George Thomas Kurian, *Datapedia of the United States, 1790–2000* (Lanham, MD: Bernan, 1994), 8, 177.
2. Frank W. Hoffman and William G. Bailey, *Fashion and Merchandising Fads* (New York: Haworth, 1994), 270.

FOOD OF THE 1960s

1. Tremendously informative regarding a wide range of developments in the food industry is James Trager, *The Food Chronology: A Food Lover's Compendium of Events and Anecdotes, from Prehistory to the Present* (1995; New York: Henry Holt, 1997). Most of the restaurant and food statistics in this section are from Trager.
2. These statistics, as well as the following figures relating to school lunches and substances that are endangering food and the environment, are from Trager.

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3. David Allen Duncan, "Music," vol. 2 of *The Sixties in America,* ed. Carl Singleton (Pasadena, CA: Salem, 1999), 506. Geoffrey C. Ward and Ken Burns, *Jazz: A History of America's Music* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), 446.
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4. The statistics given here for Barbie and G. I. Joe are from Frank W. Hoffman and William G. Bailey, Fashion & Merchandising Fads (New York: Haworth, 1994), 27–29 and 93–94.
5. Panati, *Panati's Parade of Fads, Follies, and Manias,* 321.
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2. Louis Giannetti and Scott Eyman, *Flashback: A Brief History of Film,* 3rd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1996), 347.
3. George Thomas Kurian, *Datapedia of the United States, 1790–2000* (Lanham, MD: Bernan, 1994), 267–68.
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5. I am indebted for the statistics relating to car sales and car manufacturing specifications to Martin Buckley and Chris Rees, *The World Encyclopedia of Cars: The Definitive Guide to Classic and Contemporary Cars,* rev. ed. (New York: Hermes House, 1999).
6. Kurian, *Datapedia of the United States, 1790–2000,* 289.
7. Robert P. Ellis, "Travel," in *The Sixties in America,* vol. 3, 729.
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1970s

Timeline

of Popular Culture Events, 1970s

1970

Richard Nixon sends U.S. troops into Cambodia.

Four Kent State University students are killed by the National Guard after a protest of the bombing of Cambodia.

Black Sabbath debuts, playing heavy metal; ZZ Top joins the Allman Brothers (debut 1969) in launching "Southern rock."

Two prominent rock singers—Janis Joplin and Jimi Hendrix—die of drug overdoses.

An estimated 20 million Americans participate in the first Earth Day commemoration.

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) forms.

Monday Night Football premieres on ABC.

Childproof safety caps are introduced.

California becomes the first no-fault divorce state.

Lithium is approved as a treatment for depression by the Food and Drug Administration.

Big Bird of *Sesame Street* appears on the cover of *Time* magazine.

Postal reform laws make the U.S. Postal Service self-sufficient.

1971

Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education: the U.S. Supreme Court upholds school busing as a tool to correct racial imbalances in schools.

Jim Morrison of the Doors dies of heart failure; drug overdose widely speculated.

Andrew Lloyd Webber and Tim Rice's musical, *Jesus Christ Superstar,* debuts on Broadway.

In *Reed v. Reed,* the Supreme Court rules that laws discriminating against women are illegal under the Fourteenth Amendment.

The first word processor, the Wang 1200, is invented.

Cigarette advertising is banned on radio and television.

NASA Mariner 9 circles Mars, the first time a spaceship orbits another planet; Apollo XIV lands on the moon.

Pentagon Papers, which describe U.S. war activities in Vietnam, are released to the *New York Times* by Daniel Ellsberg; *New York Times* publishes them.

Richard Nixon imposes a 90-day wage and price freeze to combat inflation.

All in the Family, starring Carroll O'Connor as Archie Bunker, debuts on television, changing the direction of programming dramatically.

Prison riots in Attica, New York, last four days more than 40 inmates and guards are killed.

MRI (Magnetic Resonance Imaging) technology is first used on humans to detect medical issues.
Charles Manson and three female followers are convicted of murdering Sharon Tate and sentenced to death.
Congress passes the 26th Amendment, which lowers the voting age to 18.

1972

Title IX bans gender discrimination at educational facilities that receive federal funds.
David Bowie's album, *Rise and Fall of Ziggy Stardust,* ushers in the era of glam-rock.
The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) is adopted by the Senate; state ratification needed.
Richard Nixon visits Moscow, and the United States and the U.S.S.R. agree to freeze nuclear weapons at current levels; he also visits China, another historic event.
Five burglars are arrested after breaking into the Democratic National Headquarters; this becomes known as the Watergate break-in.
Gloria Steinem launches *Ms.* magazine; *Life* magazine ceases weekly publication.
Arabs terrorists storm the Olympic Village and kill 11 Israeli athletes at the Olympics held in Munich, Germany, after their demands are not met.
The Godfather, starring Marlon Brando, receives 10 Academy Award nominations; it wins Best Picture, Best Actor, and Best Adapted Screenplay.
Nike shoes debut.
The Supreme Court declares the death penalty as cruel and unusual punishment; sentences of Charles Manson, his followers, and others convicted are commuted to life in prison.
President Nixon wins his reelection bid by the largest margin since Franklin Delano Roosevelt won in 1936.
Atari's Pong begins the video game craze.
HBO launches its cable subscription service in New York.
Alabama Governor George Wallace is shot while campaigning for president; he survives but suffers from paralysis.

1973

Richard Nixon orders a cease-fire in Vietnam after peace talks begin in Paris.
The U.S. draft is abolished, and an all-volunteer military begins.
Vice President Spiro Agnew resigns after being charged with accepting bribes and falsifying federal tax returns; Gerald Ford begins serving as vice president.
OPEC enacts an oil embargo against the United States because of the military aid provided by the United States to Israel during the Yom Kippur War.
The Supreme Court hears *Roe v. Wade;* it overturns prohibitions on first-trimester abortions and eases restrictions on second-trimester ones.
The American Indian Movement seizes Wounded Knee for 71 days as a protest against the government for its treatment of Native Americans.
Billie Jean King defeats Bobby Riggs in tennis's "Battle of the Sexes."
Congress passes the Endangered Species Act.
UPC bar codes are introduced, allowing retailers to scan in information about purchases, simplifying inventory tasks.
The Exorcist, a horror film, receives five major Academy Award nominations.

1974

Publishing heiress Patty Hearst is kidnapped by the Symbionese Liberation Army.
President Richard Nixon resigns because of the Watergate scandal and an impeachment threat; Gerald Ford becomes president and he pardons Nixon for any Watergate crimes.
Hank Aaron hits his 715th home run, breaking Babe Ruth's record.
The first programmable pocket calculators become available for sale.
Naked students "streak" across college campuses; Ray Stevens's song "The Streak" becomes popular.
Eight former White House aides are indicted for conspiring in Watergate cover-up.
The U.S. Merchant Marine Academy becomes the first U.S. service academy to enroll women.

The first black model—Beverly Johnson—appears on the cover of a major fashion magazine *(Vogue)*.

The Supreme Court orders Little League to allow girls to participate.

Women are ordained as priests by the Episcopal Church.

1975

The precursor to the home computer, the Altair, debuts; assembly required.

Lynette "Squeaky" Fromme, a Charles Manson follower, attempts to assassinate Gerald Ford.

Unemployment reaches 8.9 percent, the highest since 1941.

The FBI captures Patty Hearst, who now goes by the name of Tania.

Joshua Reynolds invents and begins marketing the mood ring, a fad that sold millions.

Gary Dahl packages the Pet Rock and becomes a millionaire within a year.

Catalytic converters are introduced in cars, mitigating air pollution.

The U.S. government passes the Metric Conversion Act, stating that metric measurement is the preferred system, but people ignore its passage.

After scoring a perfect 800 on his math SATs, William Gates drops out of Harvard University to write software programs for a small computer company, Micro-Soft.

Saturday Night Live debuts on late-night television and satirizes politicians and other social phenomena.

Teamster union leader Jimmy Hoffa disappears after meeting suspected mobsters at a restaurant.

1976

On April Fool's Day, Apple Computer launches its first product, selling it for $666.66.

4.8 million people apply for a CB license; it is estimated that only half of CB users actually apply for licenses.

The New Jersey Supreme Court allows Karen Ann Quinlan's parents to remove her from life support after a long coma.

The first stand-alone Betamax VCRs are put on the market.

The United States celebrates its Bicentennial; the U.S. mint issues commemorative coins and President Gerald Ford gives a nationally televised speech.

Jimmy Carter is elected president in November after the Democratic National Convention selects him as their candidate on the first ballot.

Chicago writer Saul Bellow wins the Pulitzer Prize for his novel *Humboldt's Gift*.

The U.S. Supreme Court reverses its 1972 decision and legalizes capital punishment.

Journalist Tom Wolfe gives the decade the nickname that sticks: "The 'Me' Decade and the Third Great Awakening."

More than 200 people attending a Philadelphia convention for ex-service personnel become ill with Legionnaire's Disease; 34 die from the disease.

1977

King of Rock and Roll, Elvis Presley, dies at age 42; heart disease is named as the cause.

John Travolta stars in *Saturday Night Fever,* furthering the popularity of disco, and *Star Wars* also debuts in theaters, with its phrase "May the force be with you."

The Alaskan pipeline is completed, providing the United States with 15 percent of its oil supply.

Jimmy Carter is sworn in as president after parking his limo and walking down Pennsylvania Avenue.

President Carter grants unconditional amnesty to most of those who evaded the draft—the "draft dodgers"—to avoid serving in the Vietnam War.

The country deals with "stagflation," an economic condition consisting of continuing inflation and stagnant business activity with its corresponding high rates of unemployment.

ABC airs the hugely successful television miniseries *Roots,* based on a book written by Alex Haley.

"Son of Sam"—David Berkowitz—is arrested after a 12-month, 6-person killing spree in which he believed a black "demon" dog was instructing him to murder.

President Carter signs the Panama Canal Treaty and Neutrality Treaty, which relinquishes U.S. control of the canal by the year 2000 and guarantees its neutrality.

President Carter halts development of the B-1 bomber in favor of the development of the cruise missile.

1978

The birth of the world's first successful "test-tube baby," who was conceived through in-vitro fertilization, serves as a focal point of the science vs. religion debate.

President Carter, Egypt's Anwar Sadat, and Israel's Menachem Begin meet at Camp David to discuss peace in the Middle East.

Love Canal, New York, was declared a federal disaster after the chemical wastes dumped beneath the town leak; rates for cancer and birth defects are extremely high.

American cult leader Jim Jones of the People's Temple persuades hundreds of his followers to commit suicide in Guyana, most by drinking poisoned Kool-Aid.

Congress extends the deadline for ERA ratification, changing it from March 22, 1979, to June 30, 1982.

A sniper shoots *Hustler* publisher Larry Flynt, leaving him paralyzed.

In the *University of California v. Bakke,* the U.S. Supreme Court rules that the use of quotas is not permissible in affirmative action programs.

The former president publishes *The Memoirs of Richard Nixon.*

The first arcade game, Space Invaders, premieres in Japan.

Dallas, an evening soap opera starring Larry Hagman as J. R. Ewing, first airs on CBS.

1979

A near nuclear disaster occurs at Three Mile Island near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; fierce arguments over the safety of nuclear energy ensue.

Militant Islamic students in Iran storm the U.S. embassy there, taking more than 90 people—65 of them Americans—as hostage; they hold 52 of these hostages for 444 days.

Fundamentalist preacher Jerry Falwell forms an organization called the Moral Majority; its aim is to reestablish traditional religious values in the nation.

The United States and China formalize diplomatic relations.

The first gay and lesbian rights march takes place in Washington, D.C.; Falwell responds by praying and saying that "God made Adam and Eve, not Adam and Steve."

The U.S. mint issues the Susan B. Anthony dollar; the coin approximates the size of a quarter and confuses many consumers.

The Sony Walkman is introduced in Japan.

The U.S. government awards the Sioux Nation $105 million in land claims.

President Carter delivers his "Crisis of Confidence" speech, telling the American people that he shares their pain.

Francis Ford Coppola's movie about the Vietnam War, *Apocalypse Now,* wins the Academy Award for Best Picture.

Overview of the 1970s

Me Decade

NICKNAME FOR THE DECADE, 1970–1979

In the 1970s, Americans dealt with a decade of sweeping social, cultural, and political changes. Minorities continued their efforts to effect change and to institute laws that protected their civil rights. Countless women marched for their own freedoms, including economic, political, religious, social, and cultural gains. Meanwhile, the gay and lesbian cause gained momentum, with its advocates also experiencing heartbreaking setbacks.

The 1970s were also a decade of disillusionment. Many Americans lost their jobs during an era of stagflation—a combined economic disaster of inflation and stagnation. Two oil embargoes, a war in Southeast Asia, and some of the worst political scandals to ever hit the White House contributed to the sense of malaise that spread through the country.

To add to the troubles of the era, crime rates continued to increase; illegal drug use escalated. Experts increasingly attributed the causes of crimes to failures of society, and tax dollars were therefore poured into social reform and rehabilitation efforts.

Changes in the family structure echoed those of the overall society. Divorce increased and birth rates dropped. In increasing numbers, Americans left mainstream churches to seek spiritual answers elsewhere, perhaps in the growing Evangelical Christian movement, a religious group dubbed a cult, or through New Age avenues of enlightenment.

THE ECONOMY AND HEALTH CARE

The Economy

After World War II ended, Americans had come to expect a stable job market with low inflation and a steady growth of the overall economy. By the summer of 1970, though, industrial productivity had begun to decline, while unemployment rates were increasing. Interest and inflation rates were on the rise; unbalanced budgets and growing trade deficits were also warning signs of a troubled economy. In August 1971, President Richard Nixon instituted a 90-day price and wage control program, something unheard of during peacetime, with the hope that this policy would curb inflation. It did not, although many economists supported Nixon's plan at the time.

Although the United States had satisfied much of its own oil—and therefore gasoline—needs through 1950, the increasing oil and gasoline consumption during the 1960s and 1970s caused the American government to import more of these products. Much of this oil was exported out of Middle Eastern countries that had formed a cartel, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting

Countries (OPEC) in 1960. The increasing oil demands of people in the United States and other Western countries gave OPEC significant bargaining power.

Then, on October 6, 1973—Yom Kippur, the holiest day of the Jewish calendar—Arab forces attacked Israel. With the support of the United States and other Western European nations, Israel was able to rebuff these forces and a cease-fire agreement came about the following month. However, on October 17, in the middle of this short war, OPEC enforced an oil embargo on the United States, whereby Arab countries stopped selling oil to the United States in protest of its support of Israel during the Yom Kippur War.

The United States suffered from this economic retaliation; Americans were asked to turn down their thermostats, car pool to work, and otherwise limit their consumption of oil products. Gasoline prices increased from 30 cents per gallon to $1.20, drivers were eventually limited to 10 gallons of gasoline per transaction, and Sunday sales of gasoline were forbidden. OPEC lifted its punitive embargo on March 18, 1974, but significant damage to the United States economy—and the disruption of daily lifestyles—had already occurred.

Nixon pushed for the completion of the Alaskan pipeline, which would decrease the amount of imported oil purchased from OPEC. Construction of the pipeline began on March 27, 1975, and the project was finished on May 31, 1977. Just three weeks later, oil was being transported through its pipes.

Economists point to other reasons for the change in the economic picture during the 1970s. Record numbers of births during the Baby Boomer generation meant that more people's needs had to be met during a time when the average individual was consuming increasingly larger quantities of products. Some manufacturers began moving their operations overseas, where cheaper labor could be found, which meant that many American workers, especially in the Midwest, lost their jobs. Plus, with lower household incomes due to unemployment, Americans searched out lower-priced goods—which were frequently made overseas. In particular, the oil crises of 1973 and 1979 caused many Americans to purchase smaller, foreign-made cars that were more economical than their domestic counterparts. For the first time in the twentieth century, the United States imported more goods than it exported.

By 1975, the U.S. economy was clearly in a state of "stagflation," a newly coined word that described rising prices (inflation) at a time when the economy was stagnating, with high unemployment rates and an economic recession. President Gerald Ford twice proposed a combination of a massive tax cut and a spending ceiling; both times, Congress agreed with the tax cut but ignored the ceiling.

In 1979, a second oil crisis, smaller in scope yet still damaging, occurred. By this time, the phrase *energy crisis* was in common usage. This energy crisis was precipitated by the revolution in Iran. After the Shah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, fled Iran, the Ayatollah Khomeini took control. The Ayatollah resumed the sale of oil to the United States, but the volume was reduced. Although OPEC nations filled in much of the gap, panic ensued.

Health Care

During the 1970s, mass media focused attention on four main problems in the U.S. health care system. First was that health care costs were soaring out of control. Next was that, even though the government now provided insurance for the elderly and those on welfare, far too many Americans remained uninsured. Also, the ever-increasing number of malpractice lawsuits against doctors and hospitals brought the quality of medical care into question, and, finally, bureaucratic controls caused many patients to complain about the loss of humane medical treatment.[1] None of these problems was solved during the decade.

The term *holistic* became part of many people's vocabularies, usually in conjunction with their health. In holistic health care, the entire mind, body, and spirit is considered when diagnosing and treating problems—and, perhaps even more important, in the prevention of diseases that could be avoided by careful choices: what healthy foods and vitamins, for example, should be consumed, and what substances—alcohol, nicotine, drugs, and so forth—should be avoided or limited. Alternative

treatments, including acupuncture, meditation, and herbal medicine found new followings during the 1970s.

Increasing numbers of Americans also turned to exercise during the 1970s. Jogging was a prime pursuit, while fashions such as Nike warm-up suits and running shoes were both aided and influenced by this trend.

POLITICS AND POLITICAL LEADERS

Watergate

Watergate is the scandal—perhaps better described as a series of scandals—that ended the political career of Richard Milhous Nixon and many others in Washington, D.C.; it is named after the hotel that served as the center of corrupt activity. Ever since Watergate occurred and was thusly named, other political scandals have traditionally had the suffix "-gate" attached to their names.

In June 1971, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* published portions of confidential government documents detailing the Vietnam War. These papers became known as the Pentagon Papers and the published excerpts showed that the government was not being forthcoming about the escalation of the war in Southeast Asia. The executive branch of the government argued that it must serve as the sole judge of what national security information should be released; the press insisted that First Amendment rights must be paramount and that the federal government wished to exercise censorship. The court ruled in favor of the press, and the newspapers were granted permission to continue to publish this material.

On September 9, a group of men known as the "plumbers" broke into the office of psychiatrist of Daniel Ellsberg, the former defense analyst who was discovered to have leaked the Pentagon Papers to the press. These men were dubbed plumbers for their ability to plug information leaks about the Nixon administration and to collect their own data on those seen as enemies of the president's policies. When the burglary came to light, the charges that the government was pressing against Ellsberg for releasing the documents were dropped.

The situation escalated dramatically on June 17, 1972 when five men, one of whom used to work for the CIA, were caught attempting to burgle the Democratic National Convention Headquarters, which were located in the plush Watergate hotel. It was later discovered that bugging devices had been planted in the Democratic headquarters in May. On June 19, the *Washington Post* indicated that a GOP security aide had been among the burglars.

On August 1, a $25,000 check earmarked for the Nixon reelection campaign was discovered to have been deposited into an account of a Watergate burglar; in September, it was uncovered that John Mitchell, former attorney general and the head of Nixon's reelection campaign, had used Republican Party funds to conduct investigations into the operations of the Democratic Party. Then, on October 10, 1972, the FBI determined that the Republicans had conducted a thorough political spy campaign against the Democrats. Meanwhile, the White House continued to deny prior knowledge of any of these events.

Despite these discoveries, Nixon won a landslide second term against Democratic candidate George McGovern, winning 520 out of the 537 electoral votes.

During the first half of 1973, members of Nixon's administration either resigned (H. R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, and Attorney General Richard Kleindienst), were fired (legal counsel John Dean), or were convicted of conspiracy, burglary, and wiretapping in connection with the Watergate break-in (G. Gordon Liddy and James W. McCord Jr.). During the summer of 1973, the vice president, Spiro Agnew, was being investigated on charges of extortion, bribery, and income tax evasion in connection to his term as Maryland governor. Agnew resigned on October 10, 1973, and Gerald Ford became vice president.

On May 18, 1973, the investigation began to be televised, with Archibald Cox serving as prosecutor. On June 3, former counsel to the president John Dean testified that he had discussed the Watergate cover-up at least 35 times with the president. Ten days later, a damaging memo addressed to former White House aide John Ehrlichman was found. This memo described the intent to burglarize Daniel Ellsberg's office, and thereby confirmed that Nixon's close consultants were aware of the situation beforehand.

In July, Nixon's former appointments secretary told Congress that Nixon had secretly taped all of his meetings and conversations since 1971. Nixon ordered the taping to stop, but he also refused to turn over existing tapes to investigators.

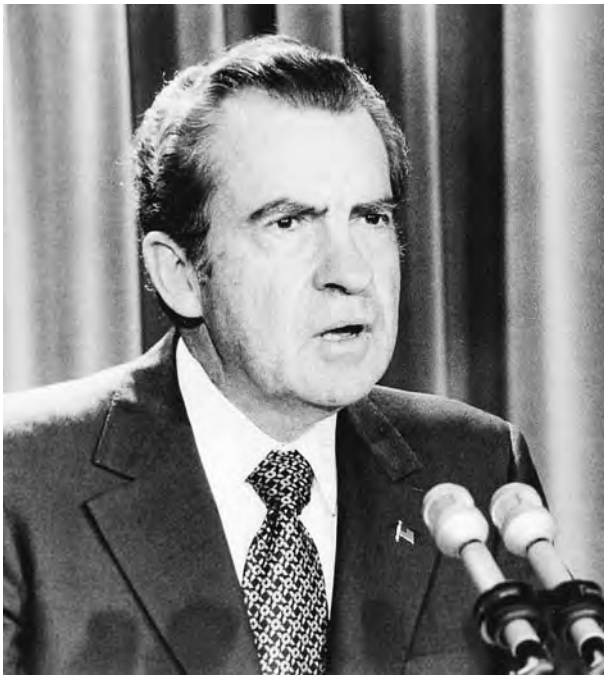
In October, Nixon fired Archibald Cox and abolished the office of special prosecutor altogether. Both the attorney general and the deputy attorney general resigned in connection with Nixon's actions. Calls for Nixon's impeachment intensified.

A Congressional committee then subpoenaed selected tapes and Nixon began reviewing them personally. The most controversial tape, one from June 20, 1972, had more than 18 minutes of conversation erased and many people now believe that Nixon's loyal secretary, Rosemary Woods, deleted portions of the tape that she feared would harm the president.

On April 30, 1974, the White House released 1,200 pages of edited transcripts. The House Judiciary Committee demanded the original recordings, and the Supreme Court ruled in favor of Congress. Within three days of receiving undoctored tapes, on July 27, 1974, Congress passed three articles of impeachment against the president for obstruction of justice. On August 8, 1974, Nixon became the first—and so far, the only—President of the United States to resign from office. Gerald Ford assumed the office of president.

Nixon had some foreign policy successes, most specifically his breakthrough with Communist China and his détente with the Soviet Union. In February 1972, Richard Nixon became the first U.S. president to visit China. After two decades of a strained and difficult relationship between the two countries, Nixon spent a week discussing a wide variety of political topics of mutual interest with Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Moreover, the notion that the United States and China had begun to normalize relationships created the need for the Soviet Union to participate in talks with Nixon.

In May 1972 Nixon became the first president to travel to the Soviet Union, where he met with its leader, Leonid Brezhnev. The two leaders signed the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) treaty, which limited the number of certain types of weapons and the amount of testing allowed.



President Nixon addressing the investigation of the Watergate break-in at a brief news conference on April 17, 1973. Courtesy of Photofest.

Gerald Ford

As the only president not elected to office, much of Gerald Ford's presidency consisted of separating his administration from the troubles of Watergate without damaging the future of the Republican Party.

Ford's predecessor, Richard Nixon, faced criminal prosecution. A trial would occupy much of the nation's time, attention, and financial resources. Gerald Ford could prevent such a spectacle by granting Nixon a presidential pardon, especially if he did so before any formal indictments were announced. Polls, however, indicated that nearly 60 percent of American citizens opposed a presidential pardon.[2]

On September 8, 1974, Gerald Ford announced that he was giving Nixon a full, absolute, and unconditional pardon for any crimes that he may have committed while in office. Nixon did not even need to admit to any wrongdoings. Ford cited the need for national healing, and he favored focusing on recovery rather than revenge.

THE AMERICAN BICENTENNIAL

In July 1976, from *Bob Hope's Bicentennial Star-Spangled Spectacular* television special to the minting of unique 1776–1976 American Bicentennial quarters, the nation stood awash in patriotism. Everywhere one looked, people celebrated 200 years of freedom. In the heartland, that celebration led to countless red, white, and blue mailboxes and a sea of flags hung from cities to farms.

Splashy TV programs unified the celebration, but local and regional activities also took place on the community level. In the nation's capital, President Gerald Ford watched as a nationally-televised fireworks display lit up the sky. The three major networks also carried a fireworks show from New York Harbor, which featured a giant "76" lit up on two barges and 3,000 shells fired from an automated control point in the World Trade Center.

In New York and Boston, visitors were invited to explore these an international collection of tall sailing ships. Some critics thought the yacht brigade served as just another less-than-dignified aspect of the national pep rally, but millions of people visited the ancient vessels, and the display of beautiful ships from many nations sailing through New York Harbor and past the Statue of Liberty was moving. The Festival of American Folklife was held on the 50 acres between the Washington Monument and Lincoln Memorial and featured ethnic celebrations of singing, dancing, and crafts, followed by a free evening concert.

Ford also faced a dire economic situation when he took office. The oil embargo had ended just five months before and stagflation was about to peak. Moreover, Ford's relationship with Congress suffered a terrible blow after the pardon—and, in the 1974 elections for the House and the Senate, the House Democrats won more than a two-thirds majority.

The Democrats newly voted into Congress became known as the "Watergate Babies." Confident in the public's vote of confidence in their party and its policies, they were aggressive in their disagreements with Ford, frequently citing their duty of "congressional oversight." None of Ford's economic plans or energy proposals were passed without significant alterations by Congress.

Running against Ford in 1976 was Georgia's Democratic governor, Jimmy Carter, a former peanut farmer who focused much of his campaign message on his outsider status in Washington. Carter won by only 56 electoral votes in an election that had the lowest turnout in nearly 30 years. Carter's victory was the first for a Southerner since before the Civil War.

Jimmy Carter

Jimmy Carter's administration became weighted down by economic troubles, struggles with Congress, and an energy crisis. Unemployment was at seven percent, inflation was between five and six percent, and the deficit was at about $66 billion. Carter believed that inflation would solve itself in a high employment nation. Carter proposed two bills that addressed the economy, but Congress did not pass either. Meanwhile, inflation skyrocketed to 13.3 percent.

The United States was importing nearly 50 percent of its oil by the time Carter took office. Carter attempted to pass an energy bill, but Congress resented its lack of input on the bill and the final result was watered down.

On November 4, 1979, Iranian militants stormed the U.S. embassy in Tehran, keeping 52 hostages for 444 days. Reasons for the hostage-taking centered on the Ayatollah Khomeini whipping up militants into a frenzy after Carter allowed the disposed Shah of Iran into the United States for cancer treatments. Carter unsuccessfully tried diplomatic solutions to resolve the crisis and to obtain the release of the hostages.

The Ayatollah swore that he would not release the hostages until the United States turned the Shah over to Iran, along with billions of dollars that the Iranians claimed he had appropriated from the Iranian people. When Marines attempted a rescue, three of the helicopters malfunctioned; one crashed, killing eight Marines and injuring three more.

In 1980, Carter lost the presidential race to Ronald Reagan. As the transfer of presidential power took place, the hostages were released.

***TIME MAGAZINE* "MAN OF THE YEAR"**

1970 Willy Brandt (West German chancellor)

1971 Richard Nixon (37th President of the United States)

1972 Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger (37th President of the United States and National Security Advisor)

1973 John J. Sirica (Federal judge)

1974 King Faisal (King of Saudi Arabia)

1975 American Women

1976 Jimmy Carter (39th President of the United States)

1977 Anwar Sadat (President of Egypt)

1978 Deng Xiaoping (Chinese political leader)

1979 Ayatollah Khomeini (Islamic religious leader)

Carter deregulated both the airline and banking industries, and, at the end of his term, he could truthfully state that eight million more jobs existed in 1980 than at the beginning of his term. Carter had also reduced the federal deficit and removed pricing controls from domestic petroleum to stimulate production and reduce reliance upon foreign oil.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT

Civil Rights

By the early 1970s two important pieces of civil rights legislation—the 1964 act and the 1968 act—had already been passed and the initial reactions to each had died down. Discrimination based upon a wide variety of factors was declared illegal at the federal level. Throughout the rest of the 1960s and during the early part of the 1970s, courts found themselves judging cases of companies that obeyed the letter of the law, but not the spirit. To remedy this type of situation, courts needed to find ways to fight the exclusionary practices that were being used to maintain racial and/or gender imbalance. In 1971, after dealing with many of these instances, the Supreme Court ruled, in *Griggs v. Duke Power Company,* that a company that disproportionately kept a group of workers—in this case, black employees—from inclusion, whether that was the intent or not, was involved in illegal hiring practices and must revise its employment policies.

This ruling significantly changed the scope of discrimination (civil rights) laws. Employers now needed to examine all of their hiring requirements to determine if the job qualifications they listed were actually necessary for employees to perform their job functions. For example, if a company required all employees to have a high school diploma, the company now needed to analyze whether or not the cleaning staff, for example, needed this diploma to adequately fulfill their job duties. If not, the diploma requirement was potentially discriminating.

The answer to this problem was so-called affirmative action—which created new challenges. The basic idea of affirmative action was that companies were to broaden their selection base for employee candidates and then predict, out of their pool of potential workers, what the composition of workers should be (racially, in terms of gender, and so forth). Periodically, companies would then check their actual employee demographics against their stated composition goals—and then adjust, as necessary. Even if a company's actual group of employees did not match its stated goals, if the company was hiring in good faith, the courts declared that this was enough.

Controversy ensued, with many Americans understanding the ruling to mean that companies needed to match the predicted goals—fulfill their *quotas*—or be guilty of discrimination. The situation became even more complicated when courts did order certain companies to hire precise—and rigid—numbers rather than by flexible target goals.

By the mid-1970s, employers faced another onerous problem: reverse discrimination lawsuits filed by white men who claimed that they were not hired for a job strictly because they were male and/or Caucasian. They would claim that they were better qualified for a particular position than the successful applicant, but not hired because of affirmative action constraints.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 also empowered the federal government to force local school

systems to desegregate. Many school districts in the South did not comply with court orders requiring desegregation. As a result, the 1971 Supreme Court case, *Swann v. Mecklenburg,* ruled that school districts did not need to precisely reflect the racial composition of their city, but that all-white or all-black schools must show that they did not exist due to segregation practices. Furthermore, this ruling stated that busing was a legitimate way to racially integrate school systems. Forced busing began to occur throughout the country and continued through the 1990s in some locales.

Although many people fought for civil rights during the 1970s, two deserve specific mention. One of the better-known civil rights leaders of the 1970s—the Reverend Jesse Jackson (1941–)—began his work in the 1960s, organizing marches and sit-in protests. In 1965, Jackson met Martin Luther King Jr. and began working for his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Jackson was with King when the civil rights leader was assassinated.

In 1970, Jackson led a march to Illinois's state capital, raising consciousness of hunger. As a result, the state increased funding for school lunches. In 1971, Jackson formed his own organization, People United to Save Humanity (PUSH), and continued to work for economic betterment for the blacks of Chicago and throughout the nation, and he kept demanding social and political improvements, as well. He conducted weekly broadcasts on the radio and created awards to honor blacks for various achievements. He also created PUSH-Excel to assist low-income black youth and help them stay in school and find jobs.

Ralph D. Abernathy (1926–1990) also fought for civil rights through most of the 1970s. In 1957, he cofounded the SCLC with Martin Luther King Jr. The two men agreed upon the philosophy of peaceful protests for civil rights, creating this phrase for their motto: "Not one hair of one head of one person should be harmed." While serving as the pastor of the Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, Abernathy was extremely vocal about the need for desegregation and for equal rights for blacks.

After King's assassination, Abernathy took over the leadership role of the SCLC. In 1970, his group formed Politics '70 for Representative Government, a platform for political gains for blacks. In 1971, Politics '70 for Representative Government worked with the National Welfare Organization and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice to form the "War Against Repression," which was a series of mass protests that led to the restoration of welfare rights. Over the next few years, the group focused on registering new voters, which led to blacks being elected in locales that had never before had black representation. In 1976, it rallied its energies to support the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment program. In 1977, Abernathy resigned from SCLC to run unsuccessfully for Georgia's legislature.

The Feminist Movement

Perhaps the most hotly debated piece of legislation of the 1970s was the Equal Rights Amendment—or the ERA. The ERA's language was written to specifically state that the U.S. government must provide equal rights to both genders.

Legislators had introduced the ERA in every session of Congress, starting in 1923, with no success. That changed in 1967 when a new organization led by Betty Friedan—the National Organization for Women (NOW)—formed, pledging its dedicated and concerted efforts toward passing this amendment. The House of Representatives approved the ERA in 1971 and the Senate did the same on March 22, 1972. This approved piece of legislation included a typical phrase in the proposing clause that set a 7-year time span for 38 individual states to ratify this amendment. By 1977, 35 states had voted for ERA's passage.

Also in 1977, NOW held its first national convention in Houston, Texas. It announced that 450 groups, representing 50 million Americans, had endorsed and were supporting the amendment. NOW used this occasion to publicly request an extension of the time available for ratification; they argued that the Constitution places no limits on amendment passage, so the seven-year limit was artificial.

In 1978 NOW declared a state of emergency for the ERA and organized a march on Washington in which 100,000 supporters participated. In

large part because of this march, Congress set a new deadline for ERA ratification: June 30, 1982.

Meanwhile, opponents of the ERA fought to slow down the momentum. One well-organized and vocal grassroots effort to prevent the amendment's ratification was led by social and political conservative Phyllis Schlafly, whose campaign became known as "Stop the ERA." Schlafly stated that if the ERA passed, women would be drafted to fight in wars, the government would begin to fund abortions, and same-sex marriages would become legal. These arguments were similar to those made pre-1920, when women fought for suffrage—but, this time, they were more effective. The amendment was not ratified.

Opposition to the ERA often signaled disapproval of the entire feminist movement, also called the women's liberation movement, or, simply, "women's lib." The feminist movement really was a series of overlapping movements that had one common goal: feminists were fighting for equal social, political, and/or economic rights between men and women.

Individual feminists' goals ranged from practical demands that would improve the overall conditions of life for women to more radical philosophical visions. Some women wanted economic benefits: "Equal pay for equal work," paid maternity leaves, more favorable divorce agreements, federally funded child care, and the opportunity to work in male-dominated fields. Others wanted easier access to birth control and/or legalized abortion. Still others wanted to change the structure of language, eliminating the use of "man" in words such as fireman, policeman, or mankind.

What women did not do in documented reality, although the notion is certainly well entrenched in myth and memory, is burn bras in support of the feminist movement. Many women stopped wearing bras, which would naturally lead to the apparel being thrown away—and one theory suggests that the tossing away of bras melded with the image of draft cards being burned.

A significant volume of feminist material was written in the 1970s, including Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique.* In 1972, Gloria Steinem and others who identified with feminism began publishing a monthly magazine, *Ms.,* advocating their cause.

ROE V. WADE

Roe v. Wade still provokes extremely emotional reactions, decades later. At the heart of the case rests the thorny and challenging ethical question of when life begins—at conception or at birth, or perhaps somewhere in between.

During the early 1970s, people marched for and against abortion rights, and passionately debated the issue and attempted to persuade others to their viewpoints. Those who felt that abortions should be legalized called themselves "pro-choice," whereas those opposing its legalization were "pro-life."

The controversial case that challenged and ultimately overturned abortion laws began simply enough when a single woman in Texas named Norma McCorvey attempted to abort her third child. At that time, Texas law stated that an abortion was legal only when pregnancy put the pregnant mother's health at risk. Although she failed in her attempts to abort, McCorvey met two attorneys—Sarah Weedington and Linda Coffee—who were willing to represent her and attempt to change the prevailing antiabortion laws.

On March 3, 1970, McCorvey's attorneys filed a complaint against the Dallas County district attorney, asking the court to declare the Texas abortion law unconstitutional and to order officials to stop enforcing this law. To protect McCorvey's privacy, the case was filed under the name of Jane Roe.

Three judges heard the case on May 22, 1970. As anticipated, the assistant district attorney claimed that McCorvey could not sue because the statutes were enforced against doctors, not against pregnant women who chose to abort. Although that was true, the court allowed the case to continue. The assistant district attorney also asked "Roe" to come forward. She declined, stating that if she were identified, she would face discrimination in future employment. Furthermore, the issue of who bears children, she claimed, is private.

Weedington and Coffee changed the status of the case to a class action lawsuit to argue the rights of all pregnant women who may choose to abort.

The state defended its law as a protection of the rights of the unborn. When the court asked

Weedington at what point she felt the state did have a responsibility to the unborn, she said it was when a fetus could live outside of its mother.

On June 17, 1970, the court overturned the Texas abortion laws, stating that they "must be declared unconstitutional because they deprive single women and married couples of their right, secured by the Ninth Amendment, to choose whether to have children."[3]

The court approved declarative relief and found the law unconstitutional, but it did not give injunctive relief, which would have ordered the state to stop enforcing the law. Because of the declarative relief provided, the state could appeal directly to the Supreme Court rather than go through the appeals process.

When the Supreme Court heard *Roe v. Wade* in December 1971, Weedington implored them to allow women to make their own decisions about bearing children, free from governmental inference. She presented the Constitution as a document that conferred rights to people at birth, not at conception. The defense disputed this interpretation, which caused the court to ask why, if abortion is murder, women seeking and receiving abortions were not prosecuted. The state admitted to not having answers to all the legal nuances.

The Supreme Court did not immediately rule on the case. With only seven justices sitting on the Supreme Court—two had recently retired—it postponed the case until October, when full court would be in session. On January 22, 1973, the Supreme Court finally ruled on *Roe v. Wade,* stating that one of the original purposes of antiabortion laws was to protect women from a dangerous procedure—abortion. That concern no longer applied. It also stated that, whether it applied the 9th or the 14th Amendment to the case, it seemed clear that a woman's reproductive rights were included in the implied right to privacy. Furthermore, the court ruled, it could not find any reference to constitutional rights applying to the unborn. As far as whether life started at conception or at birth, the judges declined to proffer an opinion.

Balancing the rights of a pregnant woman with the unborn's right to life, the court determined by a vote of 7–2 that first trimester abortions were legal. The state could regulate but not prohibit second-trimester abortions, and could deny third-trimester abortions altogether. Justices William H. Rehnquist and Byron R. White dissented over the ruling in *Roe v. Wade,* citing a lack of constitutional justification for the decision.

The court also ruled on *Doe v. Bolton,* a Georgia abortion-related case that reduced the state's control over who could receive abortions and in what facility. These two rulings caused abortions to become legal in all 50 states, invalidating laws in 46.

GENDER ISSUES

On June 27, 1969, New York police raided the Stonewall Inn, a popular gay bar in Greenwich Village. The raid itself was not unusual; typically, police would arrest some of the more flamboyant patrons as others disappeared into the shadows. The resistance to this particular raid, however, was more dramatic, and many historians mark this occasion as the official start to the gay liberation movement. Fights and riots broke out in the streets after the raid and continued for several days—and are now known as the Stonewall Riots.

Why the Stonewall reaction differed from what transpired in other similar situations is not known, although patrons were frustrated over the multitude of recent raids. Some sources suggest that the humid and hotter-than-normal weather caused tempers to become shorter. Regardless of the underlying reasons, the uprising heated up, with many protestors chanting "Gay Power" as the police attempted to regain control in the streets.

The Stonewall riots brought the gay and lesbian cause to national attention, and activists used the momentum to organize. One month after the Stonewall Riots, the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) formed. This radical leftist organization, created in New York, protested the marginalization of homosexuals and also supported other causes, such as ending racial discrimination and supporting third world countries. Other GLF organizations soon started up around the country and the world. In 1971, the Gay and Lesbian Activists Alliance formed in Washington, D.C.

On the first anniversary of the Stonewall Riots, 5,000 gay and lesbian advocates marched in

commemoration. Some of these marchers gained the courage to "come out of the closet" because of the emerging public solidarity of numerous gay and lesbian movements.

Along with the growing number of organized groups and marches, the volume of publications targeted to the gay and lesbian community increased significantly, post-Stonewall. Overall, this literature helped many who felt marginalized find a sense of community, and it also helped many to "out" themselves to friends, family, and perhaps the world at large.

In the years following the riots, some larger cities created statutes that forbade discrimination based upon sexual orientation. In 1975, the Civil Service Commission eliminated the ban on homosexuals for most federal jobs, although the military remained a significant exception. Several states repealed their sodomy laws, gay community centers received federal funding to provide services, and, in 1973, the American Psychiatric Association removed homosexuality as a listed psychiatric disorder.

Religious groups struggled with the issues surrounding gay and lesbian integration. Two months before the Stonewall Riots, the United Church of Christ (UCC) publicly declared its opposition to any law that criminalized homosexual acts performed in private between consenting adults. It also stated its position that the U.S. military should not discriminate based upon a person's sexual orientation.

In 1972, the UCC ordained William Johnson, the first openly gay clergyman confirmed in a mainstream Protestant congregation. The following year, the UCC stated its openness to clergymen of all sexual orientations, and, in 1975, it stated its support of equal rights for all, regardless of orientation. In 1977, the UCC confirmed its first openly lesbian pastor, Anne Holmes. The Reformed Judaism community was also more accepting of gay and lesbian rights than many other religious groups, but in 1978, the president of the Rabbinical Alliance of America, the Orthodox Abraham B. Hecht, recommended an "all-out campaign" against the legitimacy of gay rights.

In 1975, the National Council of Churches voted to support the rights of gays and lesbians, but not for their inclusion as clergy. That same year, the Presbyterian Church agreed that homosexual behavior was not banned by the Scriptures but did not recognize the Presbyterian Gay Caucus. It also rejected the ordaining gays without the condition of celibacy. The Episcopal Church ordained an openly lesbian woman in 1977; the following year, Episcopalian bishops condemned homosexuality.

Many gays and lesbians who left other denominations formed their own churches, often under the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches; approximately 20,000 people joined this group by the end of the decade. The group, however, was rejected for admission by the National Council of Churches.

Overall, though, as the 1970s progressed, gays and lesbians found increasing numbers of communities, social agencies, and religious congregations that accepted their lifestyles and rights to equality.

In 1977, however, the tide began to turn, as singer, former beauty queen, and current orange juice spokesperson Anita Bryant spearheaded a public campaign to overturn legislation in Miami-Dade County, Florida, that granted civil rights to gays and lesbians. Although hers was not the first such campaign, it was the most publicized. On June 7, 1977, voters repealed the civil rights recently granted to gays and lesbians by a margin of 69 percent to 31 percent. After this repeal, the gay rights movement seemed to lose much of its momentum.

As the 1970s progressed, more distinctive identities and goals began to split some gay rights movements into ones focusing on gay men and others on lesbian women. Lesbian organizations also formed separately from gay liberation groups, with many lesbians scorning the possibility that a gay man could understand the dual challenges of being both gay and female.

From the very beginning of the decade, lesbian feminists also fought to become the core of the feminist movement. In May 1970, a radical group of 20 women who labeled themselves "Racialesbians," led by novelist Rita Mae Brown, marched onto a New York stage at the Congress to Unite Women. Uninvited, they wore shirts imprinted with "Lavender Menace" and demanded the opportunity to read their essay,

"The Woman-Identified Woman." They insisted that lesbians served as the forefront of the women's liberation movement, as they partnered with other women rather than with men.

CRIME

During the 1970s, the constitutionality of capital punishment commanded the attention of the Supreme Court—and that of the nation. When Gary Gilmore, a convicted murderer, refused to appeal his conviction and sentence, and, in fact, insisted upon receiving the death penalty in an expedient manner, the debate over executions reached a fever pitch.

The Supreme Court during this decade began requiring judges and juries to consider the offender as an individual, as well as to reflect upon the mitigating circumstances of the crime before sentencing.

In 1977, with the path cleared for judicious death penalties, the state of Utah executed Gary Gilmore. He was sentenced to die in November 1976; after announcing that he was not going to appeal his sentence, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) fought to stay his execution, fearful of the precedent that his death would create. For two months, judicial stays were granted against the express wishes of the condemned prisoner; the ACLU fought for a reprieve up until 10 minutes before Gilmore's actual execution on January 17, 1977.

This execution deeply permeated the culture of the era. On December 11, 1976, about one month prior to Gilmore's death, the cast of *Saturday Night Live* sang "Let's Kill Gary Gilmore for Christmas," set to the tune of *Winter Wonderland.* Author Norman Mailer published a Gilmore book, *The Executioner's Song,* in 1979; in 1982, Tommy Lee Jones starred as Gilmore in a television movie, also called *The Executioner's Song.* Jones won an Emmy for his portrayal.

During an era filled with divisive opinions about capital punishment, America saw an increase in both the number of murders and in people who favored the death penalty. In 1960, 9,000 murders were committed; this number increased to 20,000 in 1975.[4] The National Association of Evangelicals (NAE)—which represented more than 10 million conservative Christians and 47 denominations—and the Moral Majority were among the religious groups that supported capital punishment sentences.

The most famous murderers of the era—those involved in the "Charles Manson trials"—benefited from divisiveness about capital punishment. On August 8, 1969, Charles Manson told his followers, a group that became known as "the Family," that it was time for "helter-skelter." Over the next two nights, the group killed seven people, including pregnant actress Sharon Tate (her husband, movie producer Roman Polanski, was in London).

After being arrested, the group showed no remorse, only an undying loyalty to Charles Manson. Prosecutor Vincent Bugliosi promised immunity to Family member Linda Kasabian, who had committed no murders—and she testified for 18 days. The defense attempted to rest without having its clients testify, but three female defendants insisted and the judge ruled that their wish to testify must be honored. Manson also testified, but without the jury present.

The jury deliberated for one week; it declared all defendants guilty of murder in the first degree and all were sentenced to death. Another Family member had a separate trial with the identical outcome. When the Supreme Court declared the death penalty as unconstitutional in 1972, however, all sentences were commuted to life sentences in prison.

After Manson was imprisoned in the summer of 1970, he handed over the control of his organization to follower Lynette "Squeaky" Fromme. On September 5, 1975, Fromme attempted to assassinate President Gerald Ford, but her gun failed to operate and the Secret Service intervened. She later claimed that she had tried to kill Ford so that Charles Manson could appear as a witness at her trial—and therefore have a venue to share his vision for the world.

Another infamous serial killer of the 1970s was David Berkowitz, better known as "Son of Sam." He killed six and wounded several others, starting in July 1976. After three murders occurred in the Bronx, police determined that the same .44-caliber gun had been used in all three. Publicity

increased when, on April 17, 1977, Berkowitz murdered a young couple and then left behind a letter stating that his vampire father, named Sam, had ordered the killings. Although police did not release this letter to the general public, they allowed a few journalists, including Jimmy Breslin of the *New York Daily News,* to see the note. After Breslin dropped a few hints in his column about the murders, Berkowitz wrote to him directly and the *Daily News* labeled the still-unidentified killer the "Son of Sam."

On July 31, 1977, the killer attacked again, killing a female—his sixth victim—and injuring a male. After that shooting, however, a woman spotted someone tearing up a parking ticket and police traced Berkowitz through this ticket. Under questioning, he claimed that Sam Carr was his neighbor, and that Sam's black Labrador, Harvey, communicated Sam's requests to kill to Berkowitz. Berkowitz pled guilty to the six murders and received a prison sentence of 365 years.

One of the most publicized crime cases of the decade began with a kidnapping and ended with armed robbery. On February 4, 1974, the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) kidnapped heiress Patricia Campbell Hearst, aged 19, from an apartment she shared with her fiancé, Steven Weed. The group first attempted to swap Hearst for imprisoned SLA members; when that failed, it made ransom demands. The Hearst family donated $6 million worth of food to the needy, but that did not result in Patty's release.

On April 15, 1974, photographs appeared wherein Hearst participated in a bank robbery with the SLA; she held an assault rifle. Shortly thereafter, she communicated that her new name was Tania, in honor of Che Guevara's lover, and that she believed in the Marxist goals and philosophies of her kidnappers. Authorities issued an arrest warrant for Hearst, and, in September, she and her captors were arrested.

Hearst claimed that she had been brainwashed. In her trial, which began on January 15, 1976, she testified that her kidnappers blindfolded her and locked her in a closet, where they physically and sexually abused her. Her lawyers advanced the theory that because of this abuse, she began relating to her captors, who controlled her life. That strategy failed, though; in March 1976, Patty



A publicity picture that the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) released of the kidnapped heiress Patty Hearst in 1974 to show that she was well, had begun to agree with their philosophy, and was calling herself "Tania." Photo is from the film *Guerrilla: The Taking of Patty Hearst* (2004). Directed by Robert Stone. Courtesy of Photofest.

Hearst was convicted and sentenced to prison. President Jimmy Carter pardoned her about three years later, granting her release on February 1, 1979.

Another prominent criminal act that captured the attention of America in the 1970s occurred in Munich, Germany between a group of Arab militants and the Israeli athletes participating in the Olympics. On September 5, 1972, with only five days remaining in the Olympics, eight militant Arabs stormed the village, killing two of Israel's athletes and kidnapping nine more. They demanded the release of more than 200 Palestinian prisoners, along with two Germans jailed for terrorism. No agreement was reached; the kidnappers attempted to take the hostages to the airport, where German sharpshooters shot and killed three of the kidnappers. In the fighting and gunfire that ensued, all the hostages died.

Olympic competition ceased for 24 hours. After a memorial service attended by more than

80,000 people, the games resumed and were completed. They continued without the participation of Jewish American athlete Mark Spitz, though, who had already won seven gold medals.

WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Shortly after noon on May 4, 1970, a volley of gunfire at Kent State University in Kent, Ohio, brought the war home in a bloody and terrifying way. Kent State students were protesting the United States' involvement in the war in Southeast Asia, more specifically the invasion by American troops into Cambodia. The war had appeared to be winding down in 1969, and students were distressed over the escalation in hostilities. In response to the American invasion into Cambodia, Kent State students staged a demonstration on the Commons on May 1, 1970. Around midnight, people began tossing rocks and beer bottles downtown, breaking the window of a bank and setting off an alarm. Looting followed, and, by the time the police arrived, they encountered a group of about 100 people, some students, some not; bonfires had been set and it took an hour to disperse the crowd.

On May 2, Kent's mayor, Leroy Satrom, declared a state of emergency and asked Ohio's governor, James Rhodes, to send in Ohio's National Guard to keep order. By the time the Guard arrived, at about 10 P.M., the campus ROTC building, already slated for demolition, was on fire. A crowd of about 1,000 cheered as the building blazed; some threw rocks at firefighters and police.

The following day, nearly 1,000 Guardsmen were in Kent. Governor Rhodes compared the protesters and looters to communists, Nazis, and revolutionaries. He announced that he would take whatever steps necessary to place the area under martial law, but he did not follow through on his pledge. That night, the National Guard used tear gas to break up student demonstrations; it's possible that they believed that martial law existed—or perhaps they were fearful of yet another violent protest.

On May 4, the situation escalated out of control. University officials, believing that Rhodes had in fact declared a state of martial law, distributed 12,000 flyers stating that the war protest rally planned by students was cancelled. Nevertheless, about 2,000 students met, and so the police and the Ohio National Guard once again attempted to disperse the crowd. Their tear gas, though, was ineffective in the wind. Some students tossed rocks at the Guard, along with empty tear gas canisters. At this point, Brigadier General Robert Canterbury ordered the National Guardsmen to load their weapons.

Some Guardsmen, with bayonets attached to their guns, attempted to advance on the protesters, but they found themselves trapped on a football field surrounded on three sides by a fence. They retreated, and, after reaching the top of Blanket Hill, 28 Guardsmen fired 61 to 67 shots into the crowd. An officer of the National Guard later said the men thought they had detected sniper fire, so they discharged their weapons.

These shots killed four students—Allison Krause, Jeffrey Miller, Sandra Scheuer, and William Schroeder—and wounded nine others. Krause and Miller had participated in the protests, while Scheuer and Schroeder were simply traveling between classes; Schroeder was in fact an ROTC member. One member of the National Guard was injured.

Intense anger erupted after the shootings, and campus authorities, fearful of further escalation by the protestors and potential retaliation by the National Guard, attempted to calm the students and entice them to disperse.

After the shootings, many colleges and universities—and even high schools and elementary schools—closed as millions of students protested the deaths. Meanwhile, Kent State itself remained closed for six weeks; during that time period, about 100,000 people marched in Washington against the war.

On October 16, 25 people—including one faculty member—were indicted on charges connected with burning the ROTC building on May 2nd or for incidents connected to the May 4th demonstration; those indicted became known as the "Kent 25." The majority of charges were dropped for lack of evidence, although one conviction, one acquittal, and two guilty pleas resulted. No charges were filed against any members of the National Guard.

In an attempt to establish ways to prevent such tragedies in the future, Kent State University created

the Center for Peaceful Change in 1971. Eventually renamed the Center for Applied Conflict Management, it is the site of one of the first conflict resolution degree programs in the country.

A number of songs, books, and documentaries were created in response to the tragedy. Perhaps the most widely recognized is "Ohio," a song written by Neil Young for Crosby, Stills, Nash, and Young. The song refers to the National Guard as Nixon's "tin soldiers" and many radio stations refused to play it because of its antiwar and anti-Nixon messages.

Although America's presence in Cambodia lasted only 60 days, the United States remained entrenched in the Vietnam War until 1973. The antiwar movement remained strong with opponents coming from a wide variety of political, socioeconomic, and cultural backgrounds.

By summer 1972 Nixon was pursuing détente with both China and the Soviet Union, and he wanted to focus his energies on those initiatives, not on the stagnating war in Southeast Asia. The North Vietnamese feared their predicament if those two superpowers formed good relationships with the United States and so, by October 1972, a ceasefire agreement was crafted. In this agreement, the United States would leave Vietnam, the prisoners of war (POWs) would be returned, and a political compromise that affected South Vietnam would go into effect.

This agreement fell apart, in large part because South Vietnam's leader, Nguyen Van Thieu, was not consulted or included in the negotiations. Nixon then offered Thieu $4 billion in military equipment and he agreed to re-enter the war if North Vietnam did not abide by the peace agreement. On January 8, 1973, peace talks resumed, and all parties signed a cease-fire agreement on January 27. By March, all U.S. troops returned home, with the exception of military advisors and Marines protecting American installations. Of the 3 million men who served in Vietnam, 58,000 lost their lives, 150,000 were seriously wounded, and about 1,000 men were missing in action. The war continued between the South and North Vietnamese until Hanoi overpowered its enemy on April 30, 1975, during the "Fall of Saigon."

American veterans did not always receive the best treatment after returning home. A percentage of the people who opposed the conflict transferred their antiwar sentiments, postwar, to those who had fought in Southeast Asia. Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), an anxiety disorder with debilitating recurring nightmares and flashbacks of traumatic events in Vietnam, was not unusual for returning Vietnam veterans and added significantly to their readjustment issues.

Other veterans suffered deleterious effects from the herbicide Agent Orange, which was sprayed in South Vietnam by U.S. military forces wishing to strip away jungle cover to prevent the North Vietnamese from hiding its troops. Diseases connected to Agent Orange exposure include Hodgkin's disease, multiple myeloma, respiratory cancers, and soft-tissue sarcoma, among others. Moreover, children born to men exposed to Agent Orange were at risk for many significant birth defects.

Meanwhile, other families agonized over the fate of their missing loved ones, veterans who did not return home from the war but who were not reported among the dead. In 1971, Mary Hoff, the wife of an MIA ("missing in action" soldier) created a stark black-and-white flag that symbolized the uncertain fate of the POWs and MIAs and reminded Americans to remember them and to support efforts for either their safe return or for information about their final disposition. Many Americans also wore bracelets engraved with the name of one of these soldiers, even though the wearer did not necessarily know the soldier personally.

POLLUTION

City after city, state after state, had essentially failed in their efforts to protect their air and their water, their land, and the health of their citizens. By 1970, city skylines were so polluted that in many places it was all but impossible to see from one city skyscraper to another. Rivers were fouled with raw sewage and toxic chemicals. One actually caught on fire.[5]

The date was June 22, 1969; the place was the Cuyahoga River located in Cleveland, Ohio; the speaker was former EPA Administrator Carol Browner. The fact that a river could catch on fire was seen as a sure sign that pollution was

rampant, and it seemed to indicate that local and state regulations did not suffice to prevent further polluting. The burning of the Cuyahoga served as partial impetus, then, for the passage of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1972, its initial three-year budget of $24.6 billion, and its Clean Lakes Program. Although the fact that rivers stopped burning was used as a symbol of the success of the act and other similar acts of Congress, the Cuyahoga—or, rather, the oil and debris floating on its surface—had caught fire numerous times before, and this had occurred at other waterways as well. In fact, cleanup efforts began well before the federal government intervened.

Awareness of environmental issues rose to the forefront in the 1960s, with the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) serving as baseline legislature for the onslaught of environmental laws passed by Congress in the 1970s. NEPA required all federal agencies to consider environmental factors in their decision making, including the future impact of their policies on the environment and potential alternative policies.

To continue to address overall environmental concerns, the federal government created the Environment Protection Agency (EPA) in 1970. Since that time, the EPA has served as the primary agency responsible for establishing federal environment policy.

Other actions taken by the EPA and/or Congress in the 1970s include the 1970 Clean Air Act, which regulated auto emissions and set clean air standards, and the restriction of lead-based paint in cribs and on toys (1971). In 1972 DDT, a cancer-causing pesticide, was banned and the Marine Mammal Protection Act was passed.

Congress enacted the Land and Water Resources Conservation Act of 1977 (RCA) to address farmland erosion; the Soil Conservation Service therefore began monitoring soil and water. The Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act of 1974 created a plan whereby the Secretary of Agriculture assessed the forests every 10 years. The Eastern Wilderness Act of 1975 added more than 200,000 acres of wild land to the eastern national forests and other bills protected more than 350,000 acres of wilderness under the National Wilderness Preservation System. Acts passed in 1976 and 1978 strengthened the legislative mandates to protect and manage these lands. Numerous laws were passed to protect farmlands, water, and wilderness areas. Industries sought to stem the tide of regulations that added significant financial burdens to their companies. The best-known clash between environmentalists and industry involved the snail darter and the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). During the early 1970s, the TVA spent $116 million constructing a dam on the Little Tennessee River; construction stopped in 1977, however, when environmentalists cited the 1973 Endangered Species Act and noted that the snail darter's habitat was being destroyed in the quest to build the dam. The Supreme Court sided with the environmentalists, but in 1979, President Jimmy Carter signed legislation that allowed the dam project to continue.

ENDANGERED SPECIES ACT

In 1973, Congress passed the Endangered Species Act, which considerably strengthened similar legislation from the 1960s. Lists of threatened or endangered species were created and all federal agencies were required to consider the conservation of these species in everything the agencies did; moreover, these agencies could no longer authorize, fund, or carry out any action that might jeopardize a listed species—or its habitat. The bald eagle came to represent the endangered species of the world, in large part because it also symbolized America's culture, its people, and its sense of freedom.

EARTH DAY DEBATE

According to some sources, the founder of Earth Day was John McConnell who, on October 3, 1969, submitted a proposal to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors requesting that a special date and time be set aside to honor the earth; the mayor issued the proclamation, as did officials in a few other cities in California. This resolution created a day to celebrate global unity, to share concerns about the planet's future, and to remind people of their responsibilities toward the earth. The resolution suggested that people plant trees and flowers, clean rivers and wooded areas, and observe an hour of quiet reflection.

McConnell and his committee celebrated Earth Day on March 21, the first day of spring. On April 22 of that year, the Environment Teach-In honored its own Earth Day, an event which garnered national attention. In 1971, Senator Gaylord Nelson proposed an annual Earth Week, to be honored the third week of April.

According to proponents of McConnell as Earth Day founder, the Environment Teach-In didn't turn in a proposal using the term *Earth Day* until January 1970, a couple of months after their proposal was already submitted to San Francisco officials. Those who purport that Senator Nelson actually founded Earth Day—and this includes former President Bill Clinton who awarded Nelson the Presidential Medal of Freedom as the "Father of Earth Day"—state that Nelson had announced at a Seattle conference in September 1969 that there would be grassroot environmental commemorations across the country in the spring of 1970.

According to the Environmental Protection Agency, 20 million Americans participated in Earth Day activities on April 22, 1970, including 10 million school-aged children who picked up trash in their neighborhoods and local nature spots. Congress adjourned for the day while 10,000 people celebrated by the Washington Monument.

Earth Day projects tended to focus on very specific tasks that an individual or small group of people could accomplish, such as weeding a public park and cleaning up the surrounding litter, rather than large undertakings that would require government action.

LOVE CANAL, NEW YORK

In a 36-city-block area of Niagara Falls, New York—known as the Love Canal—doctors and residents noted high rates of birth defects, miscarriages, chromosomal deformities, and cancer. Investigations revealed unusually high rates of toxins in the soil, and it was discovered that many houses and one school were built over nearly 20,000 tons of toxic chemical wastes that had been stored underground in the 1940s and 1950s in a manner now deemed illegal and dangerous. Chemicals had leaked into the soil and risen to the surface. In 1978, the government evacuated families from the area and President Jimmy Carter declared the Love Canal a national emergency, the first man-made disaster to receive that designation.

Ironically, the Love Canal was initially conceived of as a "dream community" by William T. Love in the late nineteenth century. He intended to dig a short canal by the Niagara River so that water could power his proposed city and shipping concerns could bring commerce to his town. Workers started to dig the canal, but financial issues combined with an evolving understanding of how to transmit electricity halted his plans. The partial ditch turned into a dump site in the 1920s, and companies began storing industrial waste in the area.

In 1953, the Hooker Chemical Company covered the site with earth and sold it to the city for $1. Deed transfer papers listed both a "warning" about chemical wastes and a statement absolving Hooker from assuming any liability post-transfer. As time passed, however, new homeowners were not cautioned about potential dangers from the chemicals—or even given the information that their homes and school rested above a former chemical landfill. One hundred homes and one school building were initially constructed over the chemical dump, transforming William T. Love's vision of a dream city into one fraught with nightmares. By 1978, 800 single-dwelling homes and 240 low-income apartments existed in Love Canal.

Heavy rainfall triggered the climatic disaster. As a *New York Times* reporter who visited the site wrote, "Corroding waste-disposal drums could be seen breaking up through the grounds of backyards. Trees and gardens were turning black and dying. One entire swimming pool had been popped up from its foundation, afloat now on a small sea of chemicals. Puddles of noxious substances were . . . in their yards, some were in their basements, others yet were on the school grounds. Everywhere the air had a faint, choking smell. Children returned from play with burns on their hands and faces."[6]

The chemical company paid more than $20 million to the families and city officials of Niagara Falls; in 1994, the company settled with the state

of New York for $98 million, and, in 1995, they agreed to pay the federal government $129 million for cleanup. Nevertheless, as a 1978 report given to the New York Legislature stated, the devastating effects of Love Canal, in terms of human suffering and environmental damage, can never be genuinely measured. Even more dire was the fact that unsafe chemical storage was not an isolated event; in 1979, 17,000 drums of leaking chemicals were discovered in a Kentucky town.

THREE MILE ISLAND NUCLEAR SCARE

Many Americans favored finding ways to supplement or replace the use of fossil fuel as energy, and this sentiment increased during the Arab oil embargo of 1973. Some believed that nuclear energy might suit this purpose, while others feared the danger of radioactive energy. *The China Syndrome* (1979), starring Jane Fonda, only increased this fear and caused many to believe that a nuclear meltdown would destroy the earth.

At 4:00 A.M. on March 28, 1979, the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant was in danger of becoming the site of a real-life radioactive disaster. Located by Middletown, Pennsylvania, the plant experienced failure in the nonnuclear portion of its site when the feed water pumps stopped working. The steam generators could no longer remove heat from the building, and the turbine and the reactor automatically shut down in response.

This increased pressure in the nuclear part of the building, and a relief valve that should have decreased this pressure did not operate appropriately and the core element overheated. The instruments that measured coolants in the core provided confusing information, and so, when alarms flashed, staff did not respond in a way that improved the situation or reduced the risk of a radioactive disaster. Approximately half of the core melted during the beginning stages of this accident, and the building was evacuated except for key personnel by 11:00 A.M. By evening, the core appeared to have cooled and stabilized.

Governmental agencies did not anticipate this near disaster and the small amounts of radiation measured outside the reactor caused significant concern. On the morning of Friday, March 30, new worries arose when radiation was released from the auxiliary part of the building. As a safety measure, the most vulnerable population within five miles of the Three Mile Island nuclear plant, including pregnant woman and young children, were asked to evacuate the area. Throughout Saturday, March 31, experts discussed the large hydrogen bubble located in the container that held the reactor core; if this bubble exploded, the situation could become quite dangerous. By April 1, it was determined that because of a lack of oxygen in the pressure vessel, the bubble could not burn or burst; also, the experts had already succeeded in reducing the size and scope of the bubble.

According to government reporting, a combination of human error and design deficiencies caused the accident. Fortunately, the worst-case scenario—melting nuclear fuel causing a breach in the walls of the building and releasing extremely hazardous radiation—did not occur. No deaths or injuries resulted, but according to the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the crisis did bring about significant changes in emergency response planning and training.

Post-crisis, governmental agencies and other independent bodies studied the level of released radiation and determined that the average person had been exposed to approximately one millirem of radiation, which is about one-sixth of the amount given off by a full set of chest x-rays. Nevertheless, human, animal, and plant life continued to be closely monitored. Some experts claim that Three Mile Island came within 30 to 45 seconds of a complete meltdown and more than 100,000 people rallied in Washington, D.C. to protest nuclear power as energy. And, although nine new nuclear power plants opened in 1979, 11 others—that had been planned but not yet started—were not built.

GREENPEACE

This proenvironmental group formed in the 1970s to protest the nuclear testing done by the United States in the Pacific Ocean. The members hired a boat and attempted to travel to the testing site; bad weather thwarted their trip, but also gave them national attention. In 1975, members of Greenpeace stationed a boat between whales

and those hunting them from Japan and the Soviet Union—and, although they seldom stopped the hunting, their bloody documentaries encouraged the "Save the Whale" movement. This group did something similar for baby seals the following year. When they discovered that hunters clubbed these animals to death, Greenpeace members sprayed a harmless dye on the animals that rendered their fur useless for resale.

DESTROYING THE OZONE

Propellants used in deodorant and hair spray, among other items, harm the environment by slowly destroying the ozone layer that surrounds the earth. Because the ozone layer prevents harmful ultraviolet rays from reaching the earth's surface, experts in the 1970s predicted a rise in skin cancer and cataracts as the ozone deteriorated. Environmentalists therefore proposed a ban on fluorocarbon gases used in the propellants; although this was met with opposition from industry, by the time that the FDA banned the substance in 1979, most companies had already found more acceptable alternatives.

FAMILY, RELIGION, AND TRADITIONAL VALUES

Family

During the 1970s, family sizes dropped, with some experts suggesting that the uncertain economy and higher rates of unemployment caused families to decide to have fewer children. Other experts pointed to the surge of women in the workplace and the feminist movement; careers sometimes delayed—or even replaced—the urge for parenthood. Moreover, the increased availability and acceptance of birth control—and abortion—gave women more freedom in determining the sizes of their families.

Meanwhile, divorces increased significantly in the 1970s. In 1965, 480,000 divorces were recorded; this number increased to more than 1 million in 1975.[7] The rising divorce rate, in part, could be attributed to the so-called no-fault divorce laws that began to be passed in the United States. Pioneered by California and effective in that state on January 1, 1970, no-fault divorce law prevented divorcing spouses from having to place blame on one of the parties before a divorce could be effected. With the new legislation, a couple could divorce in no-fault states by simply stating "irreconcilable differences." Over the next eight years, no-fault divorces became available throughout nearly all of the country.

Finally, more churches were accepting, albeit sometimes quite reluctantly, the realities of the increasing divorce rate in the United States. In 1973, the Episcopal Church voted to recognize civil divorces; before this vote, church members needed to go through a sometimes lengthy process with the church before they could remarry. Even the Catholic Church was relenting, as the number of annulments—which, unlike divorces, allowed Catholics to remarry in the church—increased by 77 percent from 1968 to 1981.[8]

For the first time, many experts began counseling parents that divorce was better for children than living in a conflict-filled home. Relieved of the guilt that divorce could instill, and perhaps believing that they were doing their children a favor, many parents embraced this philosophy.

The 1970s saw a rise in so-called latchkey kids, children who let themselves into their homes after school and then spent the rest of the afternoon alone or with other children. To remedy this situation, many working mothers fought for federally subsidized, or even free child care, while nonprofit organizations such as YMCAs began running latchkey kid programs, or, as they later became known, "after-school programs."

During the 1970s, couples began, in increasing numbers, living together in intimate relationships without marriage, either as so-called trial marriages or as arrangements that would not involve marriage. These relationships were dubbed POSSLQs by the Census Bureau, or Persons of Opposite Sex Sharing Living Quarters, and by 1979 approximately 1 million households fit this designation.

In 1977, the Supreme Court struck down as illegal any laws that discriminated against the children of unwed parents. Perhaps most important, this invalidated laws in some states that did not allow illegitimate children to inherit their share of their father's property unless the inheritance was expressly stated in the will.

It became popular in the 1970s for couples to create personalized wedding services to express their unique personalities, spiritual beliefs, and circumstances. Many people shunned traditional church or governmental weddings and chose to write their own vows. Some women kept their maiden names.

Religion and Traditional Values

Mainstream Christian churches struggled with many issues during the 1970s. How should they respond to women seeking greater leadership roles in the church? How accepting should each church be to gays and lesbians who were open about their sexual orientations? What about the increasing rates of divorce? How should they respond to the issue of abortion?

Most members of the clergy opposed the Vietnam War, and, by extension, many of Richard Nixon's policies. One respected preacher, though, Billy Graham, was close to Nixon, supporting him politically and conducting church services in the White House. Graham began distancing himself from the president in 1973, and later stated his deep dismay over the "dark aspects" of Nixon's personality and administration.

Despite many Americans becoming disillusioned over the responses of mainstream denominations to the controversial issues of the era, the decade witnessed a significant rise in the conservative Evangelical Christian movement. Evangelical Christians did not belong to one specific denomination. They shared several characteristics, including a more conservative religious, cultural, social, and political worldview. They also shared a belief in the power of evangelism to spread the news of their faith, and in personal conversion to Christianity and acceptance of Jesus Christ as their Lord and Savior. They believed the Bible to be inerrable and everlasting, adamant that its wisdom and guidance should be applied to the questions and challenges of the day.

The rise in television evangelism—or televangelism—greatly increased preachers' ability to spread the news of the gospel. Advances in cable television created new channels that needed content, and so time was purchased by televangelists. By the time the 1970s began, Pat Robertson had created his own network—the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN)—a strategy followed by Jim and Tammy Faye Bakker with their PTL (Praise the Lord and/or People That Love) Network. Other televangelists of note included Oral Roberts, Jimmy Swaggart, and Robert Schuller.

Funding these shows was expensive, so these programs included impassioned pleas for viewers to send money. In 1978, amid suspicions that not all televangelists used this donated money appropriately, Billy Graham helped create the Evangelical Council for Financial Responsibility, an organization that ministries could choose to join to be open about their financial collecting, spending, and reporting.

Reverend Jerry Falwell created the Moral Majority in 1979. The Moral Majority served as a political and religious force for conservative fundamentalist factions in the country. Platforms included prayers in public schools, and the group opposed several causes, including the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights, and rights for gays and lesbians. Falwell pushed for a return to what he defined as America's traditional social values.

The Moral Majority also advocated teaching creationism—the Biblical explanation of creation—in schools. In the middle of the decade, courts upheld the notion that creationism should not be taught as an alternative scientific explanation of the creation of the world and its creatures.

In 1978, Pope John Paul died after only 34 days as pontiff. His successor, Pope John Paul II, was Polish and the first non-Italian pontiff since 1522. In his 1979 visit to the United States, John Paul II expressed fairly liberal political and economical views, but stressed traditional and conservative positions on sexual issues. He extolled Catholics to reject birth control, abortion, homosexuality, divorce, and nonmarital sex; he also reiterated the positions that women could not become priests and that male priests must remain celibate. Overall, the Pope was well received, and crowds of hundreds of thousands greeted him.

In reality, Catholics in the United States were using birth control in increasing numbers despite the pronouncements of the pope. Some of the tension between Catholic theology and Protestant

beliefs eased, though, when the restrictions on Catholics marrying outside the faith were lessened in 1970, as were the strictures on raising children of these marriages in the Catholic Church.

Cults

Several so-called cults came to national attention during the 1970s. These religions were labeled cults because the groups were usually led by one charismatic leader, and participants made their religions the central part of their lives, often leaving behind family, friends, college, and jobs, donating personal possessions to the group, and living with other followers in a communal setting.

Many people outside of these religious groups, including concerned parents, perceived this intense influence as brainwashing; they would sometimes hire "deprogrammers" to track down their "thought-controlled" loved ones. Once found, these cult members would sometimes forcibly be removed from their communal settings, and the deprogrammers would attempt to dissuade them from following the cult's beliefs. Parents formed support groups to assist their families in deprogramming processes and courts heard numerous cases on the subject.

Religions dubbed as cults during the 1970s included the International Movement for Krishna Consciousness, a theology begun in India; called Hare Krishnas in the United States, this movement began in America in the 1960s and continued through the 1970s. Perhaps the image that still resonates is that of Hare Krishnas dressed in robes, sporting unusual haircuts, and soliciting money from people in airports.

People flocked to hear the teachings of Transcendental Meditation—or the TM movement. This movement was spearheaded by the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, and approximately 10,000 Americans visited his training centers monthly during the early part of the decade. After being assigned a *mantra,* a word or phrase which a person could repeat and focus upon, a follower could practice the techniques of meditation.

In 1971, the Reverend Sun Myung Moon from South Korea visited the United States, recruiting for Moon's Unification Church. Later known for participating in massive weddings, where hundreds of couples were married at the same time, the followers became known by outsiders as "Moonies." By the end of the decade, the Internal Revenue Service had begun an investigation into Moon's wealth.

In 1977, the Federal Bureau of Investigation conducted an investigation into another religion with cultlike features: Scientology, founded by science fiction writer L. Ron Hubbard in the 1950s. In the 1970s, the FBI suspected that some members of the church had attempted to infiltrate governmental investigative agencies in order to destroy church members' records; some of those who were arrested were convicted in federal court.

The biggest—and most deadly—cult story of the decade is the Peoples Temple and its leader, Jim Jones. Initially Pentecostal, Jones originally affiliated the church that he created, the Peoples Temple, with the mainstream Disciples of Christ. By the mid-1970s, though, he began telling his followers that he was God; meanwhile, his politics became increasingly radical along the socialist-Communist spectrum. He moved his followers to Guyana in South America, the "Promised Land," where political beliefs better matched his own. U.S. officials heard disturbing stories about gunrunning and irregular bank transactions by the Peoples Temple. By 1978, Jones was holding "White Nights" during which his followers practiced the techniques of mass suicide.

In November 1978, Congressman Leo Ryan of California traveled to Guyana to observe the Peoples Temple for himself. Some of Jones's followers asked to leave with Ryan; they were permitted to do so, but their plane was attacked on the trip home, and Ryan and all of the former followers were killed. When investigators arrived at the commune to question Jones, they found 914 dead bodies, including that of Jones; most of the deceased had drunk Kool-aid laced with cyanide, although some had been shot.

Finally, no overview of the 1970s can be complete without mentioning the New Age followers, who turned away from traditional religions to find individual truth. Some New Age followers focused their spiritual energies on angels, while others studied reincarnation, crystals, or chanting.

Advertising

of the 1970s

Significant changes took place in the advertising world in the late 1960s and early 1970s, in large part because of the increasing concern for consumer protection. Consumer rights issues rose to the forefront largely because of activist lawyer Ralph Nader, who published a significant number of investigative books that questioned the appropriateness, thoroughness, and safety of many contemporary laws, guidelines, and regulations in America. In 1971, Nader founded a group called the NGO Public Citizen that focused even more attention on health and environmental issues.

Changes that affected the advertising world included the 1969 ban on cyclamate—a sugar substitute—used in many diet drinks and food products; this ban required an immediate reaction by advertising firms. Three out of four American households regularly purchased products containing cyclamates, and advertisers moved quickly to assure them that their clients had found healthful and tasty ways to honor the ban. Advertisements during the 1970s often contained the phrase "contains no cyclamates."

Similar upheavals took place in the tobacco industry as strictures continued to become more stringent during the decade.

Advertising firms also needed to walk a new tightrope to appeal both to working women and stay-at-home mothers and homemakers. Advertisers also needed to consider women who worked outside the home but still identified their primary roles as homemakers and/or wives and mothers.

Advertising firms therefore needed to consider both evolving legislation and changing societal roles. Rather than simply changing how they marketed a particular product, though, many companies altered their strategy in a more radical manner by focusing more on a point of view than a specific service or product. As another trend, top corporations switched advertising agencies to create new and hopefully more intriguing marketing campaigns.

These changes surely played a role in the alteration of the advertising world and contributed to the increasing number of creative and innovative marketing ideas of the 1970s. The transition from 60-second to 30-second commercials was accepted as standard, which also resulted in a larger variety of advertisements. Finally, advertisers also needed to contend with and consider the emerging presence of cable television.

SUPERSTARS OF ADVERTISING AND ADVERTISING PHENOMENA

In 1977, Xerox created what ESPN has named the fourth-best Super Bowl commercial ever, one that—because of its irreverence—serves as "the

prelude to every boundary-pushing pitch you see now."[1] In this commercial, Brother Dominic, a humble-looking monk, completes the duplication of an ancient manuscript; he then learns that 500 more sets are needed. Slipping through a secret passageway, Dominic returns to his modern-day shop that boasts the Xerox 9200, a marvelous machine that can create two copied pages per minute. When he returns to the monastery with his completed task in hand, the head monk proclaims Dominic's work "a miracle!"

When *Advertising Age* named the top 100 advertising campaigns of the entire twentieth century, this commercial was ranked no. 85, and 20 of the advertisements on this list—one out of every five—originated during the 1970s. The number one criteria for making the list was changing the advertising business or pop culture in a significant way. Other benchmarks include propelling the brand to number one in its industry or simply being unforgettable. Although some of the earlier ads on this list appeared in print or on radio, by the 1970s, ads also appeared on television—either solely or as part of a cross-medium advertising campaign.

Two commercial campaigns in the *Advertising Age* top 10 list originated in the 1970s: McDonald's "You deserve a break today" ads and Miller Lite beer's "Tastes great, less filling." Both slogans are readily recognizable even today; the former campaign gave mothers—many of whom were trying to juggle parenthood and a career, and facing criticism because of it—permission to take their children to fast-food restaurants without feeling guilty.

The Miller Lite ads transformed the entire perception of a product. Prior to this campaign, beers with lower alcohol content were perceived

ADVERTISING SLOGANS OF THE 1970s

"Leggo My Eggo!" Eggo Waffles, 1970s

"You deserve a break today," McDonald's, 1971*

"Tastes great, less filling," Miller Lite beer, 1974*

"It's the real thing," Coca-Cola, 1970*

"Our L'eggs fit your legs," L'eggs pantyhose, early 1970s

"Have it your way," Burger King, 1973*

"This Bud's for you," Budweiser, 1970s*

"It takes a tough man to make a tender chicken," Perdue chicken 1971*

"Reach out and touch someone," AT&T, 1979*

"He likes it! Hey, Mikey!" Life cereal, 1972*

"Do you know me?" American Express, 1975*

"The ultimate driving machine," BMW, 1975*

"It's a miracle," Xerox, 1977*

"Take a bite out of crime," McGruff the Crime Dog, National Crime Prevention Council, 1980

"A mind is a terrible thing to waste," United Negro College Fund, 1972

"When it absolutely, positively has to be there overnight," Federal Express, 1982

"Be a Pepper," Dr Pepper, 1977

"We bring good things to life," General Electric, 1979

"Stuck on me/Stuck on Band-Aid," Band-Aid, 1975

"B-O-L-O-G-N-A," Oscar Meyer, 1974

"The incredible edible egg," American Egg Board, 1977

"Because I'm worth it," L'Oreal, 1973

"Like a good neighbor, State Farm is there," State Farm Insurance Companies, 1971

"The quicker picker-upper," Bounty paper towels, 1970

"It's not nice to fool Mother Nature," Chiffon margarine, early 1970s

"Don't leave home without it," American Express, 1975

"How do you spell relief? R-O-L-A-I-D-S," Rolaids, 1970s

*Among Advertising Age's "The Advertising Century: Top 100 Advertising Campaigns," http://adage.com/century/campaigns.html.

as having less value and/or were products for women and dieters only; the catchy slogan transformed the reduced alcohol and calorie content of the brand into assets, and this strategy was later mimicked by other beer companies. In the Miller commercials, retired athletes such as Bubba Smith, Bob Uecker, and Dick Butkus debate whether the taste or the calorie level—the tastes great, less filling argument—was the primary asset of this beverage. These advertisements are credited, to a significant degree, with making Miller Lite the number one light beer in the nation.

Some of 1970s advertising campaigns that made the century's best 100 list—and the number assigned to them—include:

- Alka-Seltzer, various ads during 1970s, including "Plop, plop, fizz, fizz, oh, what a relief it is" (13)
- American Express, "Do you know me?" 1975 (17)
- Burger King, "Have it your way" 1973 (18)
- Keep America Beautiful, "Crying Indian" 1971 (50)
- 7-Up, "The Uncola" 1970s (61)
- Life Cereal, "Hey, Mikey" 1972 (64)
- Jell-O, Bill Cosby with kids, 1975 (92)

See "Advertising Jingles of the 1970s" sidebar for more examples.

Technically, the "Crying Indian" ad was a public service announcement (PSA) created by the Advertising Council and the Keep America Beautiful organization. During these spots, a tear rolls down the cheek of Iron Eyes Cody after he rows his boat through a polluted waterway and then has a box of old food tossed by his feet along a highway; the message of this PSA was that "People start pollution . . . people can stop it. Keep America Beautiful." The campaign was so popular that stayed on the air from 1971 to 1983.

This emphasis on nature and the natural extended beyond the plea for pollution control. Dow Chemical claimed to use nothing that God didn't make—this in spite of the fact that they once manufactured napalm—and both cigarette and alcohol companies shared the "naturalness" of their products with their audiences.[2] Makeup ads assured women that their products were "nearly invisible" and "natural," thus sidestepping



Georgia Governor Zell Miller accepts a poster of Iron Eyes Cody, the "Crying Indian" whose tears helped fuel the environmental movement in the early 1970s, during a ceremony in his capitol office in Atlanta 1998, when Georgia began a "Keep Georgia Beautiful" campaign. AP Photo/HO, Curtis Compton.

the issue of whether a truly liberated woman would feel the need to wear makeup.

During the 1970s, John Wayne taped his own PSA wherein he talked about his lung cancer and urged others to see their doctors for a checkup.

No cigarette ads from the 1970s appeared on the top 100 list; this is to a large degree because commercials hawking cigarettes were banned from television on January 2, 1971, a year after the Federal Trade Commission established strict truth-in-advertising standards for the tobacco industry.

This ban also applied to radio advertising, so the tobacco industry changed its focus to advertising in magazines, newspapers, billboards, rapid transit advertising venues, and sponsoring sporting events. The people who appeared in cigarette ads now tended to be stylish, attractive women.

The use of women in advertising was a hot topic during this decade. In a well-publicized reversal of the expected, a camera panned a pair of pantyhose-clad feet, calves, and thighs—which turned out to be those of New York Jets football player and celebrity Joe Namath wearing a pair of Hanes. The punch line? "I don't wear pantyhose, but if Beauty Mist can make my legs look good, imagine what they'll do for yours." Although Namath managed to instill a sense of lighthearted fun into his commercial, more radical feminists

expressed feelings of outrage about how women were portrayed in advertisements.

Feminist leader Gloria Steinem therefore faced a difficult dilemma when she spearheaded *Ms.* magazine in 1972. Although she wished to share news of liberated women, she also needed funds from advertisers to publish her magazine. Controversy existed from the beginning; the first issue of *Ms.* sported a large ad of a slender, beautiful, bikini-clad blonde who advocated the use of Coppertone suntan lotion, and many readers wrote to protest the ad's appearance. Steinem never did stop running beauty ads in her publication; in fact, she sought out sponsorship from Revlon, a major cosmetic corporation.

Revlon itself responded to the trend of feminine liberation by creating a cologne named "Charlie" that was advertised to the "new woman;" ads portrayed a single career woman who was thrilled to be wearing this fragrance. Perhaps Charles of the Ritz even more successfully captured the essence of the times via its perfumes. The ad for a scent called "Enjoli" showed a woman singing, "I can bring home the bacon, fry it up in a pan, and never, ever let him forget he's a man." This seemed to portray women's dual roles during this transitional decade in a way that other advertisements could not.

More traditional portrayals of women still saturated the media, however; although nearly 50 percent of women held jobs by the mid-1970s, many advertisements still portrayed them as overwhelmed homemakers. To address these disparities, the National Advertising Review Board (NARB) met in 1975 to create a set of standards to avoid stereotyping women in advertising. According to these standards, the following were to be avoided:

- belittling language such as "gal Friday," "lady professor," "weaker sex," or "ball and chain"
- double entendres, especially focusing on sex or female bodies
- unrealistic promises, such as that a perfume would lead to instant romance.[3]

While advertisers struggled to change their portrayal of women, Mexican Americans or "Chicanos" also fought against stereotypes in advertising. Their efforts were somewhat successful, as they forced Arrid deodorant to stop using a Chicano in an ad in which the message was, "If it works for him, it will work for you," as well as the "Frito Bandito" ads that "portrayed Mexican Americans as indolent, criminal, and filthy."[4]

Black Americans also protested the way they were portrayed on television, including in advertisements. A 1978 study conducted by Michigan State University underscored the consequences of inaccurate portrayals on television. According to its research:

- Black children believed that television was "very true to life."
- Forty-six percent of elementary school children believed that blacks on television were representative of blacks in real life.
- Commercials were more believable for black children than white children.
- More than 50 percent of all black children between the ages of 5 and 12 believed that commercials presented true and accurate information.[5]

The question, then, is how accurately were black Americans portrayed in advertisements? In research published in 1970 (culled from 1967–1968), only two percent of 11,000 advertisements contained black models. The researcher, Keith Cox, concluded, though, that the portrayal of black Americans had improved; in 1949–1950, media references showed this demographic group in lower-skilled jobs such as maids and cooks, but the 1967–1968 ads did not.[6] In research published in 1972 by David Colfax and Susan Sternberg, that conclusion was refuted; the duo felt that because half of the blacks in the advertisements Cox had studied were musicians displaying their album covers, the shift of the portrayal of black Americans was nowhere near as dramatic as what he had reported.[7]

Later in the decade, Dr. George Gerbner reviewed 2,556 television commercials (1977–1979) and discovered that advertisements with white actors were shown 7 out of 10 times; commercials with black actors were aired fewer than 2 out of 100 times.[8]

Another study compared 1,431 advertisements in *Time, Sports Illustrated, Women's Day, Newsweek, Vogue,* and *Esquire* in the years 1959, 1969,

and 1979. 95.9 percent of the advertisements featured white actors; out of the 48 ads with black models, they posed with white actors in 39 of them, leaving only 9 ads with solely black actors. Marilyn Kern-Foxworth, in *Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben, and Rastus: Blacks in Advertising, Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow*[9] concluded that without pressure from civil rights organizations, this representation of blacks would continue in the media. So, although scholars were looking at the role of black actors and models in advertising during the 1970s, no significant progress was made toward a more realistic depiction of this population.

Meanwhile, another group—the working class—was also receiving short shrift in advertising. Research conducted by Robert Goldman indicated that the only commercials from the 1970s that portrayed the working class were truck ads and beer ads, and the most common worksites in ads were auto assembly lines and building construction sites. However, those commercials did present workers in a positive light, as they showed coal miners and construction workers as the core of American society.

During the latter part of the decade, overall, industry tried hard to overcome its image of employing an increasingly disinterested workforce, one that no longer cared about quality. Automobile manufacturers perhaps felt this negative perception most keenly, and, in a clever dual marketing move, a Budweiser ad featured a black foreman in a car manufacturing plant. The foreman was competent and solved problems well, and his peers accepted him and applauded his accomplishments.

Meanwhile, the oil industry tried a different tactic to improve its image, which suffered because of rising energy prices: it began sponsoring programs on the Public Broadcasting System (PBS) with Mobil's *Masterpiece Theatre* hosted by Alistair Cooke serving as a prime example. The show debuted in January 1971. In 1977, when oil company funding for public television had increased 10 times since the beginning of the decade, cynics began suggesting that PBS really stood for "Petroleum Broadcasting Service." Print ads for *Masterpiece Theatre, Mystery!,* and *Upstairs, Downstairs* appeared in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post,* thanks to oil industry sponsorship, and Mobil Information Center spots appeared before the news broadcasts. These spots discussed the pro-growth philosophies of off-shore oil drilling and other pro-energy policies that were often protested by environmental groups and frequently restricted by governmental legislation.

Although the oil industry used print ads to its advantage, newspaper and magazine ads were in fact declining. Perhaps the high visibility of television during the 1970s—plus internal issues with magazine publishing—caused advertisers to turn away from print publications. To recover, the magazine industry developed an increasing number of special-interest—or niche—publications, a trend that continues today. Advertising in these publications allowed advertisers to target their audiences more effectively. As another strategy, magazine companies began advertising on television, and usually offered incentives to purchase their products. Successful cross-pollination among industries occurred; for example, a 1979 television commercial for Coca-Cola that featured football player "Mean" Joe Greene being unexpectedly kind to a child later served as the basis for an NBC movie.

During the 1970s ads for sugary cereals dominated the Saturday morning cartoon time. In fact, by 1976, 43 percent of the commercials on Saturday mornings were for breakfast cereal, followed by candy ads and promotions for fast-food restaurants. Toys were often placed in cereal boxes to entice children to ask for them. In an interesting twist, Quaker Oats selected three freckle-faced boys to feature in its Life Cereal ad; the theme was that, even though the cereal was "good for you," it still tasted good. In the commercial, the two older boys refused to sample the cereal, instead pushing it in front of their youngest brother, Mikey, who "hates everything." To their surprise, Mikey devoured the Life Cereal and the older brothers exclaimed, "He likes it! Hey, Mikey!" This successful ad ran for 15 years.

In 1970, Action for Children's Television attempted to have all commercials eliminated from children's programming; although that initiative was not successful, legislation became effective on January 1, 1973 that reduced ads during children's television programs from 16 minutes per hour

to 12. Advertisers also could not mention specific commercial products in a program or use cartoon characters or other recognizable show hosts during youth programming. Further restrictions occurred in 1975 when nonprogram material (advertisements) was limited to 10 minutes per hour during weekend children's programming.

THE NEW MARKETS

Another competitor to network television was actually invented during the 1940s but was seldom used until the 1970s: Community Antenna Television, or, as it is better known, cable TV. Cable TV's original function was to bring programming into communities where poor or nonexistent reception prevented the more standard form of television from airing—and, in fact, the FCC attempted to keep cable television in rural areas only. As regulations loosened during the 1970s, though, increasing numbers of households subscribed. In 1975, 10 million viewers and 3,506 cable systems existed; 10 years later, there were 40 million cable television subscribers. The dizzying choice of channels, each boasting its own demographics, presented advertisers with a whole new set of challenges and choices.

Throughout the 1970s, another form of "free-floating billboards,"[10] existed. T-shirts proclaimed political statements and religious beliefs, while bands and sports teams sold shirts in mass quantities as a form of promotion. In 1975, Anheuser-Busch gave away shirts with the Budweiser beer logo to college students on spring break in Miami and San Diego. The success of this promotion paved the way to shirts featuring any number of products—and the shirts were no longer given away for free. People began paying for shirts that advertised their favorite products.[11]

Meanwhile, an increasing number of cars displayed bumper stickers, many of them identifying the driver with a certain political or ideological group; others attempted to turn common sentiments upside down.

Architecture

of the 1970s

Architecture during the 1970s followed, in general, one of two movements: international modernism or postmodernism. The first style employed glass, steel, and concrete as materials in buildings that had regular geometric shapes and open interiors. Using this style, architects designed a series of buildings, each of which successively became the world's tallest structure. These included the John Hancock Center in Chicago; the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City; and the Sears Tower, also in Chicago. In postmodernism, architects attempted to insert the unexpected into buildings in ways that were both whimsical and thought-provoking. The familiar was turned upside down—figuratively, of course, but sometimes almost literally as well. Architects might select symbolic shapes and features, or they might choose a particular element simply to be fanciful. Architects including William L. Pereira, Charles Moore, I. M. Pei, Philip Johnson, and Frank Gehry continued to be influential.

Economic difficulties during the 1970s, including the dual energy crises, caused many architectural firms to close their doors. Business costs were rising at a time when their potential clients' budgets were also tightening. To partially address rising heating costs, architectural firms attempted to employ energy-saving solutions, such as wind and solar energy options, in homes and offices as they analyzed the advantages and disadvantages of passive systems, which use no moving or motorized parts, versus the more traditional active heating systems.

During the 1970s, architects experimented with offbeat building shapes, using unusual—and sometimes recycled—materials. Meanwhile, another movement gained momentum in the United States: the preservation of historic buildings.

LEADING FIGURES OF AMERICAN ARCHITECTURE

William L. Pereira

Chicago-born architect William L. Pereira (1909–1985) completed more than 400 projects during his illustrious career, including the pyramid-shaped Transamerica Building (1972) in San Francisco. Many residents resisted his notion of the pyramid structure, but Pereira stood by his professional opinion that the shape would allow more light and air into the surrounding area.

Pereira became well known for his futuristic designs as well as for his ability to envision and plan entire cities. Credited for developing much of Orange County, he designed a number of unique buildings at the University of California at Irvine that featured unusual concrete patterns.



The Transamerica Pyramid building in San Francisco, foreground, designed by William Pereira and built in 1972, and the Bank of America building, back, which, until the Transamerica building was built, had been the tallest building west of the Mississippi River. AP Photo.

When designing the campus buildings, he imagined a place where a diverse group of people from different socioeconomic backgrounds could live together and mutually respect their environment. Perhaps he achieved this to an even greater degree than he had anticipated, for not only did humans populate the area, but in 1972 the movie *Conquest of the Planet of the Apes* was filmed at the university, with the campus serving as "Ape City." Perhaps it wasn't surprising that Pereira's buildings served as the set for a Hollywood movie, for he began his architectural career in the 1930s by designing movie sets. Moreover, he won three Oscars, including an Academy Award in 1942 for best special effects in *Reap the Wild Wind.*

Pereira strongly believed that people must respect nature while building their towns and cities and that city planning must also focus significantly on its transportation systems, as well as its educational, technological, and scientific aspects. Leisure activities, Pereira believed, were also vital to a community's well-being. His architectural firm created concepts that became commonplace, including zero lot lines and a combination kitchen and family room located at the rear of houses.

Charles Moore

Architect Charles Moore (1925–1993) embodied a sense of gleeful fun in the work that he did—and even in his own home. Features that Moore added to the once-nondescript structure that became his home included a wave-topped gate, a boxy wooden tower, a variety of lighting fixtures above jam-packed bookcases that created a sense of columns, a floor that was painted with geometric shapes, a fireplace mantel surrounded by palm trees, and a conversation area filled with pillows.

Moore designed more than 180 buildings during his career. A Smithsonian writer dubbed him the Frank Lloyd Wright of this era. He mentored aspiring architects, who frequently traveled with him to Mexico, and encouraged them to incorporate vigorous colors and vivacious details in their work.

I. M. Pei

Ieoh Ming (I. M.) Pei (1917–), Chinese by birth and educated at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and at Harvard University, is known for his architectural work with stone, concrete, glass, and steel, as well as for his sophistication, large-scale vision, and bold and high-tech geometric designs. He rose to national prominence after Jacqueline Kennedy selected him to design the John F. Kennedy Library in Boston in 1964.

Pei, who designed the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame (1998) in Cleveland, Ohio, has been credited with the transformation of the museum concept from a highbrow and exclusive institution to a welcoming and educational type of community center where people can gather to learn about pop culture and overall society. Pei served on many art and cultural boards of directors, including the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and 16 prestigious universities granted him honorary doctorate degrees.

He received many awards during the 1970s as well, including membership to the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters in 1975; only 50 living members are allowed into this academy. In 1978, he became the first architect to serve as this prestigious organization's chancellor. When selected as the Pritzker Architecture Prize Laureate in 1983, Pei was recognized by the jury for his ability to create beautiful architecture by incorporating a skillful—even poetic—use of materials.

Philip Johnson

Born in Cleveland, Ohio, Johnson (1906–2005) was a Harvard-educated architect whose first job of significance was as the Director of the Department of Architecture at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Johnson was no stranger to controversy. His advocates described his work as brilliant, but his detractors labeled him as uninspired. Prone to stirring up debate about his architectural skills, Johnson worried that his personal life might cause him to lose work. In 1977, he asked *New Yorker* magazine to omit reference to his homosexuality, for fear that AT&T might send its business elsewhere.

In 1978, Johnson won the Gold Medal of the American Institute of Architects, and in 1979, he was the first architect selected to receive the

Pritzker Architecture Prize, which was created to encourage "greater awareness of the way people perceive and interact with their surroundings." Johnson was selected because of his 50 years of imaginative designs of a wide range of public buildings, including libraries and museums, as well as houses and office space.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS

Postmodern architects figuratively turned the familiar upside down, and I. M. Pei's most famous structure from 1978 almost literally stands upside down. Constructed out of concrete and glass, and serving as the city hall building for Dallas, Texas, it has been described by observers as a right triangle with a point turned down. The ground-level floor of the city hall is, unlike in most buildings, smallest in size; each floor is then larger than the one below, creating a unique, jutting appearance. The upper floors of the building thereby create shade from the hot Texas sun for those waiting by the front door. Pei also created a park—including a fountain—around this structure to create a welcoming atmosphere for this city's central building.

Another Pei-designed building is the East Building of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. John Russell Pope had designed the West Building, which was completed in 1941, in a classical style. Pei and his partners needed to keep the shape and style of the West Building in mind as they created more than 150 drafts of their proposed designs for the East Building. Meanwhile, they faced a significant challenge: the space allotted for their building was shaped like a trapezoid. After they solved this problem and a design was chosen, Pei and his partners constructed an "H-shaped" building; the American Institute of Architects selected this unique 1979 structure as one of the 10 best buildings in the United States.

Some of Charles Moore's most famous buildings were also constructed in the 1970s, including the Piazza d'Italia, located in New Orleans (1976–1979). This glorious mixture of arches and pillars and steps honored the Italian contribution to the city of New Orleans. Moore crafted the Burns House in Santa Monica Canyon in 1974; its stucco colors include ochre, orange, and mauve. He built the home on a steep slope, and right outside the lower level is a swimming pool and terrace. Another famous building of his design is Kresge College at the University of California at Santa Cruz. Built in 1973, the "L-shaped layout rambles through a redwood forest, widening, narrowing, twisting along its central 'street' in his version of the 'Italian hill town.'"[1]

One of Phillip Johnson's best-known buildings erected during the 1970s is the Pennzoil Plaza located in Houston, Texas. In this building, two towers, each 36 stories in height, are located in triangular-shaped plazas. The towers are crafted from bronze glass and dark brown aluminum, a significant contrast to the roof's painted white steel trusses, which are decorated in a filigree pattern. Johnson also used significant whimsy while designing the AT&T Building—now the Sony Building—in New York City in 1979. Using granite panels of pinkish-brown rather than glass, he topped off the building with a shape that reminded some of the top of a Chippendale highboy chest, while still others saw in it a car grille or the top of a grandfather clock.

A public building that was designed using the postmodern technique of recreating ancient archeological styles is the Getty Museum in Los Angeles, California. Modeled after a first-century Roman country house, and including columns and quaint gardens, the museum showcased ancient Greek, Roman, and Etruscan art. Two other museums built in the 1970s are the Kimball Art Museum in Fort Worth, Texas, designed by Louis Kahn, and the National Air and Space Museum in Washington, D.C., designed by Gyo Obata.

The design of the Kimball Art Museum has been called timeless, with its vault-like structure, and Kahn's perfectionism has been compared to that used in creating classic Greek architecture. Funding for Obata's project—the National Air and Space Museum—was delayed because of the Vietnam War, but groundbreaking took place in 1972. Design challenges for this project were daunting: Obata needed to create a building that would accommodate huge crowds and appropriately display enormous aeronautical equipment. Obata chose to use pink granite as the exterior to match the West Building of the National Gallery of Art, located nearby; he echoed the same basic

geometry of that building, as well. Reinforced truss structures were constructed to support the heavy displays and marble blocks were used to create floor display space.

Another public building constructed in the 1970s that was considered among the country's best was the Marin County Civic Building in California. This building was designed by Frank Lloyd Wright in 1958 but not completed until 1972. Nearly a quarter of a mile long, the building consists of a series of arches and is said to resemble a Roman aqueduct.

HOMES, STORES, AND OFFICES

Architects during the 1960s built primarily in the modernism style, and as the decade progressed, buildings became even more sleek and contemporary. Near the end of the 1960s, though, builders also began to resurrect more traditional forms of housing, borrowing elements from a variety of eras and cultures for inspiration; this phase is now called *Neo-Eclectic.* These homes could be Neo-French, for example, or Neo-Colonial, Neo-Tudor, Neo-Mediterranean, Neoclassical Revival, or Neo-Victorian. Regardless of genre, the builder or developer would select a few historically relevant features to add style and character to the homes. Houses such as these were built in suburbs throughout the country, as were apartment buildings. Architects were not significantly involved in designing these developments, as builders chose basic building designs and then added appropriate details to create the desired look.

Some experts question whether postmodern structures should in fact be called part of a style, because the term *Neo-Eclectic* refers to the revival of an architectural style from the past. In fact, Neoclassical Revival architecture made its third appearance in America in the 1970s. Overall, clients appreciated these designs, which were remarkably different in style from the sleek and streamlined modernism structures from the previous decade. This resurgence also occurred at a time when many Americans were becoming more interested in the historical preservation movement.

Also popular in the 1970s were Tudor A-frame houses, especially for vacation and beach homes and for rural getaway retreats. In Tudor A-frames, the side walls were angled to create a sharp peak at the roof. Second-story rooms were often loft-like in design but more spacious than they appeared from the outside.

The self-designed Frank Gehry House in California deserves special mention. Gehry, a professional architect, created structures out of scraps of material, including plywood and corrugated metal and eventually concrete. This resulted in a collage-like appearance in his buildings that some compared to architectural sculpting.

The Gehry House has been described as a collusion of parts. After acquiring the structure, Gehry first removed much of its interior, exposing the rafters and studs. He then surrounded the home with plywood, glass, and metal, including aluminum siding and chain-link fencing. Not surprisingly, the architect also designed a line of furniture crafted from corrugated cardboard. In 1979, Gehry used chain-link fencing when constructing the Cabrillo Marine Museum to connect the structures in the 20,000-square-foot compound.

Two stores built in the 1970s are well known for their architectural ingenuity. First is the Best Products Showroom located in Houston, Texas. The store is built out of white brick, and the bricks in the front of the building appear to be tumbling down toward the heads of shoppers entering the building. Intended to symbolize the overpackaging of America's consumer society, this concept was described as "de-architecturisation." The other store known for its creative design is the Pacific Design Center in West Hollywood, California. Very large—with more than 100 million cubic feet of space—and constructed of blue glass, the store became known as the "Blue Whale."

PRESERVING HISTORY

In 1966, the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) codified federal policies to help preserve historic structures in America. According to this act, the federal government would increase its efforts to aid governmental and private agencies, as well as individuals, to accelerate historic preservation programs and activities. Overall, legislation passed during the 1960s began the shift in focus from the preservation of single homes to the creation of historic districts across the nation.

This trend continued when President Gerald Ford signed into law the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, wherein Community Development Block Grants (CDBGs) were created. Under this system, local communities could decide how their allotted funds should be spent through a series of public hearings. Frequent CDBG choices included improvements in a community's infrastructure and property rehabilitation loans. Savannah, Georgia, and Charleston, South Carolina, especially benefited from revolving loans given for house rehabilitation. Successful projects of significance include Ghirardelli Square in San Francisco, Quincy Market in Boston, and Pike Place Market in Seattle.

In 1974, a national lobbying group called Preservation Action formed. Representatives of this group, which included local community activists and preservation experts, historians, and civic and commercial leaders, monitored federal legislation



World Trade Center, 1971. Shown: the Twin Towers under construction. Courtesy of Photofest.

THE WORLD TRADE CENTER

For almost three decades, New York's World Trade Center complex, or the "Twin Towers" as it was affectionately known, was a symbol of New York's success and leadership in American commerce, industry, and culture. The New York State legislature first initiated plans to build what was then called a "world trade mart" in the 1940s, but the plan didn't come to fruition until Chase Manhattan Bank leader David Rockefeller put his financial muscle behind the idea in the early 1960s. Construction was delayed by protests from residents who objected to the destruction of existing neighborhoods. Architect Minoru Yamasaki's building design was accepted in 1964 and construction began in 1966. The complex, which consisted of two towers and four peripheral buildings, took several years to complete. The south tower was the first to be completed in 1971 followed by the north in 1973. The Twin Towers were the first skyscrapers built without masonry, using a revolutionary drywall and steel core design. The World Trade Center was widely credited with reversing the degradation of lower Manhattan, which had become one of the most dilapidated districts of the island.

Over the more than two decades of their existence, the twin towers became symbolic of New York City and were featured in innumerable films and photographs. The towers, which housed more than 200 businesses, were destroyed in the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and thus became the center of one of the most devastating tragedies in modern American history. A contest was held in 2002 to find an architect to construct a new financial center at the site of the former twin towers. A winner was eventually chosen and construction began in 2006 on the "Freedom Tower," which will be one of the tallest skyscrapers in existence at over 1,700 feet. Though the twin towers' history ended in tragedy, their emergence in the 1970s as one of the most innovative building projects of the age, and their eventual acceptance as an iconic element of New York's famed skyline, have cemented the towers as monuments in American history.

that might affect the historic preservation movement. In 1976, Congress passed the Tax Reform Act, which eliminated the incentive that had existed for people who demolished older buildings. The 1978 Revenue Act furthered the advantages of restoring older buildings by establishing a tax credit for property owners who rehabilitated historic properties. These pieces of legislation, along with the enthusiasm growing for the United States Bicentennial, fueled an interest in many people to adapt older structures for modern living.

Annual surveys conducted by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Mainstreet programs, and tourism organizations in the 1970s spurred local governments to join in this preservation effort. The surveys indicated that cities and towns that focused on historic preservation benefited economically. Locales with historic districts tended to witness increased property values, both residential and commercial, with homes and businesses within the historical districts experiencing the greatest increases. Historic districts, studies determined, created specialized local jobs and encouraged tourism. Furthermore, people were generally more willing to invest in their neighborhoods, the studies concluded, because they perceived the value in such an investment.

People remodeling homes could, starting in 1973, refer to the *Old House Journal*. This magazine provided information to those wishing to renovate, maintain, and decorate homes that were more than 50 years old, and offered practical, step-by-step information for those new to the process.

Not everyone was pleased with preservation legislation. In 1978, the Supreme Court heard a case that would determine the legitimate power of historic district designation and its corresponding standards. The case was *Penn Central Transportation Co. v. New York City*. Penn Central wished to erect an office skyscraper above the 1913 Grand Central Terminal that was considered an historical landmark under New York's Landmarks Preservation Law. This proposed skyscraper met all zoning laws, but Penn Central needed permission from the Landmarks Preservation Commission as well. The commission rejected the request, as the proposed building would damage part of the Grand Central Terminal.

When the case made it to the Supreme Court, Penn Central testified that it would lose millions of dollars annually if it could not build this skyscraper, but the court ruled six to three for the city of New York and the skyscraper was not built.

Books

Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics of the 1970s

Literary novels published during the 1970s tackled challenging issues, including those associated with the feminist and civil rights movements, political disillusionment, violence, and changing family roles. Characters became alienated from their spiritual roots and disconnected from their places within the family unit and society as a whole.

Short stories frequently focused on characters who had no discernable motives for their actions, people who performed tasks and lived life without any sense of meaning or purpose. *New York* magazine was a prime publishing spot for these types of stories.

The push toward new journalism, a genre of nonfiction that incorporated elements of fiction, continued through the first half of the decade, both as a practice and as a source of great debate.

Writers of both fiction and nonfiction received conflicting messages about the definition of obscenity and its legal strictures. In 1970, the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography issued a 700-page report in which the majority of participants agreed that the government should not interfere with the adults' rights to read, obtain, or view explicitly sexual materials involving other adults. The committee did not reach consensus, however, and 250 pages of the report contained dissenting opinions. President Nixon called the report "morally bankrupt."[1] The Senate voted 60–5 to reject the report, and the debate over what was obscene continued, with inconsistent rulings continuing to be made in the court system.

Poets continued to pursue many of the same experimental avenues as they did during the 1960s, with surrealism a key area of exploration. Magazine publishers began targeting more and more niche audiences; underground and alternative newspapers and magazines set up and then folded throughout the decade.

From a business standpoint, publishing was evolving, and for the first time, the marketing function surpassed the editorial function in book publishing houses.

FICTION

Literary Fiction

Joyce Carol Oates is a prolific and award-winning author who, during the 1970s, published seven novels, along with a number of novellas, short story collections, dramas, and poetry anthologies.

Oates's characters attempt to find a niche within a world without security, and they struggle to meet that challenge. These characters, on the whole, are ordinary people who endure the random violence of modern-day life and for whom these acts of

violence are not climactic moments; rather, they are commonplace events that are absorbed without significant importance placed on them. Although Oates was not identified as a feminist writer, her focus on women who persevere resonated with many readers.

John Updike was another major literary figure of the 1970s. In 1960, Updike published *Rabbit, Run.* His main character, Harry Angstrom, is a former basketball player who struggles with middle-class married life; early in his marriage, he has an affair that indirectly causes the death of his infant daughter. In 1971, Updike released the sequel to this novel, setting *Rabbit Redux* in 1969 and using two historical events, Apollo 11 and the Vietnam War, as a backdrop.

In the sequel, Angstrom learns of his wife's affair while watching the Apollo launch on a television located in a bar, and he envisions the rocket going into a great emptiness, a metaphor for his own sense of loss. In a plot twist, two people enter Harry's life and home: 18-year-old Jill, who is fleeing her rich parents' home in search of sex, drugs, and radical politics; and Skeeter, a fundamentalist who imagines himself as a black Jesus. Throughout the book, Angstrom attempts to find his place in the world and within his relationships. Updike uses the themes of space and war to illustrate Angstrom's emotional upheavals.

Another author—Kurt Vonnegut Jr.—was also established in the 1960s. In his 1970s works, Vonnegut began to use his public persona—represented as a character named Kilgore Trout—as the narrator in his novels. This practice began with *Breakfast of Champions* in 1973; in this novel, a Midwest car dealer believes that Trout's novels are not fictional at all, but are in fact real. Most critics point out a sometimes overwhelming sense of pessimism in Vonnegut's world perspective as he writes about contemporary society and its pervasive sense of emptiness.

Toni Morrison also emerged as a major writer of the 1970s, during which she published her first three novels. The first, *The Bluest Eye,* shares the story of Pecola Breelove, who prays for blue eyes because she believes that her horrible life will improve when her eyes change hue. The second book, *Sula,* explores the intense relationship between two black women who are bound together by a terrible secret. The third novel, *Song of Solomon,* won the National Book Critics Award; in this book, a character named Milkman searches for a hidden treasure of gold. Although he never finds those riches, he does discover important family traditions.

Another novel, this one focusing on a former slave, also captured the attention of American readers: *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* by Ernest J. Gaines. Gaines writes the story from the perspective of a 110-year-old Pittman reminiscing about her life and memories.

Saul Bellow had already received numerous awards before the 1970s began. In 1970, he won the National Book Award for *Mr. Sammler's Planet,* and he was the first writer to win this prize three times; in 1975, he won the Pulitzer Prize for *Humboldt's Gift,* and, in 1976 he won the Nobel Prize for literature.

Other 1970s writers of note include Gore Vidal (*Two Sisters, Burr, Myron, 1876,* and *Kalki*) and Tom Robbins *(Another Roadside Attraction* and *Even Cowgirls Get the Blues YEARS).*

Philip Roth, whose 1969 novel *Portnoy's Complaint* brought him recognition, published several novels during the 1970s, including *Our Gang: Starring Tricky and His Friends,* 1971, *The Breast,* 1972, *The Great American Novel,* 1973, *My Life as a Man,* 1974, *The Professor of Desire,* 1977, and *The Ghost Writer,* 1979.

Finally, it seems appropriate to complete this listing of award-nominated and award-winning authors by discussing one who refused to accept a prize. In 1973, Thomas Pynchon published *Gravity's Rainbow,* which won the National Book Award for fiction in 1974. The book was also selected for the Pulitzer Prize, but the advisory board overruled this choice, calling the book "unreadable," "turgid," "overwritten," and "obscene." The following year, the book received the Dean Howells Medal of the American Academy of Arts and Letters; however, after stating that the award was a great honor, Pynchon declined to accept, saying that any further imposition on the part of the Academy would make him look rude. Pynchon stopped publishing for several years after that refusal, and his whereabouts were not well known.

NOTABLE BOOKS

Deliverance, James Dickey, 1970

Love Story, Erich Segal, 1970

Jonathan Livingston Seagull, Richard Bach, 1970

Rich Man, Poor Man, Irwin Shaw, 1970

Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee, Dee Brown, 1971

The Day of the Jackal, Frederick Forsyth, 1971

The Exorcist, William Peter Blatty, 1971

Fear of Flying, Erica Jong, 1973

Centennial, James Michener, 1974

Watership Down, Richard Adams, U.S., 1974

All the President's Men, Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, 1974

Jaws, Peter Benchley, 1974

Shôgun, James Clavell, 1975

Ragtime, E. L. Doctorow, 1975

Roots: The Saga of an American Family, Alex Haley, 1976

Interview with the Vampire, Anne Rice, 1976

The Thorn Birds, Colleen McCullough, 1977

The Complete Book of Running, Jim Fixx, 1977

The Shining, Stephen King, 1977

Moosewood Cookbook, Mollie Katzen, 1978

Scruples, Judith Krantz, 1978

The World According to Garp, John Irving, 1978

The Executioner's Song, Norman Mailer, 1979

Sophie's Choice, William Styron, 1979

The Right Stuff, Tom Wolfe, 1979

Popular Fiction

Readers interested in less intellectual material could enjoy fast-paced fiction, ranging from romance to horror, from pulp fiction to political thrillers.

Barbara Cartland and Phyllis A. Whitney were two key romance writers of the decade. Cartland, a British writer with a wide American readership, was known as the "Queen of Romance"; she published more than 700 novels, many of them during the 1970s. She specialized in historical romances with chaste females, and her books included such titles as *The Innocent Heiress, The Penniless Peer,* and *The Devil in Love.*

Whitney was also a prolific writer; an American who spent her childhood in Japan, China, and the Philippines with her missionary parents, she set her novels in a wide variety of exotic locales. She frequently wove supernatural elements into her tales, and her 1970s releases came with titles such as *The Vanishing Scarecrow, Mystery of the Scowling Boy,* and *The Glass Flame.*

Rosemary Rogers, who was to become known as the "Queen of Historical Romances," began her career in the 1970s. She published books such as *Wicked Loving Lies,* a story with a pirate theme, and *Wildest Heart,* set on the New Mexico frontier.

During this decade, Harlequin Enterprises, a publishing house, began to focus almost solely on romance novels. It sold its mass market paperbacks on what were called "job racks" at grocery stores, in beauty salons, and at other locales that were not previously regarded as likely places to buy books. To attract the attention of housewives, Harlequin began paying special attention to cover design and made its covers more eye-catching; this successful strategy was soon imitated by other category houses, particularly by those producing westerns, crime fiction, and horror fiction.

Mystery novels also abounded during the 1970s. James Crumley published two mystery novels during the decade: *The Wrong Case,* 1975, and *The Last Good Kiss,* 1978. Tony Hillerman began publishing his Joe Leaphorn and Jim Chee series in 1970, beginning with *The Blessing Way.* Hillerman used this series to explore the challenges that can occur when modern-day culture clashes with the traditional beliefs of more ancient cultures. Other novels from the Leaphorn and Chee series include *The Fly on the Wall,* 1971, *Dance Hall of the Dead,* 1973, and *Listening Woman,* 1978.

Marcia Muller began her Sharon McCone mystery series in 1977 with *Edwin of the Iron Shoes,* and, in 1979, Anne Perry began her Thomas Pitt series with *The Cater Street Hangman.*

The horror field was dominated by Stephen King, an author who revived the genre in the 1970s.

King's first novel, *Carrie,* debuted in 1974 and features a taunted teenager who uses telekinetic powers to exact revenge. The film version appeared in 1976, as did his second novel, *Salem's Lot,* wherein small-town residents find themselves transformed into bloodthirsty vampires. In 1977, King penned *The Shining;* the movie based on this novel was directed by Stanley Kubrick and was memorable for numerous disturbing scenes of a family isolated in a resort hotel high in a snowbound mountain pass and threatened by a father who is going progressively psychotic.

Dean Koontz wrote dozens of suspense novels during the decade, including several under the pen names of K. R. Dwyer, Brian Coffey, Deanna Dwyer, Anthony North, John Hill, and David Axton. As Koontz established his reputation as a writer, these novels were reissued under his own name.

Another writer, Mary Higgins Clark, a New York housewife-turned-novelist, wrote suspense novels such as *Where Are the Children,* 1975 and *A Stranger Is Watching,* 1978. Known as the "Queen of Suspense," Higgins Clark played on the commonality among her readers' fears. In *Where Are the Children,* a woman must start life over after the macabre deaths of her two children. She remarries and has two more children; one day, though, when she looks out the window to check on the children from her new marriage, all she sees is a red mitten. Her nightmare begins again. In Higgins Clark's second novel, a man is to be executed for a murder he didn't commit; the family of the victim, who believes that their nightmare will be eased after the death sentence is carried out, is wrong. Their nightmare will also occur anew.

Peter Benchley's *Jaws* is perhaps better remembered in movie form, but the book sold more than 20 million copies and spent more than 40 weeks on the *New York Times* best seller list.

Glitz and glamour pulsed through the "trash fiction" novels of Harold Robbins and Judith Krantz, among others. Money, sex, and power served as dominant themes. *Scruples,* for example, Krantz's bestselling novel from 1978, was set in the world of high fashion, of champagne and designer clothing.

In a twist that evoked the darker side of personal relationships, Judith Rossner's *Looking for Mr. Goodbar* delved into realities created by the sexual revolution from the perspective of a single parent. Rossner based this book on a real woman who, although brought up in a strict Catholic environment, decides to find sexual partners in New York bars. Although she decides to stop this practice, she does so too late.

Harold Robbins, whose sensational 1961 novel *The Carpetbaggers* was loosely based on the life of eccentric billionaire Howard Hughes, continued his career throughout the 1970s. A 1979 novel, *Memories of Another Day,* tells the story of a fictional union leader with close connections to the real life Jimmy Hoffa—a labor boss who had disappeared under mysterious circumstances just a few years before. Another novel, *The Betsy,* 1971, was made into a movie starring Laurence Olivier, Robert Duvall, and Tommy Lee Jones.

Political espionage novels and spy thrillers found a ready audience in the 1970s, perhaps because after the Watergate scandal, people were disillusioned by their own leaders and governments. By the time Robert Ludlum published his first book, *The Scarlatti Inheritance,* in 1971, he already had an extensive playwriting career behind him. His novel features Nazis working hand-in-hand with international financiers; his next thriller, *The Osterman Weekend,* (1973), focuses on a news executive recruited by the CIA to break up a Soviet spy ring.

One of the most successful examples of historical fiction based on a broadly factual construct was *Roots* by Alex Haley. Writing about his ancestors in Africa and their forced journey to America as slaves, Haley saw his book form the basis of television's first true miniseries.

The American Bicentennial revived an interest in American history, and James Michener, venerated author of the widely popular *The Source* and *Hawaii* in earlier decades, came out with *Chesapeake,* a novel that focuses on several generations of a family living in Maryland from 1583 to the present. His next book, *Centennial,* was set in Colorado in the 1870s and was later filmed as a miniseries.

During the 1970s, Larry McMurtry published two western novels: *Moving On,* 1970, and *All My Friends Are Going to Be Strangers,* 1972. He also received an Academy Award for the screenplay he

penned in 1971 for the filming of his 1966 novel, *The Last Picture Show.* Overall, fewer people read western novels during the 1970s than in previous decades. One of the few prolific writers in this genre was Louis L'Amour, a man who saw himself as a simple storyteller. His work has been translated into dozens of languages and his books serve as the basis for 30 movies.

Feminist novels became a significant focus of publishing during the 1970s; authors include Joan Didion, Erica Jong, Marilyn French, Alison Lurie, Marge Piercy, Joanna Russ, and Alix Kate Shulman. Didion and Jong were known for their literary fiction, while the others published more commercial books.

Another novel that captured the attention of the American public include *Jonathan Livingston Seagull,* Richard Bach's parable about an outcast seagull; its spiritual tone was especially appealing in the 1970s. Erich Segal's *Love Story* examines the relationship between a collegiate athlete and his dying girlfriend. The first edition paperback print run was 4,350,000; Ryan O'Neal and Ali McGraw starred in the subsequent movie. As yet another example of a novel turned into a movie, William Peter Blatty's *The Exorcist* climbed to the top of the *New York Times* best seller list. In it, a priest exorcises demons from a young female patient, played by Linda Blair in the 1973 film.

CREATIVE NONFICTION

New journalism put a fresh twist on traditional nonfiction writing by incorporating elements of fiction writing: using dialogue in a conversational style; listing everyday, mundane details in the setting; developing characters through the use of third-person point of view and unique narrative voices; and crafting scenes rather than simply sharing information in a more linear manner. Some believe that new journalism rose to prominence during the 1960s and 1970s because a strictly factual recounting could not possibly impart the nuances of—and passions attached to—the Vietnam War, civil rights, women's lib, and gay rights, among other events and causes. Journalists increasingly began focusing on emotional truth as much as or more than imparting information in their essays and articles.

It is generally accepted that Tom Wolfe officially ushered in the era of new journalism in 1965 with his book *The Kandy-Kolored Tangerine-Flake Streamline Baby*—although it wasn't until 1973 that he published an anthology with the title *The New Journalism,* thereby making that phrase even more familiar to writers, editors, and savvy readers.

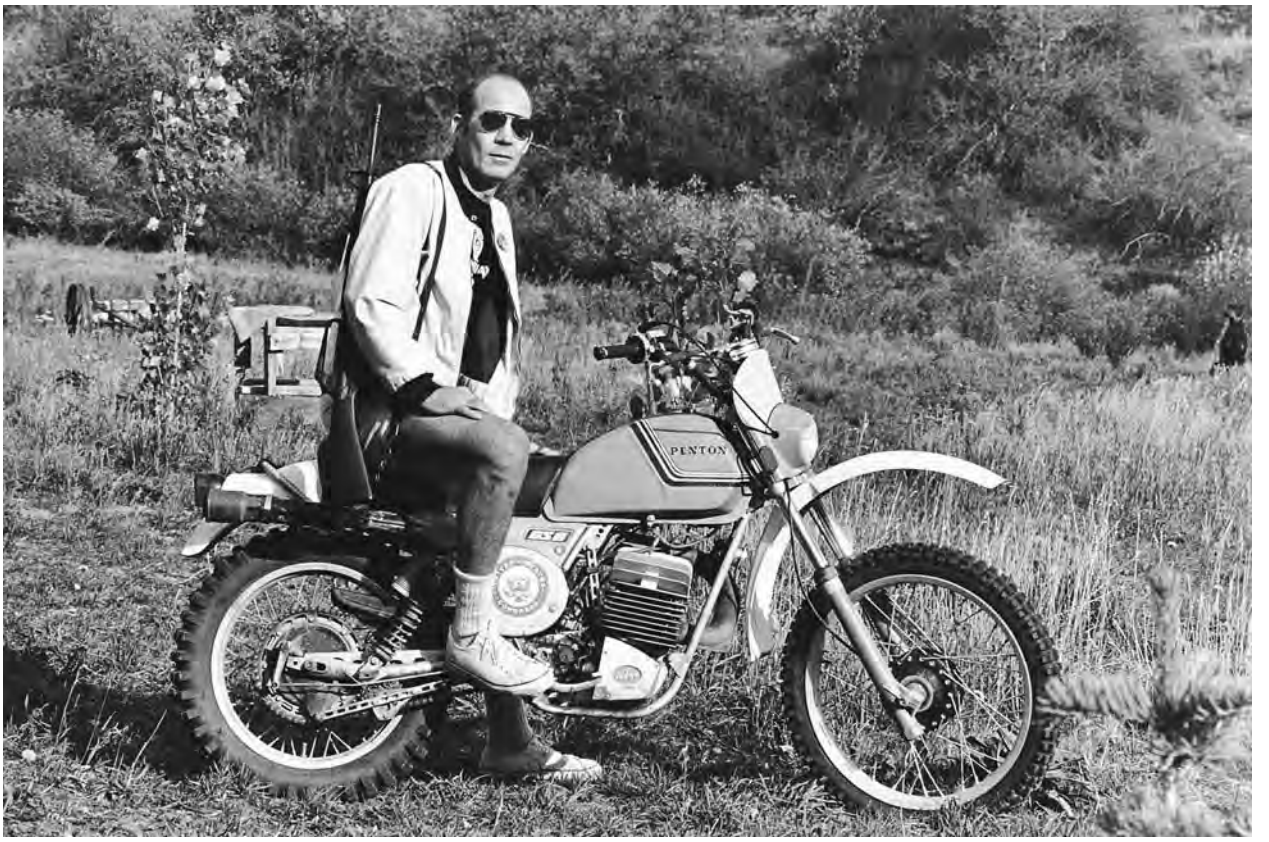
New journalism authors included Tom Wolfe; Truman Capote, whose book, *In Cold Blood,* 1966, was an early example of this genre; Norman Mailer; Gay Talese; Hunter S. Thompson; and Joan Didion.

In 1975, Wolfe published *The Painted Word,* an inside look at America's art world. In 1979, he published *The Right Stuff,* which investigates why astronauts put themselves at risk during space exploration and focuses on the first seven men chosen by NASA, the "Mercury Seven," as well as Chuck Yeager, who broke the sound barrier but was never selected by NASA to serve as an astronaut.

Mailer wrote several books during the 1970s, including *The Prisoner of Sex,* 1971, wherein he suggests that gender determines how a person interprets reality. He received criticism from feminists for this viewpoint. His 1975 book, *The Fight,* details the boxing match between Muhammad Ali and George Foreman. He also published two biographies during the decade: one on Marilyn Monroe and one on convicted murderer Gary Gilmore and his refusal to appeal his death sentence. Mailer received his second Pulitzer Prize for the latter book, titled *The Executioner's Song.*

In 1971, Talese published *Honor Thy Father,* an in-depth look at the New York Bonanno crime family. Known for his willingness to investigate so-called unreportable stories, such as the inside story of the Mafia, Talese was admired by his readers for his in-depth research. Whenever a topic captured his attention, he returned to it again and again, finding new angles to explore.

Hunter S. Thompson became well known for taking new journalism a step further—into gonzo journalism. Some say that a *Boston Globe* reporter dubbed Thompson with that designation, "gonzo" being a term for the last person standing after an all-night drinking marathon. Another explanation for the term is that a friend told Thompson



Journalist Hunter S. Thompson sits on his Penton motorcycle with his rifle over his shoulder on his ranch circa 1976 near Aspen, Colorado. Photo by Michael Ochs Archives/GettyImages.

that his writing was "totally gonzo," which may be a bastardization of the Spanish term *gonzagas,* loosely translated as "fooled you." Thompson immersed himself in the stories he told, lacing his sense of humor throughout the adventurous telling of his stories. Two books published by Thompson during the 1970s were *Fear and Loathing: On the Campaign Trail '72* (1974) and *The Great Shark Hunt* (1977).

Although many of new journalism's stars were men, it was not an exclusively male club. Joan Didion published a significant amount of material, including the nonfiction book *The White Album* in 1979. Writer Carolyn Wells Kraus quotes Didion expressing her personal philosophy of writing, that as "nonfiction writers, we interpret what we see, select the most workable of the multiple choices"[2] and therefore present the world through authorial lenses. Kraus and Didion point out the risk of autobiographical intrusion into new journalism-style essays and books; although all writers must make critical selections of what to include and what to leave out of their work, new journalism puts writers in an especially vulnerable position.

Maya Angelou, although not identified with the creative nonfiction/new journalism movement, became well known for the story of her often-terrifying childhood. She published *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* on the cusp of the 1970s; although reviews were mixed for this book, some critics have compared her work to Frederick Douglass's autobiography, as both authors share their experiences as African Americans facing racism.

True crime novels found a ready market in the 1970s; Vince Bugliosi's and Curt Gentry's *Helter Skelter* is a prime example. The two write of Bugliosi's experiences when he prosecutes Charles Manson for the murder of Sharon Tate, and the title is that of a Beatles' song Manson liked. In *The Onion Field,* Los Angeles police officer Joseph Wambaugh describes the murder of a police officer and the effect the crime had on his surviving partner—as well as its impact on the men who committed the crime.



Maya Angelou, circa 1970. Photo by Michael Ochs Archives/Getty Images.

Other books that tackled serious subjects include *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* by Dee Brown, which discusses how white settlements have affected Native Americans And *All the President's Men* and *The Final Days,* both by *Washington Post* reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein. Both books reveal behind-the-scenes details of the Watergate scandal and Richard Nixon's presidency. Woodward and Bernstein, their boss executive editor Benjamin Bradlee, and their employer the *Washington Post* are often credited with bringing the Nixon administration to its end. The popularity of *All the President's Men* led to a popular movie of the same title in 1976, with Robert Redford as Bob Woodward and Dustin Hoffman as Carl Bernstein. Journalism departments at colleges and universities experienced a noticeable increase in students majoring in journalism thereafter.

Several other popular bestselling nonfiction books focused on ways to feel better, ranging from *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Sex (But Were Afraid to Ask)* by Dr. David Reuben, *The Joy of Sex: A Cordon Bleu Guide to Lovemaking* by Alex Comfort, and *Your Erroneous Zones* by Wayne Dyer. The third book attempted to simplify concepts of psychology to help people find ways to live happier lives. Yet another book, *The Complete Book of Running* by James Fixx, encouraged people to become healthier and feel better through a particular form of exercise.

POETRY

Confessional poetry—or the "I" poetry—seemed especially appropriate for the Me Generation, although it had its roots in the earlier poetry of Anne Sexton, Allen Ginsberg, and Sylvia Plath, among others. Confessional poets shared raw and private feelings about topics that were previously taboo: death, sex, depression, and the like.

Protest poetry, more commonly associated with the 1960s, continued during the 1970s. This form focused on challenging bodies of authority or "the establishment," which often translates into the government; poets often used shocking language or ideas to startle readers into awareness of the cause being championed.

In 1971, a new form of poetry, known as L-A-N-G-U-A-G-E poetry, emerged. It first appeared in a magazine called *This.* Seven years later, the magazine was renamed L-A-N-G-U-A-G-E. Bernadette Mayer employed the philosophy in her poetry and suggested that those new to L-A-N-G-U-A-G-E poetry try these exercises: read an index as a poem; write a poem using only prepositional phrases; and attempt to write in an unsettled state of mind. Bruce Andrews and Charles Bernstein were key figures of this poetic movement.

Poetry also served as a vehicle for minorities to express their unique viewpoints. Maya Angelou first rose to prominence in 1969 with the publication of the autobiographical *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* and the book's subsequent National Book Award nomination. She also published three collections of poetry during the decade, including *Just Give Me a Cool Drink of Water 'fore I Die,* for which she received a Pulitzer Prize nomination in 1972. She divided this collection into two sections: poems of love and poems of racial confrontation. Angelou published two other poetry collections in the 1970s, *Oh Pray My Wings Are Gonna Fit Me Well* and

And Still I Rise, which describes city life for black Americans.

Another poet, Rod McKuen, stayed true to more traditional forms of poetry and enjoyed unparalleled commercial success, selling more than 65 million copies of his poetry collections and seeing them translated into one dozen languages. His poetry tapped into feelings common among people everywhere, love and hope and fear, and some have compared the atmosphere of his poetry readings to that of a rock concert. During the 1970s, McKuen published 11 collections of poetry with titles such as *Caught in the Quiet, Fields of Wonder,* and *Come to Me in Silence.*

MAGAZINES

Three magazines that captured the attention of a significant portion of America's reading audience—*Ms., Hustler,* and *People*—first appeared in the 1970s, but each of these magazines appealed to a considerably different set of demographics.

The first to debut was *Ms.,* a magazine founded by Gloria Steinem and a small group of others dedicated to the feminist movement. The very name of the magazine caused controversy as, during the early portion of the decade, debate flourished about the appropriate title for women. Heated discussions began when some women pointed out that "Mr." did not designate the marital status of a man, whereas "Miss" indicated an unmarried woman and "Mrs." designated those married or widowed—and these women demanded a title comparable to "Mr." Although "Ms." had been suggested as a neutral feminine title 10 years earlier, it was Steinem's magazine that brought the choice to the forefront.

In 1971, *New York* magazine inserted a mini version of *Ms.* into its publication. In January 1972, Clay Felker, the editor of *New York* magazine, sponsored the first independent issue of *Ms.,* and, starting in July 1972, the magazine appeared monthly, funded by Warner Communications. By 1978, the Ms. Foundation for Education and Communication had begun publishing *Ms.*

This magazine was controversial on several fronts. Some despised the magazine for the feminist beliefs that it espoused, while many advocates of feminism protested the ads that *Ms.* carried, which included a bikini-clad woman as an advertisement for Coppertone suntan lotion. Nevertheless, the magazine enjoyed significant support from its advocates and subscribers, and it provided practical information to those curious about the feminist movement.

Shortly after *Ms.* debuted, a radically different type of publication began: Larry Flynt's *Hustler* newsletters, which were intended to promote his strip clubs. By 1974, the newsletter format evolved into a glossy magazine that featured raw and explicit sexual photos, along with graphic—and some say vulgar—satires and commentaries.

Hustler was not the first magazine to feature female nudity outside of Triple X bookstores; *Playboy* could stake an earlier claim. Striking differences, though, existed between the two publications. *Playboy* highlighted the nude female form as something seductively beautiful and something to be admired, and its editors artfully prevented female genitals from appearing in photos; Flynt, meanwhile, posed his models in ways that shocked many Americans: covered with excrement or involved in male-dominated rape scenes. He became especially vilified by detractors and applauded by fans in 1975, when he featured photos of a topless Jackie Kennedy Onassis.

Flynt never claimed that *Hustler* was a literary publication, but *Playboy* aspired to such a

NEW MAGAZINES

Essence, 1970
National Lampoon, 1970
Smithsonian, 1970
Travel + Leisure, 1971
Money¸ 1972
Playgirl, 1973
Ms., 1972
People, 1974
National Geographic Kids, 1975
Soap Opera Digest, 1975
Country Living, 1978
Inc., 1979
Self, 1979



Gloria Steinem, publisher of the magazine *Ms.*, holds a mock-up of that publication's January 1978 cover while standing in front of the White House on December 16, 1977. The issue rates President Carter's first year in office from a feminist perspective. AP Photo.

designation, and the latter publication did feature high-quality essays, thus giving rise to the tongue-in-cheek claim that one only bought *Playboy* for the articles.

The third major magazine that debuted in the 1970s, *People,* seemed tame in comparison to *Ms.* and *Hustler,* and perhaps its lack of controversy is what allowed it to become so popular so swiftly. First appearing on March 4, 1974, *People* quickly became a top source of popular culture news, focusing on the personal and professional lives of the country's celebrities. The first issue featured actress Mia Farrow who was appearing in the movie *The Great Gatsby.* Unlike "gossip rags" that told scurrilous secrets about stars, *People* served as a source of public relations for them and allowed the general American public to glimpse their favorite celebrities wearing beautiful gowns and dashing tuxedos, getting married, showing off their babies, and performing in their chosen fields of entertainment.

WORDS AND PHRASES

ageism (discrimination against the elderly)
biofeedback
blahs
body language
boogie board
boss
brainiac
chemo
choice
ditsy
dyn-o-mite
easy-peasy
-gate (from Watergate, suffix used to denote a scandal)
gross out
hacky-sack
high-maintenance
improv
jazzercise
no-brainer
no-no
pigout
rad (radical)
right on (interjection to express approval)
sicko
skeevy
streaking
to trash (to vandalize, especially as an act of protest)
trekkie
wacko
wicked
wuss

Another magazine launched in 1970—*National Lampoon*—targeted a smaller audience. This sharply satirical publication skewered political and pop culture figures and served as the basis of a comedy troupe and live radio show. Although the publication was influential during the 1970s, the National Lampoon concept ended shortly after the decade did.

The 1970s also saw the budding of computer-based magazines, such as *Computer Graphics World* in 1977.

NEWSPAPERS

Television transformed American society in the 1950s and 1960s and that influence continued into the 1970s. Built on the foundation of its coverage of the Vietnam War, TV news became a more central part of viewers' lives. The growing importance of television news eventually led to the demise of newspapers' traditional afternoon editions as network newscasts replaced print as people's primary source of evening news.

This shift to television forced the newspaper industry to change, and the limited nature of news delivery via the small screen enabled newspapers to take on an important role in providing in-depth coverage and local information. Newspaper evolved as consumers looked to papers for different aspects of their news and information diets, such as cost-saving coupons for use at local stores and classified ads. Suburbanization also forced newspapers to adapt to new realities. People looked for news outside of metropolitan areas.

Two events that reestablished the newsgathering prowess of papers took place in the 1970s—the "Pentagon Papers" and Watergate. In 1971, the *New York Times* published a series of articles on the Pentagon Papers, a secret Department of Defense history of the Vietnam War. The classified documents were leaked by Daniel Ellsberg, a State Department insider, who secretly photocopied the papers. The Nixon Administration obtained a court order barring the *New York Times* from publishing further installments, but other newspapers, including the *Chicago Tribune* and *Washington Post,* responded by printing the series.

Perhaps the most important event in journalism history took place when the enterprising *Washington Post* reporting team of Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein uncovered the Nixon administration's illegal activities, dubbed "Watergate." The investigative work done by Woodward and Bernstein led to Nixon's 1974 resignation. As a result, enterprising reporters across the nation took up the investigative cause. Into the twenty first century, almost all political scandals, particularly ones involving government figures, have been given the "-gate" suffix in recognition of Watergate's importance.

Overall, newspapers continued to grow in the 1970s, in large part because of the country's expanding population. Newspaper advertising revenue leaped from $5.7 billion in 1970 to $14.8 billion 10 years later. Unions lost labor battles, printing technologies improved, and newspapers became "big business."

Comics and Cartoons

The late 1960s had revealed the power of comic books as standalone products and advertising tools. The 1970s continued this trend, with Marvel and DC, the two top publishers, battling for supremacy. Although DC featured the iconic Superman and Batman characters, Marvel sold more books. From 1970 to 1979, Marvel sold more than 5 million copies a month. Even three lesser companies had astronomical sales in the decade, with Harvey's averaging about 3.5 million monthly, Archie's at 3.5 million, and Gold Key at about 3 million. All told, these five companies sold more than 19 million comic books a month across the decade.

The 1970s remained heavy on superheroes, but other stories that included creatures such as ghosts and swamp monsters gained in popularity. Adult-themed tales of terror and vampire stories aimed at adults and young people were also popular. Many of the adult-themed comic books were actually changed to circumvent the Comics Code Authority, which tightened restrictions on comic book content in 1954 and basically served as a censor. To avoid these restrictions, publishers issued these works in a magazine-size, black-and-white format dubbed "Picto-Fiction," a new form of adult entertainment. These comics were more expensive than traditional ones, and usually cost 35 to 50 cents per issue.



Snoopy, with Woodstock on his head, being happily carried by the Peanuts gang in a scene from the movie, *Snoopy Come Home* (1972). Courtesy of Photofest.

The 1970s also witnessed comic books introducing and addressing social issues that plagued the real world. In 1972, for example, Marvel introduced Luke Cage, a black, urban mercenary who operated both within and outside the law. Spider-Man also dealt with drug issues in the early 1970s, even though Marvel had to issue the series without Comics Code approval, since it did not allow such content at the time.

Films based on comic book characters often sparked renewed interest in superheroes, just as some popular movie characters became stars of comic books. In 1978, the box office smash "Superman" starred a young, unknown actor named Christopher Reeve as the man of steel. Using advanced special effects and other film techniques to make it seem like Superman could actually fly, the film grossed more than $300 million worldwide and led to a series of sequels in the 1980s.

Charles M. Schulz's *Peanuts* comic strip continued to be popular, with the droll beagle Snoopy and his rich fantasy life (as a World War I flying ace among other characters) coming more to the forefront of interest in the 1970s. Dozens of books featuring collections of *Peanuts* strips were published; stuffed animals of Peanuts characters, especially Snoopy and his bird friend Woodstock, were sold; and a full length movie, *Snoopy Come Home* (1972), was released.

Entertainment

of the 1970s

The 1970s were a comeback decade for movies. Although television had gobbled up increasing numbers of America's leisure hours, a combination of blockbuster movies and technological advances such as Panavision and Dolby sound, and more believable special effects such as those seen in *Star Wars* and *Jaws,* enticed people to return to the movie theater. Young filmmakers, including Francis Ford Coppola, George Lucas, Martin Scorsese, and Steven Spielberg, also revived the movie industry. Other top directors were Woody Allen, Robert Altman, and Michael Cimino. Another movie trend of the 1970s was the film as art.

Meanwhile, television continued to evolve to meet America's needs. For the first time, sitcoms and other shows focused on social consciousness, tackling pressing issues of the day, often in a satirical manner. By 1972, for the first time, half of U.S. households owned a television set, so shows were finding a broader audience. Soap operas became increasingly popular, and this decade also saw the rise of the television miniseries, the made for TV movie, and cable.

Disco dominated the dance scene from the middle of the decade until its end, when it suffered a significant backlash. Broadway saw the rise of more African American musicals and endured a spate of controversy over so-called sacrilegious material.

FILMS

The image of John Travolta as Tony Manero is burned into our public consciousness. Decked out in a three-piece white leisure suit with his shirt collar wide open, his hand points toward the heavens as the lighted disco floor glares below him. Tony, a disaffected, disillusioned youth from Brooklyn, New York, sees the disco as the only way out of a dead-end life that includes a low-paying job at the local paint store; his boss, already devoured by cynicism, provides no encouragement.

Strutting through the swirling lights of the disco, though, Tony swaggers with confidence and people move aside in silent tribute to watch him dance.

He and his dance partner—a woman named Stephanie who has ambitions beyond what Tony can yet comprehend—win a highly competitive dance contest that confers prestige in Manero's world, but even that doesn't bring joy because he knows that the Hispanic couple who competed against them was better. Spurred on by Stephanie, Tony longs to move to Manhattan where he vaguely perceives that a better life may exist. As

the movie winds down, Tony stumbles toward his dream and we want to believe that, somehow, he will "make it."

Audiences flocked to disaster and horror films in the 1970s. *Towering Inferno, Earthquake, Poseidon Adventure, Airport, Jaws, Amityville Horror, Alien,* and the *Exorcist* attracted large numbers of viewers, and many could even be labeled with the emerging term of "blockbuster." *Jaws* was the first movie ever to make more than $100 million for its studio. Changes in technology permitted movie producers to create credible-looking disasters that cause audiences to scream, rather than laugh at the poor quality of the special effects.

The first well-known disaster movie of the decade was *Airport,* 1970, with a stellar cast of Burt Lancaster, Jean Seberg, and Dean Martin. In this movie, the manager attempts to keep his airport open during a snowstorm; meanwhile, someone is attempting to blow up an airplane. As a rule, disaster movies have large casts with multiple subplots and personal and dramatic interactions occurring among characters—and *Airport* followed that formula. The personal dramas are interwoven along the main thread of the plot, which involves characters attempting to prevent or escape from a disaster; sometimes they're also forced to cope with the disaster's aftermath. Some disaster films use nature as the enemy and force of reckoning, while others point toward technology and human error.

In 2004, a group of cinema buffs voted *Airport* as the fourth-best disaster film of all time. Two other 1970s movies—*Poseidon Adventure* and *The Towering Inferno*—ranked first and third, respectively. In the *Poseidon Adventure,* starring Gene Hackman, a tidal wave turns a luxury liner upside down, and passengers must work together to find their way to the top to survive. Some succeed; others do not. As one woman is dying after saving another person from drowning, she passes on a pendant that she wants her grandchildren



The Rocky Horror Picture Show (1975). Directed by Jim Sharman. Shown: Tim Curry (center) sings "Sweet Transvestite." Rear (left to right): Little Nell Campbell, Patricia Quinn, and Richard O'Brien. Courtesy of Photofest.

to have and she tells potential survivors that life matters, very much. In contrast, in Paul Newman and Steve McQueen's *Towering Inferno,* people do want to survive and don't need encouragement; in fact, some may value life too much.

Although each of these disaster movies thrilled and entertained moviegoers, the films didn't necessarily change viewers' behavior patterns outside the theater. The disaster film *Jaws,* however, did have such an effect, and caused many beach goers to fear entering the water. This movie's effect spread even further as posters advertising *Jaws,* the movie, were imitated by political and social parodies using the *Jaws* theme: the State of Liberty was menaced by the CIA, Americans by tax bites, inflation, the energy crisis, and unemployment.

Other films addressed the Vietnam War issue, including *Coming Home, The Deer Hunter,* and *Apocalypse Now.* Each film—and others like them—presented a unique twist to the challenges presented by the war. The first movie explores the changing relationships between the men who fought in Vietnam and the women they left behind; the second involves three friends who are drafted, captured, and imprisoned, and must break all rules to escape; and the third focuses on a special forces officer sent into the jungle to capture and kill the U.S. military leader who has created his own renegade army.

Other films tackled social issues, such as divorce and child custody (*Kramer vs. Kramer*); intolerable work conditions and the resistance to union organization (*Norma Rae*); caring for those with psychological problems (*One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest*), and the collapse of a presidency (*All the President's Men*), among others. Still other movies were inspiring, sentimental, and/or nostalgic. These include *Rocky, Grease,* and *American Graffiti.* Comedies that continue to air long after the decade ended include *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* and *Animal House.* No listing of 1970s movies would be complete, though, without mentioning *The Godfather* (I and II) and *Star Wars.*

Many movie reviewers and film experts consider *The Godfather* and its first sequel to be masterpieces. Directed by Francis Ford Coppola, the original film features an all-star cast, including Marlon Brando, Al Pacino, and James Caan. The movie brought about public awareness of the Mafia, and much of what we know about the subculture came from these movies. Phrases from the movies such "sleeping with the fishes" and "I'll make him an offer he can't refuse" became part of American culture.[1] When we first meet the Godfather, he is immaculately dressed, receiving visitors in his darkly impressive office while others celebrate his daughter's wedding outside in the sunshine. We immediately know that he is

CULT CLASSIC: THE ROCKY HORROR PICTURE SHOW

Written and directed by Richard O'Brien and Jim Sharman, *The Rocky Horror Picture Show,* 1975, follows the plight of two newlyweds stranded in rural England (played by Barry Bostwick and Susan Sarandon) who stumble upon a rural castle in search of shelter. Once inside, they become entangled with a mythic group of transvestites from the city Transsexual on the planet Transylvania, led by their larger than life leader, Dr. Frank-n-Furter (played by Tim Curry). This over-the-top drama and all its subsequent hilarity ensue as the film leads the audience through a series of intentionally silly horror and science fiction inspired storylines aimed at challenging gender roles and encouraging sexual freedom.

But the road from the box office to cult classic would not be an easy one. Universally panned by critics for its overt sexual content combined with initially low ticket sales, the film was pulled from marquees across the country within weeks of its release. It wasn't until over a year after its first screening that the film began to find a following with a run of surprise sold-out shows at the Waverly Theatre in New York City where moviegoers would sing along with film. The midnight time-slot combined with a participation-encouraged motto proved to be a recipe for success. Since then, The *Rocky Horror Picture Show* has continually attracted a raucous audience and become one of the only theatrical musicals in history where attendees attend screenings in full costume and take part in a highly choreographed act and stage show that encompasses nearly every scene of the 98-minute film.

powerful, a force to be reckoned with. The first movie focuses on the attempted assassination of the leader of the Corleone family and his family's response. In the second movie, which also stars Robert DeNiro, we watch the maturation of the upcoming Godfather of the Corleone family. *The Godfather* and its sequel won the Academy Award in 1972 and 1974.

In another blockbuster movie series that began in the 1970s, the *Star Wars* trilogy, the lead character finds himself bereft of family and must create new ties to sustain himself. The 1977 science fiction film opens with Luke Skywalker, a orphaned young man living with his aunt and uncle, longing for adventure. His uncle needs him at home, though, and so he stays. Soon, disaster strikes Luke's homeland, and all ties are broken. Luke meets up with adventurer Han Solo and together they attempt to rescue Princess Leia from the clutches of the evil Darth Vader, whose dark empire intends to take over the galaxy.

Star Wars examines the concepts of good and evil and juxtaposes the notions of technology and humanity. Surrounded by combative robots and other mechanical creatures who will do whatever the dark empire bids them, the humans triumph—although even they also rely upon a couple of their own robotic friends, plus the deep wisdom and intense tutelage of Jedi Master Obi Wan Kenobi. In the movie, good clearly wins out against evil, although the ending provides a hint that victory is only temporary and that evil will rise again.

Woody Allen began to make his mark in films in the 1970s, with films such as *Bananas, Everything You Wanted to Know about Sex but were Afraid to Ask, Sleeper, Love and Death, Annie Hall, Interiors,* and *Manhattan.*

Another movie theme or genre from the 1970s was "blaxploitation films." In 1971, Melvyn Van Peebles produced an independent film called *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song,* a movie described



Star Wars (1977). Directed by George Lucas. Shown from left: Peter Mayhew (as Chewbacca), Mark Hamill (as Luke Skywalker), Alec Guinness (as Ben Obi-Wan Kenobi), and Harrison Ford (as Han Solo). Courtesy of Photofest.

HOW OTHERS SEE US

Star Wars Goes International

By the time the movie blockbuster *Star Wars* opened outside North America in October of 1977, audiences around the world were primed and ready for it. In the six months since its American premiere, media outlets had devoted numerous stories to the frenzy the film had generated in the United States—its box-office records, its tie-in products, the long lines outside theaters—and audiences in Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and elsewhere were just as receptive. The film earned $460 million in the U.S. and $337 million in other markets, making it one of the biggest moneymakers of all time.

Unlike other American pop-cultural juggernauts, *Star Wars* provoked little resistance from cultural watchdogs in other countries. Perhaps this was due to the otherworldly nature of its setting in "a galaxy far, far away." The tropes of science fiction made the film less recognizable as an American product. Perhaps it was the threads of myth and legend that writer/director George Lucas had worked into the story, which gave his tale a classic feel that people of many cultures could appreciate. It didn't hurt that Lucas was quick to credit his cinematic sources and influences, including the samurai films of Japan's Akira Kurosawa.

The tremendous worldwide success of *Star Wars* ushered in an era of "global filmmaking" as movie studios vied to produce splashy, action-packed entertainments that would play in many markets.

NOTABLE ACTORS OF THE 1970s

Woody Allen, 1935–
Marlon Brando, 1924–2004
Charles Bronson, 1921–2003
Clint Eastwood, 1930–
Sally Field, 1946–
Jane Fonda, 1937–
Dustin Hoffman, 1937–
Glenda Jackson, 1936–
Diane Keaton, 1946–
Jessica Lange, 1949–
Steve McQueen, 1930–1980
Paul Newman, 1925–2008
Jack Nicholson, 1937–
Ryan O'Neal, 1941–
Al Pacino, 1940–
Richard Pryor, 1940–2005
Robert Redford, 1937–
Christopher Reeve, 1952–2004
Burt Reynolds, 1936–
George C. Scott, 1927–1999
Sylvester Stallone, 1946–
Barbra Streisand, 1942–
John Travolta, 1954–
John Wayne, 1907–1979

as an "angry, violent screed about the racist persecution of a poor black everyman."[2] In *Song,* a pimp named Sweet Sweetback is celebrated as a cult figure after killing two white police officers who have abused their authority in the black community. Van Peebles's film cost $500,000 to produce—and then grossed $20 million within its first few months of release. In 1971, Hollywood was suffering financially and this skyrocketing success caused studios to focus on creating more blaxploitation movies. Approximately 40 movies were made during the first half of the 1970s, and three—Van Peebles's *Song,* plus *Shaft* and *Superfly*—became quite successful. In all three movies, black heroes fight against and beat the white system.

These films starred black actors and deliberately targeted black audiences. The actors expressed sexuality and served as heroes who survived the system and escaped the ghetto. Ironically, these films were frequently produced and directed by white professionals, although both *Shaft* and *Superfly* had African American directors. Despite the appropriation of black expression by white-run studios, these films allowed a greater black presence in the theater and created

ACADEMY AWARD WINNERS

1970 Picture: *Patton*

Director: Franklin J. Schaffner, *Patton*
Actor: George C. Scott, *Patton*
Actress: Glenda Jackson, *Women in Love*

1971 Picture: *The French Connection*

Director: William Friedkin, *The French Connection*
Actor: Gene Hackman, *The French Connection*
Actress: Jane Fonda, *Klute*

1972 Picture: *The Godfather**

Director: Bob Fosse, *Cabaret*
Actor: Marlon Brando, *The Godfather*
Actress: Liza Minnelli, *Cabaret*

1973 Picture: *The Sting*

Director: George Roy Hill, *The Sting*
Actor: Jack Lemmon, *Save the Tiger*
Actress: Glenda Jackson, *A Touch of Class*

1974 Picture: *The Godfather, Part II*

Director: Francis Ford Coppola, *The Godfather, Part II*
Actor: Art Carney, *Harry and Tonto*
Actress: Ellen Burstyn, *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore*

1975 Picture: *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*

Director: Milos Forman, *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*
Actor: Jack Nicholson, *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*
Actress: Louise Fletcher, *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*

1976 Picture: *Rocky*

Director: John G. Avildsen, *Rocky*
Actor: Peter Finch, *Network*
Actress: Faye Dunaway, *Network*

1977 Picture: *Annie Hall*

Director: Woody Allen, *Annie Hall*
Actor: Richard Dreyfuss, *The Goodbye Girl*
Actress: Diane Keaton, *Annie Hall*

1978 Picture: *The Deer Hunter*

Director: Michael Cimino, *The Deer Hunter*
Actor: Jon Voight, *Coming Home*
Actress: Jane Fonda, *Coming Home*

1979 Picture: *Kramer vs. Kramer*

Director: Robert Benton, *Kramer vs. Kramer*
Actor: Dustin Hoffman, *Kramer vs. Kramer*
Actress: Sally Field, *Norma Rae*

* Highest grossing.

OTHER NOTABLE MOVIES

*M*A*S*H* (1970)
A Clockwork Orange (1971)
The Poseidon Adventure (1972)
American Graffiti (1973)
The Exorcist (1973)*
Chinatown (1974)
Jaws (1975)*
The Rocky Horror Picture Show (1975)
All the President's Men (1976)
Carrie (1976)
Network (1976)
Taxi Driver (1976)
Close Encounters of the Third Kind (1977)*
Saturday Night Fever (1977)
Star Wars (1977)
Grease (1978)*
Halloween (1978)
National Lampoon's Animal House (1978)
Superman (1978)
Alien (1979)
Apocalypse Now (1979)
The China Syndrome (1979)
The Muppet Movie (1979)
Star Trek: The Motion Picture (1979)

* Highest grossing.

new stars such as Jim Brown, Ron O'Neal, Richard Rowntree, Tamara Dobson, and Pam Grier. As the genre developed, critics pointed out how later films focused on the sexual and aggressive features of the genre to the degree that they overshadowed development of black identity. As more movies were made, they became more formulaic and stereotypical. By 1976, the movement crashed for two reasons. One, the market was so targeted that it became difficult for studios to make a profit, even though blacks comprised 12 percent of the country's demographics; and two, a segment of the black population began protesting the pimp and/or junkie connotations portrayed by the (anti) heroes of these movies.

TELEVISION

Sitcoms

Groundbreaking is a word frequently used to describe new television shows, to the degree that the term loses meaning and emphasis. One show that does deserve this label, though, is *All in the Family,* which first aired on January 12, 1971, and starred Carroll O'Connor as Archie Bunker; Jean Stapleton as his wife, Edith; Sally Struthers as their grown daughter, Gloria Stivic; and Rob Reiner as her husband, Mike. Because Mike is a college student, he and Gloria live with Archie and Edith.

In the pilot program, Archie and Edith's 22nd anniversary is approaching, so Gloria and Mike decide to plan a surprise Sunday brunch. Archie does not appear grateful for their efforts and misunderstandings ensue. From this plot summary, it's easy to infer that a series of slapstick twists and turns will occur to the sound of canned laughter, and that all will be solved within the confines of 30 minutes.

That, however, didn't happen. Instead of dealing with trivial disagreements that could be quickly resolved during the brunch, Archie and Mike argued passionately about prejudice, politics, and religion, a focus that was radically different from previous sitcoms.

Besides being innocuous, sitcoms of the 1960s—some of which carried over from the 1950s—employed significant elements of fantasy and implicitly asked viewers to not question the impossibility of their premises. These shows include *Mr. Ed; My Mother, the Car; Lost in Space; Flying Nun; Gilligan's Island; Bewitched; Get Smart;* and *I Dream of Jeannie.*

On the cusp of the 1970s, though, Norman Lear and his partner Bud Yorkin (Tandem Productions) decided to smash through the blandness that had served as entertainment on television. Using the British show *Till Death Do Us Part* as his model, Lear created a script wherein the Bunker family would bring social issues such as racism, sexism, abortion rights, homosexuality, and menopause to prime TV in a comic fashion. Persuading ABC to air the program, though, proved impossible. After taking his pilot to CBS, Lear needed to compromise with the head of the station's standards and practices department, William Tankersley, who believed that the 1960s model of programming was appealing to all and offended no one. Surprisingly, though, Tankersley and Lear came to an agreement, wherein Lear would remove scenes such as the one when Mike came downstairs while zipping up his pants but be permitted to keep all politically controversial material in his script—and thus the show aired in January 1971.

O'Connor's character, Archie Bunker, was key to the show's premise. Archie worked as a foreman on the docks and drove a cab on the side. His world view was narrow and bigoted, and he called people "wops," "yids," "coons," and "Hebes;" when reminded that Jesus was, in fact, Jewish, he responded, "Only on his mother's side." He called his son-in-law "that no-good, lunk-headed Polack" and "Meathead." He nicknamed his wife "dingbat" and, whenever she talked too much or said something that upset him, Bunker told her to "stifle"—and yet, despite all these intolerant and hurtful statements, O'Connor portrayed a man who, deep down, loved his family and was even tender-hearted.

Jean Stapleton's Edith provided a perfect foil for Archie; Edith Bunker was patient and tolerant, and her sunny nature defused situations. Gloria Bunker Stivic, played by Sally Struthers, often had to mediate between her conservative and bullheaded father and her liberal and passionate husband; Mike Stivic, played by Rob Reiner, was earning his sociology degree while living in the Bunkers' household and his opinions were

nearly always the polar opposite of his father-in-law's. Their next-door neighbors, the Jeffersons, also played an important role in the show. George Jefferson was as biased toward the white race as Archie was about the black; George's wife, Louise (or Weezie) was open-minded and warm-hearted—and Edith's best friend. Their son Lionel rounded out the family; a friend of Mike's, he made low-key and witty observations about his family's situation.

Viewer reactions to Archie's character varied widely. Some proffered that, because Archie was the butt of most jokes, the show exposed bigotry as ridiculous. Many people applauded the show for promoting tolerance, but other viewers enjoyed watching Archie Bunker because they agreed with what he said.

All in the Family was revolutionary and the *Washington Post* credited the show for paving the way for another new show, *Sanford and Son.*

Debuting a year after *All in the Family, Sanford and Son* was set in Watts, the site of a recent race riot. The plot and humor frequently centered on conflicts between the father, Fred Sanford (Redd Foxx), and the grown son, Lamont (Desmond Wilson). Fred's character was outspoken and somewhat manipulative; if not given what he wanted, he would clutch his chest and talk of having "the big one," a heart attack that would send him to heaven to reunite with his deceased wife. Lamont played a straightforward character who attempted to reason with his curmudgeonly father as he blustered his way through various get-rich-quick schemes that invariably failed.



All in the Family, on CBS television, ran from 1971 to 1979 and broke new ground in a comedy by covering such social issues as bigotry and sexism. Shown from left: Rob Reiner, Sally Struthers, Jean Stapleton, and Carroll O'Connor (as Archie Bunker). Courtesy of Photofest.

NOTABLE TV SHOWS

All in the Family
The Bob Newhart Show
Charlie's Angels
The Flip Wilson Show
Happy Days
Laverne & Shirley
Little House on the Prairie
The Mary Tyler Moore Show
*M*A*S*H*
One Day at a Time
Roots miniseries
Sanford and Son
Saturday Night Live
60 Minutes
Three's Company
The Waltons

Another new show that year that relied on humor and focused on the behavior of black Americans was the *Flip Wilson Show.* This was America's first successful variety show hosted by an African American. Clerow "Flip" Wilson first appeared on the *Tonight Show,* the popular late-night talk show hosted by Johnny Carson. After receiving national exposure on the *Tonight Show,* Wilson was offered his own show on which he shared jokes and humorous stories and portrayed characters such as the wildly dressed Geraldine Jones. Wilson partially based Geraldine on the Butterfly McQueen character (Mammy) in *Gone with the Wind,* making Geraldine unrefined but honest, flirtatious without being trashy, demanding of—and receiving—respect from her off-screen boyfriend, Killer. Wilson also hosted well-known guests on his show.

The program won two Emmys its first year—for the best variety show and for the best writing in a variety show—and relied on outrageous humor for its success. Meanwhile, Norman Lear created yet another successful television show: the *Jeffersons,* an *All in the Family* spin-off featuring the Bunker family's black neighbors.

Successful as these producers were, another duo provided them with competition for the title of top television producers: Mary Tyler Moore and her husband, Grant Tinker (MTM Enterprises). Their breakout program, the *Mary Tyler Moore Show,* featured Mary as a single woman working at a television studio in Minneapolis. Mary was originally to be a divorcee, but CBS feared that viewers wouldn't separate Mary's new character from the one she played in the 1960s' *Dick Van Dyke Show*—and would therefore assume that Mary had left the beloved Van Dyke. Therefore, Mary was portrayed as a single woman who'd just suffered through the breakup of a longtime romance.

Although this idea does not seem daring today, it was of significance then because of the feminist resurgence that was occurring in the country. The show debuted in September 1970, shortly after the August 26, 1970, "Women Strike for Equality" demonstration during which women marched in protests across the country—most notably in New York—to both honor the 50th anniversary of the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, which granted women the right to vote, and to protest the continuing oppression of women.

According to author Bonnie J. Dow, the *Mary Tyler Moore Show* was the first successful program to portray the influence of the women's movement. Although Mary was not the first working woman to appear on television, she was the first to have a satisfying career. Moreover, her profession was not one where she was subservient to men or where she had to put the needs of others before her own. Mary was novel because she had a position of authority, was unmarried, and lived alone. She had personal freedom.

Another strong female starred as the lead of an early 1970s sitcom; yet another spin-off from *All in the Family,* the title was simply *Maude.* Played by Bea Arthur, Maude was the strong-willed, determined, and opinionated foil to Archie Bunker; her viewpoints were liberal and she seldom shied from sharing them.

Maude was already divorced from her fourth husband when the plotline began, and she lived with her current husband, Walter, and her divorced daughter. In the series, Walter and Maude deal with his alcoholism, and they decide to abort a late-in-life pregnancy.

Lear also produced *One Day at a Time,* which debuted in 1975 and featured a recently divorced professional mother who was raising two headstrong teenaged daughters.

Finally, no 1970s sitcom listing would be complete without mentioning *M*A*S*H,* a show set in a field hospital in Korea during the Korean War. Doctors and nurses used humor, sometimes dark, sometimes absurd, to deal with the horrors of war. Although Alan Alda is generally considered the star, it was the interactions of the various characters that brought richness and texture to this ensemble show. One of the most memorable characters may be the cross-dressing Max Klinger, played by Jamie Farr; this character hoped that dressing in outrageous clothing, including dresses and feather boas, would label him unsuitable for duty and would therefore get him sent home. The show debuted on September 17, 1972, and outlasted the decade. Some consider *M*A*S*H* the finest ever produced for television.

From the mid-point of the decade on, a degree of fantasy returned to television shows such as *Mork and Mindy, Charlie's Angels,* and the *Love Boat.* Nostalgia also reigned, as evidenced by *Little House on the Prairie,* starring Michael Landon and telling the story of a pioneer family in Minnesota; the *Waltons,* starring Richard Thomas and focusing on an idealized version of family life during the Great Depression; *Happy Days,* starring Ron Howard and Henry Winkler, and the ensemble show, *Brady Bunch.*

Soap Operas

In 1970, another television genre was reaching fruition: the soap opera. That year, 20 million people watched one or more of the 19 serial shows wherein plotlines continued from show to show. At the beginning of the decade, soap operas aired from 11:30 A.M. to 4:30 P.M., and each show lasted 30 minutes, Monday through Friday. On January 6, 1975, *Another World* expanded to one hour; shortly thereafter, *Days of Our Lives* and *As the World Turns* followed suit.

Although soap operas were traditionally considered programming for housewives, a study indicated that 30 percent of early viewers of *All My Children,* a soap opera that rose to prominence in the 1970s, were either males or younger viewers.

By 1976, soap operas were so popular that *Time* magazine devoted a cover story to *Days of Our Lives,* with the headline "Soap Operas: Sex and Suffering in the Afternoon." University level courses were taught on the genre and the 1970s saw the creation of many new programs. For example, *All My Children* (Agnes Nixon, ABC) premiered as a half-hour program on January 5, 1970, and dealt with social issues ranging from child abuse to Vietnam War protests. Highlights include the Emmy Award won by Mary Fickett in 1972; Fickett's character, Ruth Parker Brent, criticized the Vietnam War after her on-screen son was drafted. This was the first Emmy awarded to a daytime actor. In 1974, *All My Children* aired an episode wherein Brent's son, Phil, was shot and then dragged away by a young Vietnamese boy; this was the first war scene aired on daytime television.

Also in 1973, Erica Kane (Susan Lucci) underwent an abortion because she did not want a pregnancy to affect her modeling career, an option that was legal because of the recent *Roe vs. Wade* decision. Fan mail supported Erica's choice—one that was made against the advice of her soap opera husband—but the writers still had the character suffer from septicemia so she would not escape punishment for her decision.

Variety Shows

Flip Wilson created the first successful variety show featuring a black American. Other successful variety shows of the 1970s include:

Sonny and Cher (CBS): Debuting on August 1, 1971, this show featured a married couple who sang duets, hosted guests, and bickered. Cher became well known for her outrageous outfits and she even exposed her belly button, a first in television history. Personal troubles marred the show's success. At the end of the 1973–1974 season, with the show still rated eighth on television overall, Sonny filed for divorce and the show ended. Sonny and Cher each created a variety show without a partner, but both shows flopped—causing the divorced couple to try, once again, to perform on television together. So,

on February 1, 1976—with Cher pregnant with her estranged rocker husband Greg Allman's baby—the new show debuted. Problems quickly cropped up, though; producers didn't think that Cher, a recent divorcee, should wear outlandish costumes; legal battles prevented skit routines from being revamped; and the quality of new writing was uneven.

Donny and Marie (ABC): Donny and Marie Osmond were a brother-sister team from a large Mormon family; the boys of the family performed together as the Osmond Brothers and Donny was the most popular. Donny and Marie's first television special aired in November 1975; it was so successful that their variety show began appearing in January 1976. The most popular segment of the show was called "A Little Bit Country, A Little Bit Rock & Roll," during which Marie would perform country vignettes, while Donny would provide the rock & roll. They also bantered with one another on screen.

Saturday Night Live (Dick Ebersol and Lorne Michaels, NBC): "Hi. I'm Chevy Chase—and you're not." Teenagers and young adults flocked to the late-night antiestablishment comedy show to hear punch lines such as this. Originating on October 11, 1975, this show featured satiric skits that thumbed figurative noses at convention and often mocked politicians and other top public figures. Stars included Chevy Chase, John Belushi, Dan Aykroyd, Jane Curtin, Gilda Radner, Garrett Morris, Bill Murray, and Laraine Newman. Ongoing skits focused on the Coneheads, Land Sharks, and the Samurai Deli. The show featured a different celebrity guest host each week, and guest bands—some quite popular, others cutting-edge—performed on the show. Although the show has undergone countless changes, most specifically in talent, it still airs today.

News

News reporting evolved during the 1970s; for the first time, a news program—CBS's *60 Minutes*—successfully competed against other prime-time programming. This show featured thought-provoking and controversial interviews and viewers responded to its quality.

Moreover, despite pressure from the Nixon administration, television stations—most notably CBS—aggressively reported on the Watergate scandal and subsequent presidential resignation. Horrifying and mind-numbing updates of the Vietnam War also caused anxious viewers to tune in for details. Meanwhile, morning news shows continued to gain acceptance. Starting in 1976, presidential debates became an anticipated ritual.

The Miniseries

In 1977, ABC aired the eight-part miniseries *Roots.* Based on a book written by Alex Haley, the series shared a broad yet intimate look at an African American family whose ancestor Kunta Kinte was kidnapped, sold into slavery, and brought to the United States against his will. He is maimed as the result of several attempts to escape, but finally settles down on his owner's plantation, marrying the cook and having a daughter—who is eventually sold to another owner. Viewers watch 200 years of historical events unfold through the eyes of Kinte, played by LeVar Burton, and his descendants.

Television executives compressed this series into the shortest number of days possible, fearful of not garnering enough audience, but nearly half the population of the United States at the time, 100 million people, watched the conclusion of the series while 130 million viewers watched at least part of this historical drama. This miniseries was so successful that it helped launch ABC into first-place ratings and revenues for the first time, and it spurred an interest in many Americans to search for their own roots.

At the time of the airing, speculation arose about how the series would affect race relations in the United States. *Time* summarized observations this way: "Many observers feel that the TV series left whites with a more sympathetic view of blacks by giving them a greater appreciation of black history"—and yet, "the same article reported that white junior high school students were harassing African Americans and that black youths assaulted four white youths in Detroit while chanting, 'Roots, roots, roots'."[3] Post-airing, many also speculated about the degree of truth portrayed in the miniseries. Haley himself called it "faction," or a blend of fact and fiction.

Overall, *Roots* was the impetus of the successful television miniseries, helping to solidify it as a viable format for television.

Made for TV Movies

Many made for TV movies were designed to appeal to female viewers, many of whom—because of a purchase of a second television set—gained control over what they viewed. One of the first successful and well-done made for TV movies was *Duel.* Produced by Steven Spielberg and starring Dennis Weaver, this 1971 movie eventually appeared in European cinemas. Overall, made for TV movies tended to have lower budgets and fewer actors; many focused on melodramatic subjects, leading to a derisive nickname of "disease of the week" movies; plots were often written to reach cliffhangers that coincided with commercial breaks.

Cable Television

The notion of cable television providing a deluxe—or extra—service for additional pay was first introduced in November 1972, when Service Electric first aired Home Box Office (HBO) in the Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, area. Only a few hundred households had subscribed by the time the channel aired, but it quickly gained more subscribers. By 1975, 3,506 cable systems existed, serving nearly 10 million subscribers. These viewers could select from numerous channels, as compared to the three or four channels available to viewers of broadcast-only television.

In 1975, HBO aired the well-touted Joe Frazier-Muhammad Ali heavyweight boxing match. The following year, Ted Turner's WTBS Atlanta channel broadcast throughout much of the country via cable television, as did the channel eventually known as the Family Channel. Viacom's Showtime debuted in March 1978—and ESPN, which began airing sports programming around the clock, first appeared in 1979 under the name Sports Programming Network. Its popularity was quite high, even from its inception, and reached more than 57 million homes. 1979 also saw the debut of the children's cable channel, Nickelodeon, and the Movie Channel. Ted Turner's supernews channel, Cable News Network (CNN), was only a year away.

The most obvious transformation wrought by cable was the plethora of programming choices; shows and channels were becoming both more abundant and more niche. Parents could, for example, allow their children to watch Nickelodeon or the Family Channel, safe in the knowledge that sex and vulgar language would not be part of the programming. Sports lovers no longer needed to wait for specific times to watch athletic activities, and movie fans could enjoy films in the convenience of their own homes, day or night. Satellites made live shows from around the nation and the world possible.

PUBLIC TELEVISION

Network television also faced competition from public broadcasting. In 1969, the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), which replaced National Educational Television (NET), began its broadcast service. This form of programming depended upon corporate sponsorships and private donations rather than funds collected from companies that paid to run advertisements during commercial breaks. Viewers therefore had a choice that included watching programming—albeit limited at first—that did not feature slick commercials. One of the initial PBS programs was the Children's Television Workshop's *Sesame Street,* an award-winning children's program that aimed to teach preschool children the basic skills needed for kindergarten. Characters included Jim Henson's muppets Ernie and Bert, Big Bird, Cookie Monster, Grover, and Oscar the Grouch, among others. The show continues in the twenty-first century and has helped countless children (and their parents) learn about numbers, letters, and concepts. In 1975, AT&T began sponsoring PBS news programming; initially called the *Robert McNeil Report,* the show became better known under its revised name, the *McNeil-Lehrer Report.*

Disco

Disco music tends to be upbeat with a regular rhythm. Disco dances range from choreographed line dances, often created for one particular song, to freestyle movements that fit the beat of the music being played. Dance floors in the 1970s were frequently crowded; colored lights flashed, often around a large silvery disco ball. Men and women alike wore flashy outfits, including tight

spandex pants, glittery tops, and platform shoes—and the music thumped throughout the room in an insistent bass beat.

It is difficult to separate disco as dance from disco as music, as the beat of the music fueled the dance—and the two are so intertwined that the same word—disco—is used to describe both the songs and the corresponding dance steps. Disco in the 1970s first became popular in the middle of the decade with people dancing to songs such as "Rock the Boat" by the Hues Corporation. Donna Summer's music epitomized the disco scene later in the decade, with songs such as "Love to Love You, Baby," "Hot Stuff," "Heaven Knows," and "Last Dance."

Identifying the first disco song ever created is difficult. Various musical genres contributed to the culmination of the sounds and steps of disco, including funk and soul, rhythm and blues, and Motown and jazz. During the late 1960s, various male counterculture groups, most notably gay but also heterosexual black and Latino, created an alternative to rock 'n' roll, which was dominated by white—and presumably heterosexual—men. This alternative was disco, and, by the mid-1970s when it became mainstream, it was an amalgamation of the talents and influence of many subgenres.

In 1977, after the movie *Saturday Night Fever* debuted, dancers would disco in the style showcased in that extraordinarily popular film. In the movie, partners danced the steps of the hustle in a couple format, borrowing heavily from salsa and swing and adapting that to the continuous disco beat. In this dance, the male spins his female partner quite frequently, drawing her close to him and then pushing her away. In the movie, characters danced to songs of the Bee Gees, including "Staying Alive" and "How Deep Is Your Love," and people all around the country attempted to duplicate those snazzy moves.

Near the end of the decade, though, disco suffered from an enormous backlash. People criticized the disco scene for numerous reasons. The music was too feminine, it was meaningless, and the disco lifestyle was too connected with sex and drugs.

Drama

The 1970s witnessed an upswing of African American musicals, including *Raisin,* which won the Tony Award for best new musical; Virginia Capers won a best actress award for her performance. In this play, an extended family waits for an insurance check after the death of a family member and each has a different reason for wanting that check.

In 1975, *The Wiz,* a play based on Frank Baum's *Wizard of Oz,* won seven Tony awards and ran for 1,672 high-energy performances. The cast urbanized the story; the most popular song was *Ease on Down the Road,* which was sung by characters as they danced down the Yellow Brick Road. The following year, *Bubbling Brown Sugar* celebrated the Golden Years of Harlem, which received six Tony nominations, and a new production of *Porgy and Bess* appeared on stage. In 1978, Nell Carter won the Best Actress in a Musical Tony for *Ain't Misbehavin'.*

In 1970, for the first time ever, the Equity Council allowed someone—the New York Public Library—to tape performances for archival purposes; at the end of that year, an off-Broadway strike over pension fund issues affected 17 shows.

NOTABLE THEATER

Sleuth, 1970 (1,222 perfs.)

Jesus Christ Superstar, 1971 (711 perfs.)

Grease, 1972 (3,388 perfs.)

Pippin, 1972 (1,944 perfs.)

The Magic Show, 1974 (1,920 perfs.)

A Chorus Line, 1975 (6,137 perfs)

Same Time, Next Year, 1975 (1,453 perfs.)

The Wiz, 1975 (1,672 perfs.)

Oh! Calcutta! (revival), 1976 (5,959 perfs.)

Annie, 1977 (2,377 perfs.)

Gemini, 1977 (1,819 perfs.)

Ain't Misbehavin', 1978 (1,604 perfs.)

The Best Little Whorehouse in Texas, 1978 (1,584 perfs.)

Dancin', 1978 (1,774 perfs.)

Deathtrap, 1978 (1,793 perfs.)

Evita, 1979 (1.567 perfs.)

In 1975, nine Broadway shows shut down over a musicians' strike that lasted 25 days.

A rock opera—*Jesus Christ Superstar*—caused controversy. Created by Tim Rice and Andrew Lloyd Webber, it first appeared in 1970 and highlighted personal struggles between Jesus and Judas Iscariot. The play opens with Judas confronting Jesus, telling him that his popularity is getting out of control. Mary Magdalene then massages Jesus with ointment, further angering Judas, who doesn't think that Jesus should hang around with a former prostitute. The play first appeared on Broadway on October 12, 1971, and received mixed reviews, along with criticism from Andrew Lloyd Webber. Some religious groups also condemned the play, aghast at Jesus's portrayal as man, not God; the omission of the resurrection, they said, was sacrilegious. In 1976, the opera began a national tour, which continued until 1980.

In 1975, *A Chorus Line* by Michael Bennett first appeared on Broadway. This play featured a group of 25 desperate dancers vying for eight spots on a chorus line and it ran for 6,137 performances, becoming the longest-running show in Broadway history; it received the New York Drama Critics Award, the Pulitzer Prize, and nine Tony Awards, as well. All this was accomplished with no real scenery, except mirrors, and no costumes except for leotards and a "few spangles for the finale."[4] This, contrary to what worked for most plays, was truly an ensemble with no discernable star.

In 1979, Andrew Lloyd Webber and Tim Rice premiered *Evita,* which depicts Juan Peron's rise to power as president of Argentina and the significant role played by his wife in this event. Both *Evita* and *Jesus Christ Superstar* were inspired by musical albums. In *Evita,* the lyrics were partially based upon *Evita: The Woman with the Whip,* which drew upon stories told by her enemies and victims. After the play appeared, a more sympathetic biography of Evita was written.

The play *Evita* illustrates how mediums blended together and borrowed inspiration from one another in the 1970s: A biography inspired songs—that inspired a play. In another example, a 1979 play *The Elephant Man* told the real-life story of Joseph Merrick, a man who suffered from a disease that horribly deformed his face. Shortly after that play appeared, a character on a popular television Show discovered that he, too, had the disease.

RADIO DEBUTS OF THE 1970s

"American Top 40" (1970): weekly countdown of the top songs on the national pop charts, hosted by Casey Kasem.

"All Things Considered" (1971): public radio's afternoon news and public affairs program, emphasizing long-form, in-depth features and interviews.

"Earplay" (1972): innovative radio drama series, presenting adapted and original radio plays on National Public Radio.

"A Prairie Home Companion" (1974): variety show hosted by Garrison Keillor, featuring old-time music, comedic skits, and stories about the fictional town of Lake Wobegon.

"CBS Radio Mystery Theater" (1974): mystery anthology in the style of the old-time dramas of radio's golden age.

"King Biscuit Flower Hour" (1974): live rock music, featuring performances by Bruce Springsteen, the Rolling Stones, Eric Clapton, the Who, Fleetwood Mac, U2, and many others.

"Dr. Demento" (1974): syndicated music program focused on novelty songs, rock parodies, and unusual instrumentals.

"The General Mills Radio Adventure Theater" (1977): children's drama anthology hosted by Tom Bosley, part of the short-lived "Golden Age of Radio" revival.

"The Larry King Show" (1978): lengthy interviews, listener call-in, and commentary hosted by Larry King.

"Morning Edition" (1979): National Public Radio's daily news program featuring headlines, commentary, newsmaker profiles, and reports on politics, the arts, science, and business.

Fashion

of the 1970s

People in the United States had a relaxed attitude about clothing styles during the 1970s, the decade of athletic shoes and warm-up suits as fashion statements, of denim as high style. T-shirts were plentiful and jewelry was funky. Even one of the more formal pieces of attire—the leisure suit—was known by a name that implied the casual.

In the 1970s, the work of U.S. fashion designers appeared on the Parisian stage—albeit for charity fundraising purposes. Although Americans shed French designers' looks, they incorporated style elements from Africa, Asia, and the Near East. Younger—and some older—Americans embraced the more extreme fashions of the decade, wearing the tallest of shoes and the skimpiest of outfits, while rockers introduced outrageous new looks that became known as punk and glam fashions.

AMERICAN INFORMALITY

Nothing says American informality like Nike—both the athletic shoes bearing that trade name and the company's embroidered "swoosh" symbol. Prior to the rise of Nike, the notion of athletic shoe as fashion statement would have seemed absurd. In 1971 though, Portland State University instructor Phil Knight paid advertising student Caroline Davis $35 to design a logo for the lightweight athletic shoes that he was selling out of the trunk of his car—and thus the brand of Nike was born.

Whether the fitness and running boom skyrocketed the sales of Nike shoes—or Nike expedited the exercise trends of the 1970s—the fact is that a simple pair of shoes became strongly connected to a cultural transformation. "Working out" was more than a fashion statement; it became a way for people to concentrate on themselves—on their identities as athletes and on their bodies—and what could more appealing than this intense self-focus during the "Me Decade?"

By the spring of 1972, consumers could buy a shoe complete with Nike's swoosh—and Knight raked in $3.2 million in sales that year alone. Each year throughout the decade, sales doubled, and, as more and more Americans wore athletic shoes—even people who weren't necessarily athletes—it became a status symbol to at least appear as someone who exercised.

What precisely, though, did one wear with Nike shoes? In a clever marketing move, the company created a Nike T-shirt that actually debuted before the shoes with the swoosh. Sweatsuits were also fashion statements in the 1970s. In 1972, *Sports Illustrated* declared the warm-up suit one of the hottest fashions around, one worn by people of all ages, genders, and shapes. Warm-up suits came in a wide variety of colors and were generally at

FASHION HIGHLIGHTS OF THE 1970s

Fashion in the 1970s included a variety of styles as individuals dressed more for personal preference than as dictated by designers.

Women wore Laura Ashley fashions with dropped waists and Victorian-inspired dresses. Some wore the prairie look—full ruffled skirts, and high necked blouses with puffy sleeves. Other preferred the Annie Hall look—layered menswear with trousers, vests, and wide ties. Shirtdresses, bodysuits, and slacks with matched blazers were also popular, as were hot pants, jeans tucked into boots, ponchos, halters and tube tops, satin pants, and clogs. The Dorothy Hamill wedge haircut was popular, as was the Farrah Fawcett hairstyle—flowing, layered curls.

Young women and men wore punk styles—Doc Martens boots, body piercings, and dyed, spiked hair. Bell bottoms were common. Young people also wore designer jeans, T-shirts, platform shoes, hipster pants, and bodysuits, until mid-decade. Warm-up suits were in. Men favored open-necked, big-collared shirts, leisure suits, and sideburns.

least 50 percent polyester, thereby keeping their form better than those made entirely from cotton; people wore them with coordinating headbands.

JEANS

Although people considered denim as acceptable work or leisure wear prior to the 1970s, denim became downright fashionable throughout the first half of the decade. People often personalized the "bell" portion of their bell-bottomed jeans by adding metal eyelets and studs, antiwar graffiti, embroidery, and iron-on transfers. Once a pair of jeans became too tattered for wear, people cut off the lower legs to make shorts or purses; squares of denim material were also sewn together to make duffle bags, patchwork skirts, and quilts.

Jeans lost much of their individuality—but garnered even more popularity—when two New York garment makers chose the name "Jordache" for their new line; the designers selected this word because it sounded both French and classy. Almost instantly, rhinestones and other embellishments disappeared from fashionable jeans, replaced by sleek, straight-legged and simple denims with the Jordache symbol on the right rear pocket. Out went the low-cost pair of pants, and in came "designer jeans" such as those created by Gloria Vanderbilt, Calvin Klein, and Sassoon—with prices as high as $55 per pair. The old stand-bys, jeans made by Levi's and Wranglers, remained popular, however.

The popularity of blue jeans in the decade cannot be underestimated. By the end of the decade, it was difficult to find anyone—young or old—who didn't wear blue jeans, and, as more sophisticated design choices became increasingly available, jeans were a status symbol that didn't require wearers to give up comfort. Meanwhile, the plethora of T-shirt choices—ranging from ones purchased at rock concerts to those making a statement about political, spiritual, or environmental beliefs—made completing outfits a cinch. Tie-dyed shirts were also part of the mix, as were sleeveless tank tops and other halter-style shirts. Footwear choices included clogs and earth shoes.

JEWELRY

Jewelry in the 1970s was often crafted from elements in nature and could be worn with informal clothing. Teenagers often gave their sweethearts silver ID bracelets with their names engraved on the front.

Other popular jewelry trends in the 1970s included puka shells (or beads); silver-and-turquoise "squash blossom" pieces; and spoon rings.

Puka beads or shells are doughnut-shaped, light-colored, hard substances found in Hawaii. Manufacturers would string them tightly on a short cord, just long enough that the necklace rested above the line of clothing; because the style was open-collared shirts, these necklaces made a distinct fashion statement. Some followers of this trend began wearing pukas after teen idol David Cassidy—who played Keith on the television show *The Partridge Family*—wore them.

Others fell in love with puka beads after actress Elizabeth Taylor wore a necklace containing these shells. Another popular—and more exotic—fashion trend in the 1970s was to wear Native

American "squash blossom" jewelry, pieces that consisted of hand-crafted silver and turquoise and generally weighed five or six pounds. Perhaps a jewelry item boasted only one chunk of turquoise, or perhaps several stones formed a blossom; in either case, the jewelry was treasured because each piece was unique and "the color and veining of the turquoise, along with the intricate tooling of the silver, were like individual fingerprints."[1] Others wore spoon rings, which were fashioned from the top portion of eating utensils. The various silverware patterns allowed for a wide variety of designs, and a significant number of Americans wore these rings.

LEISURE SUITS

The quintessential moment of fashion in the 1970s, or at least the most memorable, may have been the white polyester leisure suit—which consisted of a casual jacket and matching pants—that John Travolta wore in *Saturday Night Fever,* 1977. In the most famous still photo from this movie, Travolta is poised beneath the bright lights of the Brooklyn disco, surrounded by darkness and with one hand pointing boldly and confidently toward the sky; that moment, for many, epitomizes the culture of the entire disco era.

This movie both illustrated and contributed to another 1970s fashion curiosity. For the first time in many decades, people paid attention to men's fashion rather than just women's. Who remembers what Travolta's dance partner, Karen Lynn Gorney, wore during that famous scene? The outfit—a bright red, knee-length, scoop-shouldered, swirling dress that twirled with her every move—certainly wasn't subtle, and, had Travolta's outfit not so fully commanded our attention, would have been quite memorable.

As men's fashion began appearing in the spotlight, some women began donning startlingly masculine fashions. After the move *Annie Hall,* 1977, debuted, some women began wearing tweed jackets, neckties, and derby hats. This development echoed Diane Keaton's style in the movie, wherein she wore exaggerated and mismatched male fashions, often oversized. This movie premiered during years of intense feminist debate; it isn't really surprising, then, that some women literally usurped the shirts off men's backs—or that men's and women's clothing styles blurred and crossed over as traditional gender roles themselves shifted and became less distinct.

Apropos of a decade that abolished the autocratic rules of fashion, other women wore soft and romantic dresses, old-fashioned and loosely flowing.

FOREIGN INFLUENCE

The 1970s were a time of individual expression, of clashes and emerging identities; women wore a wide spectrum of clothing styles throughout the decade. Perhaps skirt length best represents this variety, as some women continued to wear the short miniskirt of the 1960s while others followed the dictates of Parisian fashion and chose to don the midi; still others wore loose flowing skirts—maxis—that draped nearly to the floor, and were often called "granny skirts."

Fashion buyers in America panicked at this broad scope of skirt-length options, having heavily invested in the midi after assuming that American women would—as they had in the past—desire what had been fashionable in Europe just six months prior. Younger women especially disliked the midi and refused to give up their miniskirts for the new style; furthermore, hot pants—a pair of shorts that were skimpier than the mini—gave women an even more daring fashion alternative, so the Parisian midi faced significant challenges.

French designers of note during the 1970s included Yves Saint Laurent, Christian Dior, Hubert de Givenchy, Emanuel Ungaro, and Pierre Cardin. These designers all influenced Americans in their fashion choices, especially among those who wanted a "designer" look. On November 28, 1973, these five designers showed their latest styles at the Palace of Versailles to raise money for the Versailles Restoration Fund. Several American fashion designers also participated in the fundraiser. These included Anne Klein and her assistant Donna Karan; Stephen Burrows; Henri Bendel; Bill Blass; Oscar de la Renta, who began his career by designing for a Parisian couture house; and Halston.

Although individuals and designers in the United States declared a degree of independence

from Parisian haute couture, they did not create a fashion culture free from global influences; rather they incorporated elements from Africa, Asia, and the Far East. During the 1970s, many people searched for their ethnic and cultural roots, which helps explain why this decade witnessed a mixture of clothing styles and trends from around the world. From the mid to the late part of the decade, loose flowing garments, including caftans and kimonos, which were available in a wide variety of exotic fabrics, appeared on the fashion scene.

Asian influences appeared as well, as women began wearing quilted jackets reminiscent of Tibetan and Chinese styles. Sometimes these jackets were worn over cotton voile dresses imported from India. Colors ranged from brilliant pinks to mossy greens and sky blues, often accented with gold. Other times, these jackets were paired with gently pleated patchwork skirts.

Fashion gurus imported macramé bags—and even bikinis—from the Greek Isles, along with shawls from Spain. Light cotton gypsy-style blouses also found favor in the 1970s, as did gypsy dresses. Peasant blouses incorporated sleeves so full that they resembled bell-like *engageantes* from the Victorian era of England. Another British fashion influence appeared when petticoats peeked from underneath peasant-styled skirts. Native American looks were imitated, too, especially in lightweight loose shirts and wide dresses.

THE YOUTHFUL LOOK

Platform shoes were among the most distinguishing features of 1970s fashions, and were embraced by teenagers and young adults throughout the country. Soles and heels were cork, wood, plastic, or rubber; by 1975, the sole needed to be at least two inches thick to be considered



In *Cleopatra Jones* (1973), a movie where she plays a sexy drug agent, Tamara Dobson wears a number of outfits showing some more extreme 1970s fashion: platform shoes, wide-legged pants, and flowing skirts. Courtesy of Photofest.

fashionable, with the heel portion reaching five inches in height. Dress shoes, sandals, and even sneakers were modified to the platform style, as were thigh-high lace-up boots. Fans of platform shoes sought out the most original and offbeat designs, which included floral and fruit embellishments, glitter, painted rainbows, stars and moons—and even goldfish in a clear and detachable sole.

Extremes also existed outside of footwear. The summer of 1974 saw the advent of string bikinis. All was string except for the minute triangles that covered women's breasts and another that covered the genitals. String bikinis cost $35–$45, which was somewhat pricey, yet Bloomingdale's in New York sold out of them within two weeks of their arrival.

Hot pants—those short shorts that didn't cover much more of one's bottom than a traditional bathing suit—debuted in the United States about the same time as the string bikini. Boots completed the look. Boots might be shiny and slick, made of textured fabric, covered with rhinestones and beads, or psychedelic in appearance.

Young men often wore their hair at shoulder length, although the trend toward ethnic fashion inspired many of them to sport Afros. Some wore quite extravagant Afros, which led to a 1970s-inspired flashback scene in the *Naked Gun 33 1/3: The Final Insult,* 1994. In this film, a character played by O. J. Simpson could not walk though a doorway because of the hugeness of his 'fro.

Women also wore Afros, and after Bo Derek starred in the movie *10* in 1979, many women copied her look and had their stylists put cornrows—numerous rows of very tight braids with wide spaces between rows—into their hair, a style that African American women had developed. Derek was not the only celebrity to braid her hair with cornrows, but she is the person credited for opening up this style to white women. In 1972, African American actress Cicely Tyson appeared on television with intricate Nigerian braids—and funk and soul musician Rick James also wore cornrows, pre-Derek. Another extremely popular look for women in the 1970s was the Farrah Fawcett hairdo with large rollers used to feather hair back from the face.

ANTIESTABLISHMENT WEAR

Finding a look that startled or offended the "establishment" was difficult during the 1970s, when psychedelic prints, plaid sports jackets, afros, miniskirts, and hot pants were popular.

British rocker David Bowie—and his wife, Angie—were certainly up to that challenge. Almost by accident, the duo gave birth to the Ziggy Stardust look in February 1972. Bowie's manager, recognizing how David enjoyed incorporating elements of cross-dressing—such as skintight catsuits—into his attire, suggested that he wear a costume and makeup every time he left the house. Angie thought David also needed a haircut that stood out from the long straight hair predominating rock culture. Flipping through *Vogue* magazine, they decided on short hair on the top of his head and in the back, with two points of hair traveling down the sides of his face. Angie persuaded David to color his hair red. The following day, he panicked, so they added peroxide and a German dye known as "Red Hot Red."

By the time they were finished, Bowie's hair was spiked and as pinky-orange as it was red. Suddenly, Bowie was the idol of countless teens and young adults who wanted to be part of the antiestablishment in both his native England and the United States.

Other performers who wore glam fashions include Elton John—whose oversized and glittery pairs of glasses and extreme platform shoes helped define the style; KISS, well known for their outrageous red, black, and white face makeup; and Rod Stewart, a British rocker who appears a bit tame next to his counterparts. Perhaps Tim Curry's performance as the transvestite Dr. Franken Furter in the *Rocky Horror Picture Show* best typifies the excessive nature of the glam fashion movement. (See Entertainment of the 1970s.)

Around the time Bowie was creating Ziggy Stardust, punk was emerging as a musical form and lifestyle. Those who identified with this movement made deliberate attempts to startle—and perhaps even antagonize and alienate—others with their wardrobes. Typical outfits included ripped or even slashed clothing pieced together again with oversized safety pins. Wardrobe items clashed with one another; delicate fishnet



The Sex Pistols, with the punk look in the 1970s: spiky hair, plenty of metal, safety pins, leather, and torn clothes. Shown (left to right): Sid Vicious, Steve Jones, Johnny Rotten, and Paul Cook. Courtesy of Photofest.

stockings, for example, might be paired with clunky and masculine-looking combat boots. People incorporated vinyl and other elements of S&M (sadism and masochism) and bondage fetishes in their wardrobes. Hair might be dyed a bright and obviously unnatural shade; spiked; or cut in odd, asymmetrical ways. Accessories ranged from razor blades to chains, and from Nazi armbands to spiked dog collars.

Punk fashion originated in England, and fashion designer Vivienne Westwood and her partner Malcolm McLaren are credited for originating the style. The couple opened a shop named Sex; a band managed by McLaren, the Sex Pistols, purchased outfits from them—and followers imitated their look. Although the punk movement already existed, the Sex Pistols greatly influenced the wardrobe needed to be part of the punk rock scene.

Observers of the fashion noted how carefully the disparate wardrobe elements were juxtaposed against one another; this antifashion was clearly not randomly put together from thrift shop items. Punk's movement, though, was not composed of working class or underprivileged youth; rather nearly one-third of those playing in punk rock bands were former or current art students.[2]

The punk look associated with Vivienne Westwood and the Sex Pistols dominated antiestablishment fashion from about 1975–1978. About a year after this look began appearing, other more subtle ensembles sprang up, perhaps consisting of straight-legged pants and collarless shirts, or combat fatigues. Near the end of the decade, some punk aficionados donned black studded leather jackets and bondage trousers, ironically mimicking a look chosen by more traditional rock and rollers.

During the 1970s, some who embraced the punk rock culture made significant changes to their looks, perhaps putting a controversial tattoo where it could not be hidden or easily erased, or making some other kind of permanent bodily alternation. These "hardcore" punks also slashed their hair into dramatic styles that could not grow out quickly.

Food of the 1970s

As women entered the workforce in increasing numbers in the 1970s, they needed to find ways to balance the demands of their homes, families, and jobs. Convenience foods and fast foods offered convenience and speed of delivery at a relatively low cost. Although warnings about the high fat content and low nutritional value of the meals had already started to surface, the benefits outweighed those concerns for an increasing number of Americans.

Some of the new foods introduced during the decade became entrenched in the American diet, while others were mere fads. Americans explored both European and Asian cuisine, and manufacturers created new appliances to aid these cooks in their exploration of ethnic foods. The desire to return to a more natural lifestyle in the 1970s is reflected in the trend of using more "health foods."

Congress became more involved in farming, rural living, and agricultural issues, changing its philosophy on how best to help farmers and encouraging exports of American crops. Environmental issues rose to the forefront, as well, both on farms and in the country as a whole, and legislators also attempted to address these concerns.

PRODUCT DEBUTS AND TRENDS

Rumors had it that Mikey, the freckle-faced kid from the Life cereal commercials who hated everything, met a dastardly fate in the mid-1970s. Mikey, as the story was told, accepted a dare to fill his mouth with Pop Rocks—a fad candy that shattered or "popped" in your mouth—and then he guzzled a Pepsi. Once Mikey did so, pundits declared, his stomach simply exploded. This urban legend, though, was simply not true.

Although the story was fabricated, Pop Rocks were quite real—and also quite popular when introduced in 1974. Pop Rocks consisted of sugar, corn syrup, and flavoring that was cooked to a hard consistency and that contained trapped carbon dioxide gas bubbles; as the candy dissolved, it snapped inside the mouth. Pop Rocks were reminiscent of Fizzies, the tablets, introduced in 1957, that created a carbonated drink out of water. The fizz in a mouthful of Pop Rocks has been compared to only one-tenth of the carbonation ingested with one single sip of a cola beverage.

Food-related trends that emerged during the 1970s and continued long after the decade ended included gourmet cooking that began on the West Coast and that promoted the use of regional and organic ingredients. Anything that was perceived as "natural" was considered to be "good," even if the natural ingredients were honey and other sweets. Granola, a snack or cereal made from oats, nuts, spices, sweeteners, and various other additions, and a favorite of hippies and college

CANDIES, SWEETS, AND GOODIES OF THE 1970s

Orville Redenbacher's Gourmet Popping Corn (1970);

A&W Root Beer in cans, Jell-O Pudding Treats, and Rolos Candy (1971);

Snapple (1972);

Honey Maid Cinnamon Grahams (1973);

Soft frozen yogurt (1974);

Famous Amos Chocolate Chip Cookies (1975);

Starburst Fruit Chews, Country Time Lemonade, Jelly Belly Jelly Beans, and orange M&Ms (1976);

Mrs. Fields Cookies and Twix Cookie Bars (1977);

Ben & Jerry's ice cream and Reese's Pieces (1978).

Other new foods made cooking easier for women who were focusing more of their attention on the workplace, including Eggo Waffles, Morton's Salt Substitute, and Hamburger Helper (1970); smoked Spam and McCormick's "Roast in a Bag Kit" (1971); Top Ramen, Stove Top Stuffing, Quaker Oats 100% Natural, Celestial Seasonings Herbal Teas, and Tuna Helper (1972); Cup O'Noodles (1973); French Bread Pizzas (1974); and Yoplait Yogurt (1977).

FOOD HIGHLIGHTS OF THE 1970s

1970 Southern California boasts more than 300 health food stores and 22 organic restaurants.

1971 Publication of *Diet for a Small Planet* by Frances Moore Lappé. The book, which sold 2 million copies, points out the heavy toll that meat consumption takes on the earth's resources and advocates combining plant food sources to create "complementary proteins."

1971 An iconic Coca-Cola commercial features a group of attractive young people of various ethnicities gathered on a hilltop in Italy singing "I'd Like to Buy the World a Coke."

1972 The Henson family sells its Hidden Valley Ranch salad dressing business. Dude rancher Steve Henson had created the so-called ranch dressing for his dude ranch clientele in the early 1960s by mixing mayonnaise, buttermilk, and dried herbs.

1974 Adelle Davis, author of *Let's Eat Right to Keep Fit* and other works and an early and tireless crusader for the benefits of eating whole, unprocessed foods and avoiding additives, dies of cancer at age 70.

1975 Per capita consumption of beef, which has risen till this year, begins to decline among both men and women, in large part over concern about the impact of cholesterol on heart disease.

1977 Americans spend 35 percent of their food budget on fast food, up by 10 percent from 1954.

1979 Chef Paul Prudhomme opens K-Paul Louisiana Kitchens in New Orleans, showcasing his blackened redfish dish and igniting a nationwide fad for Cajun-style cooking.

students everywhere, skyrocketed to popularity as one such naturally good food. Practically every major cereal company produced some sort of granola breakfast food.

Salad bars began appearing in restaurants, starting in Chicago in 1971. Vegetarian cookbooks continued to emerge, while ingredients such as brown rice, whole grain breads, and yogurt appeared in more and more recipes. People bought canning supplies to save money during a time of an energy crisis and recession, and 1973 ushered in the Cuisinart food processor, also a help to the frazzled cook. Other appliances purchased by Americans included woks, fondue sets, crock pots, microwave ovens, yogurt makers, bread machines, rice steamers, coffee makers, and food dehydrators. In the 1970s, the spork—a combination spoon and fork—and the first soft drinks in plastic bottles debuted.

Ingredients in diet soft drinks changed and/or were challenged throughout the decade. By 1970, the FDA had banned the use of cyclamates in diet drinks and various food products upon receiving information that the substance caused cancer



President Jimmy Carter, 1976, and his grandson, Jason, with a box of granola cereal on the table. (The president's mother, Lillian Carter, sits to the left.) Although many people made granola themselves, it became available in prepackaged form once it gained popularity. Courtesy of Photofest.

in lab rats. In 1977, the FDA was under pressure to ban saccharin for similar reasons, but it exercised caution and waited for more studies to be conducted.

Shopping experiences changed when the bar code—a series of lines that identified a grocery product—was standardized in 1970. This was the beginning of an improved inventory system for grocers, and, more immediately, it allowed cashiers to rapidly serve and check out customers. Plastic bags first began appearing in grocery stores, as well, slowly replacing the familiar brown paper sacks. In 1974, the FDA and USDA began their voluntary nutrition labeling program, as well as one that required nutrition labels on foods with added nutrients or those that made claims about nutritional value.

Consumers made somewhat different grocery purchases overall during the decade. For example, at the beginning of the 1970s, 34 percent of an average household's food budget was spent on snacks and meals eaten away from home; by the end of the decade that figure increased to 39 percent.

Other dietary factors differed from today's menu. Vegetarianism was not yet embraced by mainstream cooks. Eggs featured more prominently while the composition of dairy products differed from latter decades. More people drank milk in the 1970s—and 81 percent of milk sold was whole, not skim or reduced in fat—but yogurt consumption was only one-sixth of what it was by the 1990s.

Grain consumption differed in comparison, as well. In 1970, the average person consumed 136 pounds of flour in his or her diet; that increased to 200 pounds in the 1990s. Snack food sales—such as pretzels, popcorn, and crackers—increased 200 percent in that time frame, while ready-to-eat cereal sales increased by 60 percent.

COOKBOOKS AND DIETS

A new version of *The Joy of Cooking* by Irma S. Rombauer was quite popular, while Betty Crocker cookbooks arrived in people's homes every year. More tongue-in-cheek cookbooks mocked the Watergate scandal and popular recipes included Watergate Salad and Watergate Cake. The salad featured pistachio-flavored pudding, crushed pineapple, marshmallows, nuts, and whipped topping, while one Watergate cake recipe involved putting green food coloring into an angel food cake mix and adding nuts. According to one newspaper article, the full name of the cake included icing as a "cover up."

Dr. Robert Atkins first presented his high-protein, low-carbohydrate eating plan in 1972 with the release of *Dr. Atkins' Diet Revolution*. His advice ran contrary to what many medical experts and dieticians advised. Dr. Herbert Tarnower formulated his own diet, which consisted of a 7- to 14-day plan; Tarnower stated that a one pound a day weight loss was not unreasonable, given a controlled diet. His plan listed very specific foods in specific proportions to achieve this reduction, and followed a formula of 43 percent protein, 22.5 percent fat, and 34.5 percent carbohydrates.

ELEGANT EATING

More stylish options existed for those entranced by "Nouvelle Cuisine" or "Cuisine Minceur" trends. Nouvelle Cuisine—or new cuisine—advocated that food presentation was very important, as food should engage all five senses and not just the taste buds. Cooks used herbs and spices to lighten up sauces so that the individual flavors were not overpowered. Dishes tended to be simple, but elegant. This cooking style boasts French origins, as does cuisine minceur—or cooking light, low-calorie meals.

According to the International Association of Culinary Professionals, popular foods of the 1970s included homemade breads; Beef Wellington; French foods, especially quiche and crepes; fondue; slow cooker chili; buffalo chicken wings; pasta primavera; Szechwan cuisine; Bundt cakes; and cheesecakes. Cooks concerned with presentation added garnishes to plates, using scallions, tomatoes, parsley, radishes, and carrots in creative and attractive ways.

FAST-FOOD RESTAURANTS

"You Deserve a Break Today . . . at McDonald's"

In 1970, McDonald's reported $587 million in sales from nearly 1,600 restaurants located throughout the United States and in four other countries; that same year, one single franchise, located in Bloomington, Minnesota, racked up $1 million in sales. Just two years later, McDonald's broke the billion-dollar mark. In 1976, McDonald's boasted the sale of its 20 billionth hamburger. In 1977, more than 1,000 chains reported sales topping $1 million, with 11 of them exceeding $2 million.

In 1972, McDonald's debuted the Egg McMuffin, its ham, egg, and cheese breakfast sandwich. In 1975, Sierra Vista, Arizona, hosted the first drive-through McDonald's restaurant, and, in 1977, the fast-food restaurant began targeting to its youngest consumers with its Happy Meals; test-marketed in St. Louis, this product became available nationwide in 1979 as part of McDonald's "Circus Wagon" campaign.

"Have It Your Way . . ."

McDonald's wasn't the only fast-food game in town. Overall, Americans spent $6 billion in fast-food items in 1970 alone, which was 28.6 percent of the total "eating out" funds spent. Burger King ranked second in sales and began offering franchises in the 1960s. It claimed to have offered the first fast-food dine-in service, and it opened up its first drive-through windows in 1975. Its mascot, the Burger King, first appeared in the 1970s, sporting a magnificently jeweled crown and an ostentatious royal robe. Other marketing characters included the Duke of Doubt; Burger Thing; Sir Shakes-a-Lot; and the Wizard of Fries. This decade also saw the invention of the Kids' Club, whose young members could receive discount coupons—and a special surprise on their birthdays.

"Quality Is Our Recipe . . ."

Dave Thomas opened the first Wendy's Old Fashioned Hamburgers Restaurant in Columbus, Ohio, on November 15, 1969; he named his restaurant after his youngest daughter's nickname. When he opened a second site in Columbus just one year later, he included a pick-up window, the precursor to the drive-through windows of today. The pick-up window even had its own grill, expediting service. Thomas sold his first franchise in 1972 and the restaurant's growth was phenomenal: by March 1979, there were 1,500 Wendy's restaurants. In November 1979, Wendy's claimed to have become the first national chain restaurant to include a salad bar, and the decade ended with 1,767 restaurants located in the United States (including Puerto Rico), Canada, and Europe.

Other Options

A number of other fast-food operations strengthened and expanded their markets in the 1970s. By the early 1970s, Kentucky Fried Chicken was already a publicly held corporation, with more than 3,500 locations. On July 8, 1971, Heublein, Inc. purchased KFC Corporation for $285 million. Glen Bell's Taco Bell became a publicly held corporation in 1969; in 1978, the company and its 868 locations were sold to PepsiCo. Burger Chef peaked shortly before the 1970s began; in the 1960s, though, it was the second most lucrative fast-food restaurant, with only McDonald's being more successful. Burger Chef also stakes a claim to creating the first fun meal for kids. Still other fast-food chains of the 1970s include Hardees and Roy Rogers. In 1971, Pizza Hut became the number one pizza chain in the world, both in number and in sales figures. In the late 1960s, Ralston Purina purchased the small San Diego-based Jack in the Box hamburger restaurant chain, and during the 1970s, they expanded the chain significantly into the Midwest and East of the United States. In 1971, the original Starbucks opened in Seattle, although it did not develop into a chain until well after the decade ended.



Jack in the Box, the fast food restaurant with an eye-catching sign, is shown in Los Angeles, November 1970. AP Photo/David F. Smith.

Music

of the 1970s

Not surprisingly, songs of the 1970s reflected the social movements of the day, and a number of feminists adopted Helen Reddy's song, "I Am Woman (Hear Me Roar)" as their rallying cry. Although initial sales were mediocre, female fans began requesting to hear the song on radio stations; Reddy won a Grammy Award for this song. In a similar manner, country singer Johnny Paycheck typified the frustrations of blue-collar workers when he sang David Allen Coe's song "Take This Job and Shove It."

Also in the 1970s, some bands began filling up large arenas for their performances. Previously, artists put out albums or they sang in live venues, and this new supersized option amplified the latter choice. Bands and artists who filled stadiums included the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, and the Who. Later on, bands such as Queen, Pink Floyd, Boston, Foreigner, Journey, KISS, and Genesis followed suit, as did some heavy metal bands.

The decade served as a gateway to crossover tunes, wherein artists that appealed to one fan base could also begin to break onto the charts of another.

Teenyboppers worshipped young stars such as Donny Osmond, David Cassidy, Bobby Sherman, and the Jackson 5, which featured the young, talented Michael Jackson. Easy listening fans could enjoy the Carpenters, the Commodores, and Barry Manilow, while those in search of a funkier beat listened to Stevie Wonder's tunes.

FOLK MUSIC

The original folk singers were balladeers who told rhythmic stories set to music. Folk songs shared the struggles and triumphs, the joys and sorrows, of the "common folk." These songs were passed along orally; as generations passed, the music evolved and it isn't unusual to hear several versions of the same song. During the 1960s and 1970s, "folk singers" often wrote their own music, which differed from the more primitive songs that were entirely oral, but contemporary singer-songwriters held true to the spirit of the folk song as they sang heartfelt stories.

Folk singers from the 1960s, such as Bob Dylan, Woody Guthrie, Paul Simon and Art Garfunkel, and Joan Baez, inspired the music of the 1970s, which included the spirituality seeking song, "My Sweet Lord," written and sung by former Beatle George Harrison, and the music of Fleetwood Mac and Bruce Springsteen.

A trend during the 1970s was for singers to write their own songs, often from a first-person perspective. These songs tended to be introspective and were often called "confessional" in tone and content. Carole King experienced

SINGER-SONGWRITER CAT STEVENS

It is hard to fathom how someone could walk away from the money, fame, and success that stardom offers—but that's exactly what Cat Stevens, a pop/folk singer, did in the 1970s. Born Steven Demetre Georgiou to a Greek father and a Swedish mother, Stevens gained a steady following during the 1960s. Near the end of that decade, though, a bout of tuberculosis and a lukewarm reception to some of his new music sent Stevens on a spiritual quest. He wrote two songs in 1970 that reflected that search: "Mona Bone Jakon" and "Tea for the Tillerman," the second of which reached number one on music charts in the United States.

In 1971, Stevens released a successful album, *Teaser and the Firecat,* which included a song called "Peace Train." Many embraced this song as a plea for the Vietnam War to end; Stevens, though, saw the symbolism of the train's journey as something deeper, stating that the locomotive was rolling along the edge of darkness without a known destination.

Over the new few years, Stevens continued his pursuit of the sacred, rejecting life as a Buddhist monk, Zen, Christianity, and various New Age options. He nevertheless released three highly successful albums: *Catch Bull at Four,* 1972, *Foreigner,* 1973, and *Buddha and the Chocolate Box,* 1974.

His brother David gave Stevens a translation of the Koran. Stevens found what he called the "true religion" within its pages. While studying Islam, he released two more albums, *Numbers,* 1975, and *Izitso,* 1977; after officially converting to Islam and choosing a new name, Yusuf Islam, he recorded one last album as Cat Stevens, *Back to Earth*. He then married and focused on his religion, but he recorded one more album, An Other Cup, in 2006 as Yusuf Islam.

significant success in this genre; her 1971 album *Tapestry* sold 11 million copies and garnered four Grammy Awards. King wrote or co-wrote every song on *Tapestry;* some had already been successfully performed by other singers, including Aretha Franklin with "You Make Me Feel Like a Natural Woman" and the Shirelles with "Will You Still Love Me Tomorrow?"

In 1970, singer-songwriter James Taylor released his second album, *Sweet Baby James.* The success of the hit song, "Fire and Rain" brought attention back to his first album and its single, "Carolina in My Mind." In 1971, Taylor released *Mud Slide Slim and the Blue Horizon* and won a Grammy Award for performing Carole King's song, "You've Got a Friend." Taylor continued to release albums during the 1970s, with another significant hit with "How Sweet It Is (To Be Loved by You)." His greatest hits album, released in 1976, sold more than 11 million copies.

Carly Simon, another singer-songwriter, married James Taylor in 1972, shortly after launching her solo career with an album, *Carly Simon* followed by *Anticipation.* In 1972, she released a highly successfully album, *No Secrets,* that featured her signature song, "You're So Vain;" this song admonished an unnamed former lover for his vanity, leading to decades of speculation about who had inspired this song. Simon continued releasing albums on a regular basis throughout the 1970s.

Still other well-known singer-songwriters of the 1970s include Harry Chapin, best known for his singles, "Taxi" and "Cat's in the Cradle." Jackson Browne released albums steadily through the decade, with "Doctor My Eyes," his first hit single, and "Running on Empty," his biggest. Jim Croce became well known for "Time in a Bottle" and "Big Bad Leroy Brown," while Gordon Lightfoot released such songs as "If You Could Read My Mind," "Sundown," and "Wreck of the *Edmund Fitzgerald*." Joni Mitchell became known as the "female Bob Dylan" for her body of work, although she did not use that label.

COUNTRY MUSIC

One show consistently delivered country music to television audiences throughout the 1970s. "*Hee-Haw*" began in 1969. (See Entertainment of the 1960s.) Featuring celebrity guests who performed country music tunes, "*Hee-Haw*" interspersed corny comedy shticks, often performed by women in scanty and stereotypically rural outfits, in between songs. The show was hosted

by musicians Roy Clark and Buck Owens, and was cancelled by CBS in 1971 after executives determined that, although the program showed respectable ratings, it appealed to less affluent demographics. Producers therefore syndicated the program throughout the 1970s and beyond.

The list of well-known country music performers and bands that appeared on the show is lengthy. Bands included Alabama, a group that received its first recording contract in 1977; the Bellamy Brothers, whose 1976 song, "Let Your Love Flow," became an international hit; and the Nitty Gritty Dirt Band, perhaps best known for their 1970 rendition of "Mr. Bojangles."

Individual performers ranged from rising stars to those in the prime of their careers, such as Roy Acuff. By the time Acuff appeared on "*Hee-Haw,*" he had been singing on the Grand Ole Opry radio program, which aired on Saturday nights in Nashville, Tennessee, for more than 30 years. In 1974, the radio program moved to the 4,400-seat Grand Ole Opry House, which was adjacent to the country music theme park, Opryland USA.

Other well-established country music stars who appeared on "*Hee-Haw*" include Johnny Cash, the "Man in Black" who sold more than 50 million albums; Conway Twitty, who had 55 singles reach number one on various music charts; and Roy Rogers, known as the "King of the Cowboys," and who appeared in more than 100 movies.

Hee-Haw hosted a wide spectrum of country subgenres—including outlaw country—that became popular in the 1970s. Led by such singers as Waylon Jennings, Johnny Cash, Johnny Paycheck, Merle Haggard, David Allen Coe, Willie Nelson, and Kris Kristofferson, the term outlaw country arose from a song, "Ladies Love Outlaws," sung by Jennings in 1972. In 1976, Jennings and Nelson recorded country's first platinum album, which was titled *Wanted: The Outlaws!* Outlaw country singers often wore their hair long and dressed in faded denims and leather. They often drank hard, got into brawls, and, in some cases, even spent time in prison. They brought a raw hardness back into country music.

After releasing "Ladies Love Outlaws," Jennings's career continued with *Lonesome, On'ry and Mean,* and *Honky Tonk Heroes,* both released in 1973 and both huge hits. Other albums included *The Ramblin' Man* and *This Time,* 1974; *Dreaming My Dreams,* 1975; and *Ol' Waylon,* 1977, which included another duet with Nelson. In 1978, the two coproduced an album called *Waylon and Willie* that contained their biggest hit: "Mamas, Don't Let Your Babies Grow Up to Be Cowboys." Jennings then released *I've Always Been Crazy,* 1978, and a greatest hits album in 1979. Nelson, meanwhile, also released several solo albums in the 1970s, including *Shotgun Willie,* 1973, *Phases and States,* 1974, *Red Headed Stranger,* 1975, and *Stardust,* 1978.

Meanwhile, Merle Haggard could genuinely claim to be an outlaw. Sent to prison for 15 years in 1957 on a burglary charge, he continued his rebellious ways inside prison, planning escapes that he never attempted and running a gambling ring from his cell. In the 1970s, Haggard's hits included "Someday We'll Look Back," "Carolyn," "Grandma Harp," "Always Wanting You," and "The Roots of My Raising."

Kris Kristofferson released a solo album, *Kristofferson,* in 1970; this album contained new songs and ones performed in the 1960s. The reception was lukewarm, but when the album was rereleased the following year under the title of *Me & Bobby McGee,* people bought it. Kristofferson's other 1971 album, *The Silver Tongued Devil and I,* was very successful and established him as a recording artist. He won several Grammy nominations in 1972, and he continued to release albums.

In 1971, George Jones, a veteran country music singer, and his new wife, Tammy Wynette, became two of country's biggest stars, selling out concerts across the country. Jones, who had previously sung in a honky tonk style, switched to singing smooth ballads, and in 1972 had a solo hit with "We Can Make It," a song celebrating his marriage to Wynette. Shortly thereafter, their duet "The Ceremony" made the charts. Although the two were finding musical success, their marriage was sometimes described as a soap opera as Jones fought alcoholism and drug abuse; Wynette filed for divorce in 1973, but she quickly withdrew her petition. Their personal life continued to be played out in their songs, with their next hit titled, "We Gotta Hold On." Jones also sang "The Grand Tour," a song about a broken marriage, and "These Days (I Barely Get By)." Shortly after he recorded

the latter song, Wynette left Jones again, and, this time, they divorced. Continuing as a singing duo, they still made the country music charts.

Other male country music stars of the decade included Charlie Pride, Charlie Rich, Boxcar Willie, Don Williams, and Hank Williams Jr. Meanwhile, female stars chalked up their own musical successes, with Loretta Lynn receiving fame as the "Coal Miner's Daughter," a hit song released in the 1970s. Lynn used that title for her 1976 biography, and in 1980, Sissy Spacek starred in a film based on Lynn's life, also with that title. Lynn penned songs that detailed the challenges of women's lives, such as 1971's "Wanna Be Free," which showed divorce in a positive light.

Lynn's younger sister, Brenda, who went by the stage name Crystal Gayle, also forged a country music career. Known for her waist-length curtain of shining dark hair, she released her fourth album in the 1970s; her 1977 hit single, "Don't It Make My Brown Eyes Blue," became a number one hit on U.S. country charts and reached number two on the pop charts, as well. Gayle was the first female country artist to have an album reach gold.

Barbara Mandrell also boasted a list of number one country hits, earning millions of dollars from record sales around the world. Her most recognizable songs include "Sleeping Single in a Double Bed," "Standing Room Only," "Years," "One of a Kind Pair of Fools," "I Was Country When Country Wasn't Cool," and "If Lovin' You Is Wrong (I Don't Want to Be Right)."

Dolly Parton incorporated many traditional elements of folk music into her songwriting. After singing duets with Porter Wagoner for many years, she began to record as a solo artist and 1971's "Joshua" became her first number one hit. In 1974, five of Parton's singles in a row became number one: "Jolene," "I Will Always Love You," "Please Don't Stop Loving Me," "Love Is Like a Butterfly," and "The Bargain Store." In 1976, she starred in her own syndicated television program, "Dolly." Her 1977 album, *Here You Come Again,* sold more than 1 million copies and her songs appeared on country and pop charts simultaneously; by this point, her songs were deliberately crafted for crossover appeal to gain pop chart success. For her 1977 album, she also won a Grammy Award.

Post-1970s, Parton sang duets with Kenny Rogers, who also had a significant number of crossover hits on the country and pop charts. Rogers was perhaps the most successful "crossover artist" of the decade, as he found fans in both genres and opened the doors for other easy listening artists to follow this route.

After singing in pop bands in the 1960s, Rogers had his first solo hit, "Love Lifted Me," in 1976. This was followed by a major hit on the country charts, "Lucille." The latter song won the Country Music Association's single of the year award—and also reached number five on the pop charts. Rogers followed this dual success with "Love or Something Like It," "The Gambler," "She Believes in Me," "You Decorated My Life," and "Coward of the County."

POP AND ROCK

April 10, 1970—For pop and rock fans in many countries around the world, shock, anger, and sadness reverberated after Paul McCartney announced that the Beatles had broken up. In December 1970, McCartney sued the other three Beatles—John Lennon, Ringo Starr, and George Harrison—to officially dissolve the group. Throughout the 1970s, rumors circulated that the group was getting back together, but that reunion never happened.

The dissolution of the Beatles was much bigger than the breakup of a band; it was, for a significant demographic of America, the shattering of the symbol of youth as a force to be reckoned with.

Fans could still listen to the "King of Rock 'n' Roll," Elvis Presley. Influenced by the blues, soul music, and gospel, Presley incorporated elements of country and rock 'n' roll to create his unique brand of entertainment. Already a musical superstar by the 1970s, his "Aloha from Hawaii" concert aired on NBC on January 14, 1973, as the first performance broadcast live by satellite; it reached 1.5 billion viewers. After performing a wide variety of hits, including "Burning Love," "Blue Suede Shoes," and "Suspicious Minds," and ending with "Can't Help Falling in Love," Presley completed his show by dramatically flinging his cape into the audience.

Music fans suffered a second loss, though, when Elvis Presley was found dead in his bathroom on August 16, 1977 at the age of 42. People talked

about where they were when they heard the news of his death, much as they did when John F. Kennedy died almost 14 years earlier. During his career, Presley had 94 gold singles and more than 40 gold albums, and even though he stopped recording new rock and pop songs during the 1970s, he still sold out concert venues. His death created a gaping hole in the world of music.

The dissolution of the Beatles and the death of the King, though, opened up a vast field of opportunity for aspiring rock singers. In 1969, a struggling singer released an album, *Empty Sky,* in hopes of finding commercial success—but the reception was lukewarm and nothing about the album's sales indicated the level of success that Reginald Dwight and songwriter Bernie Taupin would reach during the 1970s. Dwight began using his musical pseudonym, Elton John, and became known throughout the world for his music, but also for his flamboyant style of dress—which included extraordinarily high and extravagant platform shoes and oversized, glittery, and glamorous glasses—and his melodramatic concert performances.

His first top 10 single, "Your Song," hit the charts in 1970. Thereafter, John had a steady row of hits on the musical charts, including "Levon," "Rocket Man," "Honky Cat," "Crocodile Rock," "Daniel," "Bennie and the Jets," "Goodbye Yellow Brick Road," "Candle in the Wind," and "Saturday Night's Alright for Fighting."

In 1974, Elton John collaborated with John Lennon. Elton John performed "Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds," a Beatles song, and John Lennon's "One Day at a Time;" he and his band were also featured on Lennon's "Whatever Gets You thru the Night" record. The duo performed these songs along with "I Saw Her Standing There" at Madison Square Garden. It was Lennon's last live performance; a deranged fan killed him in 1980.

In 1975, John released *Captain Fantastic and the Brown Dirt Cowboy,* an album containing autobiographical material that detailed how he and Taupin struggled to find musical success. His best song on the album, it is generally conceded, is "Someone Saved My Life Tonight," which referred to a friend persuading John not to marry his fiancée. In 1976, John revealed that he was bisexual. The album reached number one on the charts, as did his greatest hits album. John recorded the song "Tommy" for the movie of the same name, and he filled stadiums throughout the world wherever he performed.

Other hit singles included "Sorry Seems to Be the Hardest Word" and "Don't Go Breaking My Heart." In 1979, John became the first Western pop/rock star to tour the Soviet Union.

Rock musicians and bands that found success in the 1970s included Peter Frampton, Bob Seger, Bruce Springsteen, Rod Stewart, Meat Loaf, Billy Joel, Chicago, the Eagles, and Journey. Frampton had played live rock 'n' roll prior to releasing his breakout album, but it was his 1976 *Frampton Comes Alive!* album that propelled him to stardom. Selling more than six million copies, the record included such hit singles as "Do You Feel Like We Do," "Baby, I Love Your Way," and "Show Me the Way." His follow-up album, *I'm in You,* sold nearly one million copies.

Bob Seger formed his Silver Bullet Band in 1974, and the group steadily produced albums throughout the 1970s. Seger's themes often focused on blue-collar workers, particularly in the Midwest. His album, *Night Moves,* with a title track of the same name, helped Seger get significant air time play; other songs of note include "Hollywood Nights," "We've Got Tonight," and "Old Time Rock and Roll."

Even better known for his songs about working-class trials, tribulations, and occasional triumphs is Bruce Springsteen. Part folk singer and part rocker, his 1975 hit, "Born to Run" quickly made Springsteen a household name; the song has since become a rock classic. Years later, *Rolling Stone* magazine called the release of this song one of rock's most important moments. Other songs from the album, also called *Born to Run,* were "Thunder Road" and "Jungleland."

Springsteen and his E Street Band toured across the country playing these songs and new ones that Springsteen was writing. In 1978, they released *Darkness on the Edge of Town;* this album contained "Badlands" and "The Promised Land."

Meanwhile, British rocker Rod Stewart had a mammoth hit called "Maggie May" in 1971; the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame later listed this song as one of the world's 500 most influential rock tunes. That album, *Ever Picture Tells a Story,* also contained a harder rock song, "Every Picture Tells a Story (Don't It)," which garnered significant

attention. In 1975, Stewart moved to the United States, creating such hit songs as "This Old Heart of Mine," "Tonight's the Night," "The First Cut Is the Deepest," and "The Killing of Georgie." As the decade progressed, he continued to churn out hit singles, including "You're in My Heart," "Hot Legs," "I Was Only Joking," and "Do Ya Think I'm Sexy?"

Billy Joel has sold more than 100 million albums and won six Grammy Awards during his musical career, kick started by his first big hit, "Piano Man," released in 1973. Other highly successful singles include "Just the Way You Are," "My Life," "Big Shot," and "Honesty." His song, "Only the Good Die Young" stirred controversy, as it featured a worldly male attempting to seduce an innocent Catholic female.

A rock singer who went by the moniker Meat Loaf released an album in 1977—*Bat Out of Hell*—that has sold an estimated 34 million copies. Featuring songs such as "You Took the Words Right out of My Mouth," "Heaven Can Wait," "All Revved Up with No Place to Go," "Two out of Three Ain't Bad," and "Paradise by the Dashboard Light," the entire album has become a classic and the songs still receive significant attention today.

Chicago named their albums in a practical manner, using the appropriate Roman numeral to indicate the sequence of albums they had released. Hits of the 1970s include "Saturday in the Park," "Just You and Me," "Feelin' Stronger Every Day," "I've Been Searching So Long," the Grammy Award–winning "If You Leave Me Now," and "Baby, What a Big Surprise."

The Eagles, led by singer Glenn Frey, found tremendous success in the 1970s, most notably with their 1976 album, *Hotel California;* this album contained hit singles such as "New Kid in Town," "Hotel California," "Wasted Time," and "The Last Resort." Other hits of the decade included "Best of My Love," "One of These Nights," "Take It Easy," "Lyin' Eyes," "Witchy Woman," and "The Long Run."

In October 1977, the progressive rock band Journey hired a new lead singer, Steve Perry, who brought a new style to the band. In 1978, the group released an album called *Infinity,* which featured the song "Lights" written by Perry. This song was played on many radio stations and elevated Perry to rock star status.

Finally, a quartet from Sweden, ABBA, reached a global market and released two of the decade's biggest pop hits: "Waterloo" and "Dancing Queen."

HIT SONGS OF THE 1970s

"Coal Miner's Daughter" (Loretta Lynn)—1970

"Whole Lotta Love" (Led Zeppelin)—1970

"Bridge Over Troubled Water" (Simon & Garfunkel)—1970

"It's Too Late/I Feel the Earth Move" (Carole King)—1971

"You're So Vain" (Carly Simon)—1973

"Dancing Queen" (ABBA)—1976

"Dreams" (Fleetwood Mac)—1977

"The Gambler" (Kenny Rogers)—1978

"Stayin' Alive" (Bee Gees)—1978

"Bad Girls" (Donna Summer)—1979

PROGRESSIVE ROCK

The 1970s opened with the deaths of three promising young rocks stars, including Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin, and Jim Morrison. Hendrix, electric guitarist extraordinaire, died on September 18, 1970, at the age of 27. Janis Joplin, a gravelly voiced singer who sang powerfully emotional ballads, died three weeks later, on October 4, also at the age of 27. In 1979, Bette Midler played a character based on Joplin in *The Rose* and won an Oscar for her performance. Jim Morrison of the Doors died on July 3, 1971, at the age of 27. He is perhaps best known for his haunting song, "Light My Fire." Joplin's death was clearly attributed to a heroin overdose, while Morrison appeared to have died of heart failure; Hendrix's cause of death was more uncertain, although drugs appeared to have played a role.

Meanwhile, several bands of the 1960s continued with their concerts and studio recordings in the 1970s, including the Rolling Stones, the Who, and Black Sabbath. The Rolling Stones are led by the campy and dramatic singer Mick Jagger and hard-living guitarist Keith Richards, who struggled with drug addiction throughout the decade.

Their albums during the first half of the 1970s received lukewarm reviews and members of the group pursued individual musical opportunities as the band struggled to regain the momentum they enjoyed in the 1960s. They reunited for an album in 1978, *Some Girls,* the hit single "Miss You" reached number one on the U.S. charts, and the Rolling Stones were back in business.

The Who, featuring guitarist Pete Townsend, vocalist Roger Daltrey, bass player John Entwistle, and drummer Keith Moon, were well known for their extremely energetic live performances that included plenty of Townsend's improvised riffs. During the 1970s, they recorded hit singles such as "Won't Get Fooled Again." In 1978, they returned to their harder rock roots, releasing *Who Are You.* Although this album reached platinum status and served as their comeback album, the band was derailed when drummer Moon died of a drug overdose on September 7, 1978. The other members continued to play together as a band, but the group's identity basically dissolved after Moon's death. On December 3, 1979, their concert in Cincinnati, Ohio, was the impetus for the most deadly rock event ever, as 11 fans were crushed to death in an uncontrollable throng.

Meanwhile, Black Sabbath, fronted by singer John "Ozzy" Osbourne, continued their trademark heavy metal play. In 1971, *Paranoid* sold more than four million copies, their most commercially successful album yet; the most popular song, "Iron Man," fueled sales. The band continued to churn out successful albums that sold more than one million copies—including *Master of Reality,* 1971, *Black Sabbath, Vol. 4,* 1972, *Sabbath Bloody Sabbath,* 1973, and *We Sold Our Soul for Rock 'n' Roll,* 1975. Late in the decade, Osbourne and Black Sabbath parted ways; in the 1980s, he became notorious for biting off the head of a bat during a concert.

The 1970s also witnessed the explosion of several new superstar rock bands. These bands included Aerosmith, AC/DC, KISS, Led Zeppelin, Blue Oyster Cult, Queen, and Van Halen. Aerosmith, fronted by singer Steven Tyler and guitarist Joe Perry, formed in 1970. Their debut album, *Aerosmith,* received respectable attention with "Dream On" played regularly on radio stations. Other hits such as "Train Kept a Rollin'" also added to the success of the record. Their 1975 album *Toys in the Attic* catapulted them to international stardom and included such hits as "Sweet Emotion," "Walk This Way," and a remixed version of "Dream On." Their next album, *Rocks,* included songs such as "Back in the Saddle" and "Home Tonight." Aerosmith's song "Come Together" became a classic rock anthem.

KISS, a band that played a hybrid of rock and glam music, formed in 1973 with lead singer Gene Simmons and guitarist and vocalist Paul "Ace" Frehley the best known of the band members. Easily recognizable by the face paint they wore during concerts, which included stark white all over with black and red embellishments, their live performances included fire breathing, smoke, and lasers. In 1975, they recorded their breakthrough *KISS Alive* album, which eventually achieved



KISS, circa 1970s. Shown from left: Peter Criss, Gene Simmons, Paul Stanley, (front) Ace Frehley. Courtesy of Photofest.

quadruple platinum status; on this album, they added a guitar solo to their song, "Rock and Roll All Nite," creating a classic rock anthem. A rock ballad, "Beth," from their next album reached number seven on rock charts. In 1977, a Gallup poll listed KISS as America's favorite band.

Led Zeppelin, led by singer Robert Plant and guitarist Jimmy Page, enjoyed significant success during the 1970s, and released one of rock's all-time favorite songs in 1971: "Stairway to Heaven." Meanwhile, Blue Oyster Cult released two of the decade's hard rock favorites: "Don't Fear the Reaper" and "Godzilla."

The British band Queen released two albums before they first toured America. They found significant success with their 1975 album, *A Night at the Opera;* this album included "Bohemian Rhapsody," which became a hit single in many countries. Their 1976 album, *A Day at the Races,* contained the hit "Somebody to Love," which reached number 11 on U.S. singles charts; their 1977 album, *News of the World,* included "We Will Rock You" and "We Are the Champions," songs that are still played at international sporting events.

Lead guitarist Eddie Van Halen of the band Van Halen dazzled the rock world with his skill and innovation with his electric guitar on the band's first album (*Van Halen,* 1978), setting a new standard for rock guitarists nationwide. Employing a variety of techniques, some self-taught, that created animal and machine sounds from his instrument, Van Halen displayed a creativity that was astounding. Lead singer David Lee Roth understood the nuances of showmanship and the band established themselves as forerunners in the 1970s rock world. Within three months, their first album had gone gold; five months later, it reached platinum and eventually sold more than six million copies. Single hits from the album include "You Really Got Me," "Jamie's Cryin'," and "Runnin' with the Devil." The following year the band released *Van Halen II;* their song "Dance the Night Away" hit the Top 20 Singles list.

REGGAE AND DISCO

Reggae

Seldom does one single artist or band represent a movement in the way that Bob Marley and his band, the Wailers, did for Jamaican reggae in the United States in the 1970s. This form of reggae created a unique sound by merging American soul music with traditional African and Jamaican folk music and incorporating elements of *ska* music, which is Jamaican folk music influenced by rhythm and blues. The music relied on bouncy rhythms and an ensemble of musical instruments, most notably the electric guitar and the electric bass.

Themes of reggae songs included love and sexuality, political and social commentary, and the Rastafari movement. The latter advocated that the former emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie I, was the Messiah promised in the Bible.

Bob Marley and his band released *Catch a Fire* in 1973, following it up with *Burnin'*; the latter contained songs such as "Get Up, Stand Up" and "I Shot the Sheriff," later recorded by Eric Clapton. After releasing these two albums, the group broke up. Band member Peter McIntosh continued to record under the name Peter Tosh; Bunny Livingston became Bunny Wailer. Bob Marley kept recording, as well, under the name "Bob Marley & the Wailers," releasing his first international hit in 1975: "No Woman, No Cry." In 1976, he released *Rastaman Vibration,* an album that stayed on the top 10 Billboard charts in the United States for a month.

Other reggae performers included Burning Spear, Toots and the Maytals, and Jimmy Cliff. Burning Spear combined political anger against repression with a focus on spirituality, with hits such as "Joe Frazier (He Prayed)" in 1972. Cliff's most popular album in the United States was released in 1975: *Follow My Mind.* International hits by Toots and the Maytals were "Funky Kingston" in 1973 and "Reggae Got Soul" in 1976.

Disco

Disco became so deeply engrained in American pop culture in the 1970s that even classic music icons such as Beethoven and Mozart found themselves posthumously associated with the disco movement, with songs such as "Rock Me, Amadeus" playing on the radio.

Disco as music is deeply intertwined with disco as a dance form. (See Entertainment of the 1970s.) Disco songs were upbeat, in direct

contrast to many of the darker rock songs or introspective first-person folk songs written during the 1970s. The music pulsed at quick and steady rhythms and it fused funk and soul with rhythm and blues, Motown, jazz, and swing. Lyrics were teasing and often distinctively sexual.

One of the most popular disco songs, by Van McCoy, urged listeners to "do the hustle." McCoy later stated that "The Hustle" was a last-minute addition to his album, *Disco Baby.* McCoy won a Grammy Award for this song and it was his only song to reach the Top 40.

Yet another disco classic is "Disco Inferno" by the Trammps, while KC and the Sunshine Band provided discothèques with plenty of singles for dance aficionados, including "Get Down Tonight," "That's the Way (I Like It)," "I'm Your Boogie Man," "Shake Your Booty," and "Keep It Comin', Love."

Women who recorded popular disco songs were identified as "disco divas," with Donna Summer surely serving as the queen. In 1975, Summer released a 17-minute version of a song that she wrote: "Love to Love You, Baby." Complete with suggestive moans, the song reached number one on dance charts and quickly became gold. Many radio programs refused to air this song because of its sexually suggestive background sounds.

In 1977, Summer incorporated techno sounds into "I Feel Love," an innovative use of electronic enhancements in music. The following year, she released "Last Dance," another disco hit for which she received her first Grammy. Later that year, she released a live album, *Live and More,* which featured her first number one pop single, "MacArthur Park." In 1979, she released the album for which she is perhaps most famous: *Bad Girls.* This album boasted two number one singles, "Bad Girls" and "Hot Stuff." The album sold more than seven million copies and reached number one on the charts.

Gloria Gaynor had two disco hits of significance: "Never Can Say Goodbye" (1974) and "I Will Survive" (1979). The latter song reached number one on the Billboard Hot 100 list and was adopted as an anthem for the feminist movement, as well as the gay movement. Anita Ward's "Ring My Bell" perhaps served as disco's closing hymn, receiving prominent air play in 1979 before the disco movement began to self-destruct.



The Bee Gees. Left to right: Maurice, Robin, and Barry Gibb. Courtesy of Photofest.

In 1978, a musical group called the Village People performed a song, "YMCA," which detailed gay encounters in YMCA dormitories. Other hit songs included "Macho Man" (1978), "In the Navy" (1979), and "Go West" (1979). One of the band's four singers was openly gay, while the others did not discuss their sexual orientations. Three albums went gold, selling more than 500,000 copies, and four went platinum (selling more than 1,000,000 copies each).

In disco music, the Bee Gees dominated the scene. They were a trio of English brothers, Barry, Maurice, and Robin Gibb, who had moved with their family to Australia. In the early and middle 1970s, they were known for their soft rock harmonies in such songs as "How Can You Mend a Broken Heart" and "Jive Talkin," but in the late 1970s, they became known for their songs that were played as background music on the soundtrack of *Saturday Night Fever,* the ultimate disco movie. Three singles"—"Stayin' Alive," "How Deep Is Your Love," and "Night Fever" reached number one. A song they wrote for Yvonne Elliman for the movie, "If I Can't Have You," also reached number one. More than 30 million copies of this album sold, but this unprecedented success also had a backlash; as popular as disco was during much of the decade, by the end of the 1970s, few people admitted to being swept into this manic music form—and the Bee Gees suffered from this reversal.

Sports

and Leisure of the 1970s

WOMEN AND SPORTS

Pre-1972, educational institutions were not required to provide equal program activities to its students based on gender. On June 23, 1972, however, this changed when President Richard Nixon signed into legislation Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972. This law prohibited gender-based discrimination in any educational program that received any federal funding whatsoever. Although little controversy arose when the act first passed, heated debate soon began. Prompted by concerns stated by the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), a significant portion of American citizens soon expressed the viewpoint that male sports programs would suffer if funds were diverted to either begin or strengthen athletic programs for females.

In 1974, Senator John Tower proposed the "Tower Amendment," excluding any revenue-producing sports from the act; the amendment was rejected but the debate didn't die. On July 21, 1975, President Gerald Ford signed into legislation language that specifically prohibited gender discrimination in athletics, giving educational institutions three years in which to fully comply. Legislators continued to introduce amendments that would limit the scope of Title IX. Nevertheless, Title IX significantly changed the landscape of women's sports.

Tennis player Billie Jean King was a symbol of female athletic ability during the tumultuous early days of Title IX. Shortly after its passage, King was challenged by Bobby Riggs to a televised match that became known as the "Battle of the Sexes."

Riggs became a world-class tennis player in 1939, when he was just 16. Although his tennis career basically ended in the 1950s, he returned to the spotlight early in 1973 when he challenged—and beat—tennis player Margaret Court; he then announced that women could never beat men in the athletic arena and demanded a match with the "women's lib leader," Billie Jean King, who was 29 years old to his 55. Riggs had already won 20 Wimbledon titles, but King had won the Associated Press's Woman Athlete of the Year award in 1967 and 1973; and she was also *Sports Illustrated's* Sportswoman of the Year in 1972. King, who resented the fact that male tennis players were paid so much more than female champions, accepted this challenge eagerly. Prematch, Riggs wore T-shirts asking for "Men's Liberation," and, during interviews, proclaimed that if he was going to symbolize a male chauvinist pig, he would ensure that he was the biggest male chauvinist pig ever.

On September 20, 1973, approximately 50 million people watched the Riggs-King match on prime time television. Riggs arrived in a carriage

pulled by women while University of Houston football players carried King onto the court. Billie Jean King subsequently beat Bobby Riggs in three straight sets (6–4, 6–3, and 6–3), and Riggs credited King's speed and overall excellence for the results.

King was not the only successful female tennis player of the decade. Chris Evert was another powerhouse; in 1970, when she was just 15 years old, Evert beat the world champion, Margaret Court, in a tournament. One year later, Evert reached the semifinals of the U.S. Open, the youngest tennis player to ever accomplish this feat. Keeping amateur status until 1973, Evert had earned $1 million in tennis by 1976—again the first woman tennis player to reach this benchmark. In 1978, she won the U.S. title for the fourth time, the first tennis player to accomplish this since the 1930s.

OLYMPICS, 1972

Three truly memorable events occurred during the 1972 Olympics held in Munich, Germany. Eight terrorists killed two Israeli athletes and took nine more as hostages; all were killed by the following day. Included among the dead was 26-year-old David Berger, a dual-citizenship American who had returned to Israel. Another American, Mark Spitz, was also Jewish, left Germany after the act of terrorism. His Olympic performance before the tragedy was the second memorable aspect of the 1972 games. Before his departure, Spitz had already won four individual gold medals in swimming and had participated in three gold medal relay events; all set world records, giving him a total of seven gold medals, the most anyone had won during a single Olympics Games.

The final event, extremely controversial when it occurred, still causes debate. After the U.S. basketball team lost the gold medal game against the Soviet Union—the first basketball game ever lost in the Olympics by Americans—the U.S. team refused to accept the silver medal. The players felt that they had lost unfairly; they had been winning the game until officials granted the Soviet team three chances to convert an inbound pass. On the third attempt, the Soviets succeeded in their attempts, winning the game with a score of 51–50. Olympic competition was intense between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War era under the best of circumstances, and this controversy added significant fuel to the fire.

OLYMPICS, 1976

The 1976 Winter Olympics were held in Innsbruck, Austria. Interestingly, the games had been awarded to the city of Denver, Colorado, but a state vote against using public funds to help present the Olympics forced the games to move to Austria.

Perhaps the most spectacular performances of the 1976 Summer Olympics (held in Montreal, Canada) were given by 14-year-old Romanian



Bruce Jenner set a world record in the 1976 Olympics with 8,634 points in the decathlon. Courtesy of Photofest.

gymnast Nadia Comaneci, who scored seven perfect 10s and won three gold medals. Nevertheless, four American athletes established themselves as world-class athletes, as well; these include decathlete Bruce Jenner and three boxers: "Sugar" Ray Leonard, Michael Spinks, and his brother, Leon Spinks.

Jenner set a world record by scoring 8,634 points in the decathlete, causing some to label him the "World's Greatest Athlete." He received the Sullivan Award, given to the greatest amateur athlete of the year, and his photo appeared on Wheaties boxes.

Leonard won a gold medal in the Olympics and went on to win the 1979 welterweight championship. He was named "Fighter of the Decade" in the 1980s. Michael Spinks turned professional the year after he won his gold medal in the 1976 Olympics; he is now considered among the four best light heavyweight boxers in American history. Meanwhile, Leon Spinks, post-gold, briefly took away Muhammad Ali's heavyweight boxing title.

BOXING

Heavyweight boxing was dominated by three superstars in the 1970s: Muhammad Ali, Joe Frazier, and George Foreman, and it witnessed the rise of another star, Larry Holmes. "The Fight of the Century," took place on March 8, 1971, between Ali—who was born Cassius Marcellus Clay, but who often went by the moniker, "the Greatest"—and Frazier, who was the reigning heavyweight champion. Ali, who also called himself the "People's Champion," claimed that Frazier couldn't truly be champ until he had beaten Ali—which is just what Frazier did in the 15th round of their match-up at Madison Square Garden; the decision was unanimous.

In January 1973, George Foreman, who was known for his sheer brute strength, challenged Frazier for the title in the first boxing match aired by HBO. Broadcaster Howard Cosell's comments during the culmination of this fight, when Foreman clinched the heavyweight title, are still among the sport's most memorable. Repeated in an emphatic, staccato tone, Cosell simply said, "Down goes Frazier…Down goes Frazier…Down goes Frazier…"

In 1974, Ali, who could "float like a butterfly, sting like a bee," captured the heavyweight crown from Foreman. The fight took place in the Congo and was known as the "Rumble in the Jungle." Ali used his "rope-a-dope" strategy, wherein he rested against the ropes of the ring and allowed Foreman to attack him, hoping that he would wear himself out in the process—which Foreman did.

On October 1, 1975, Ali and Frazier boxed against each other one more time, with 28,000 people in the arena and an estimated 700 million television viewers. Ali, well known for his pithy sayings, promised that the fight would be a "killa and a thrilla and a chilla when he got the gorilla in Manila." Ali won the fight.

BASEBALL

Powerhouse teams of the 1970s include the 1970 Baltimore Orioles, Cincinnati's "Big Red Machine" in 1975, and the Oakland A's during the early part of the decade. In 1970, the Orioles put up a 108–54 record, winning their division by 15 games. The team beat Minnesota in three straight games to win the American League Championship—and then captured the World Series title against the Cincinnati Reds in just five games. The following year, the Orioles' roster included four pitchers who had each won at least 20 games.

In 1975, the Reds duplicated the 1970 Orioles' win-loss record. The team's star-studded lineup included Pete Rose, nicknamed "Charlie Hustle" for his boundless enthusiasm and can-do attitude, and Johnny Bench, arguably the sport's greatest catcher. During the 1970s, a Cincinnati player won the Most Valuable Player award six times; Bench won two of them. Joe Morgan's MVP season in 1975 helped lead the team into the World Series, where it beat the Boston Red Sox in seven games.

The A's boasted stars such as pitcher Rollie Fingers and outfielder Reggie Jackson, and the team won the World Series in 1972, 1973, and 1974. Jackson, after being traded to the New York Yankees, hit four consecutive home runs against the Dodgers during the fifth and sixth games of the 1977 World Series; Jackson's nickname was "Mr. October."

WORLD SERIES

1970 Baltimore Orioles (AL), 4 games; Cincinnati Reds (NL) 1 game

1971 Pittsburgh Pirates (NL), 4 games; Baltimore Orioles (AL), 3 games

1972 Oakland A's (AL), 4 games; Cincinnati Reds (NL) 3 games

1973 Oakland A's (AL), 4 games; New York Mets (NL), 3 games

1974 Oakland A's (AL), 4 games; Los Angeles Dodgers (NL), 1 game

1975 Cincinnati Reds (NL) 4 games; Boston Red Sox (AL), 3 games

1976 Cincinnati Reds (NL) 4 games; New York Yankees (AL), 0 games

1977 New York Yankees (AL), 4 games; Los Angeles Dodgers (NL), 2 games

1978 New York Yankees (AL), 4 games; Los Angeles Dodgers (NL), 2 games

1979 Pittsburgh Pirates (NL), 4 games; Baltimore Orioles (AL), 3 games

There was also controversy in baseball during the 1970s. On January 16, 1970, player Curt Flood filed a lawsuit protesting a trade deal that he did not wish to fulfill. He requested free agency and the ability to make his own choices, and he compared baseball's system of owners deciding which players played on which team to the system of pre–Civil War slavery. The Supreme Court did not buy that argument or the antitrust one, and ruled in favor of organized baseball.

On April 1, 1972, players went on strike, demanding more health benefits and a better pension plan. The season was delayed by nine days and 86 games were canceled before owners satisfied the players' demands. Although the season was played to its conclusion, spring training was delayed in 1973 until March 1, as players and owners attempted to hash out more contractual details. Salary arbitration, one feature that was newly granted to the players and their union, radically changed the power balance between team owners and players, as players could request arbitration after two years of major league play, and owners were bound by the decisions.

TENNIS

Billie Jean King and Chris Evert featured prominently in women's tennis; men's tennis included Arthur Ashe, who was already an established star after winning both the U.S. Open and U.S. Amateur championships in 1968. In 1975, he beat reigning champion Jimmy Connors, who was a full decade younger than Ashe, at Wimbledon. That year, Ashe ranked number one in the United States and fourth in the world; in 1976, he ranked number two in the United States.

John McEnroe sprung into prominence later in the decade, perhaps as well known for his aggressive, tantrum-like behavior on the court as for his stellar play. Nicknamed "Superbrat," he qualified for Wimbledon in 1977 at the age of 18, the youngest to do so. He reached the semifinals where he lost to Connors, who was ranked number one in the world every year from 1974–1978. McEnroe won his first U.S. Open in 1979.

FOOTBALL

The Pittsburgh Steelers, with its "Steel Curtain" defense, was the powerhouse National Football League team in the 1970s, making the playoffs eight times and winning Super Bowl titles in 1974, 1975, 1978, and 1979; nine of its players ended up in the Football Hall of Fame. Led by quarterback Terry Bradshaw and NFL Defensive Player of the Year in 1972 and 1974, "Mean" Joe Greene, other outstanding players included Franco Harris, Lynn Swann, John Stallworth, Mel Blount, Jack Lambert, Jack Ham, and Mike Webster. In 1974, the team selected four Hall of Famers in one year (Webster, Swann, Stallworth, and Lambert). Coach Chuck Noll led all four Super Bowl teams, the only NFL coach to win four of these titles.

Football fans were able to watch games broadcast live when "Monday Night Football" first aired on September 21, 1970. The first commentators included Keith Jackson, Howard Cosell, and Don Meredith; after the first season, Jackson

was replaced by Frank Gifford. Alex Karras, Fran Tarkenton, and Fred Williamson also served as commentators during the 1970s.

BASKETBALL

Spectacular teams from the decade include the 1969–1970 New York Knicks, which boasted players such as Willis Reed, Walt Frazier, Dick Barnett, Dave DeBusschere, Bill Bradley, and Cazzie Russell. The team's winning percentage of .732 fueled its effort to make the NBA Championship Series for the first time in Knickerbocker history. Two inspirational baskets, made by injured team captain Willis Reed during the decisive game of the championship, sealed the team's first league victory.

Another team of significance was the 1971–1972 Los Angeles Lakers, with Gail Goodrich, Jerry West, Wilt Chamberlain, Jim McMillian, and Happy Hairston capturing the first Laker championship with an .841 winning percentage. The team won 33 consecutive games that season, breaking the NBA record for consecutive wins.

The 1974–1975 season ended with one of the sport's most exciting championship playoffs, as the Boston Celtics played against the Milwaukee Bucks and that team's star player, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar. The series went all the way to seven games, and Boston won it.

The end of the decade marked the beginning of the Boston Celtics rivalry—led by Larry Bird, Kevin McHale, and Robert Parish—with the Los Angeles Lakers, including multitalented rookie Earvin "Magic" Johnson and veteran player Abdul-Jabbar, with his amazing sky-hook shot.

Another player of note is Julius Erving—or "Dr. J."—who eventually scored more than 30,000 career points. Erving began his professional career during the 1970s and incorporated mid-air twists and turns and slam dunk shots into his play, a style sometimes called "show time."

LEISURE TRENDS

Certain fads of the 1970s—such as Mood Rings and Pet Rocks—instantly captured Americans' attention; other trends, including the Little People Originals—eventually renamed Cabbage Patch Kids—were invented in the 1970s but didn't receive widespread acclaim until the following decade. Still other trends, such as the ubiquitous smiley face, were conceptualized in earlier times, but became hallmarks during this decade.

Some fads, such as toe socks, had practical value. Toe socks were knee-high in length and were often colorful, with bright stripes and glittery threads in

HOW OTHERS SEE US

Pet Rocks Go Around the World

The Pet Rock was perhaps the quintessential American fad of the 1970s with its quick rise to public consciousness, huge profits, and equally fast collapse. Its meteoric flash also offers a glimpse into the national psyches of two other historically linked but culturally disparate nations, Great Britain and Australia.

The goof gift of the 1975 Christmas season, the Pet Rock was a marvel of marketing and packaging. It was a rock, no more or less, nestled in a bed of straw and tucked into a box complete with air holes and a 36-page care-and-feeding manual. Its sales in the U.S. were in the millions.

The British public held itself proudly aloof from the craze, which was widely but dismissively covered in the press. Reporters and commentators took a mockingly chiding tone in these stories; one could almost hear their tongues clucking over the silly thing that the Colonists had been suckered into this time. Decades later, "pet rock" remained a code phrase among British journalists for "foolish foreign fluff."

Australians, on the other hand, plunged into the fad with cheerful abandon. Both the original version and knock-off imitators were sold there by the hundreds of thousands and enjoyed a popularity that paralleled that in the United States. In the 1990s, a popular local rock band called themselves the Pet Rocks, and newspapers ran stories about the nostalgic memories that Australians had of the "fun" they'd had with their "pets" 20 years before.

their design. They kept a person's feet, including the spots between the toes, and legs warm. Other fads, such as clackers, were not quite as cozy and safe as toe socks. Clackers were basically two pool ball–sized marbles connected by a string that held a ring. Users slipped a finger into the ring and swung the balls together, "clacking" them and attempting trick moves with the toy. Unfortunately, the glass versions shattered and caused injuries; subsequent plastic versions never caught on.

FADS

Mood Rings

If the 1970s truly were the "Me Decade"—as journalist Tom Wolfe declared in 1976—then no fashion or fad could better represent these years than "Impulse Stones"—or, as they were better known, Mood Rings. Created in 1975 by Josh Reynolds—a direct descendent of one of England's greatest portrait painters, Sir Joshua Reynolds—mood rings were basic bands of metal connected to large oval-shaped pieces of glass that either contained thermotropic liquid crystals or were coated on the back with the substance. These crystals changed color in response to the ring wearer's body heat, which caused the "jewel" of the ring to also change hue—and, by consulting a chart provided with the purchase of the ring, the person wearing the jewelry could determine his or her mood. According to the literature provided with the rings, the following colors corresponded, more or less, with the following moods:

Dark blue: Happy, romantic, or passionate
Blue: Calm or relaxed
Blue-green: Somewhat relaxed
Green: Normal or average
Amber: A little nervous or anxious
Gray: Very nervous or anxious
Black: Stressed, tense, or feeling harried

Even if a ring-wearer did not feel that the results garnered by mood rings were scientific, the rings at least served as conversation starters on the subject of feelings and emotions.

People could purchase basic (plastic look-alike) mood rings for as little as $2, while those with genuine gold settings cost $250. By December 1975, more than $15 million worth of rings had been sold. After the first flush of success caused the initial stock of mood rings to sell out in New York, imitators created other products, including more masculine-looking rings, a "mood watcher" that both kept time and monitored moods, mood pendants, and nail polish that contained the liquid crystals. Mood shirts were sold and manufacturers also attempted to sell handbags with stones in the straps and belts complete with mood buckles.

Famous owners of mood rings included Sophia Loren, Barbra Streisand, Paul Newman, and Muhammad Ali—who even wrote a poem about the object.

The crystals used in these mood-detecting devices usually maintained their effectiveness for one or two years—the shelf-life of this fad.

Pet Rocks

The "Pet Rock" concept has come to represent the ultimate exception in marketing; rather than satisfying an obvious need or filling an important niche, the Pet Rock seemed to create its own demand—and then filled it en masse. In April 1975, Gary Dahl, an advertising professional from California, socialized with friends after work. Conversation turned to the high maintenance required by traditional pets such as cats, dogs, and birds, and Dahl informed his pals that pets made too much of a mess; they misbehaved, and they cost too much money. As a tongue-in-cheek alternative, he suggested owning a rock.

Dahl then wrote a training manual that described how to have a good relationship with your pet rock and how to make your pebble sit, stay, roll over, play dead, and be housetrained. After creating his manual, Dahl bought a supply of round gray pebbles from a building store in San Jose, California for one penny each. He packed each individual rock in a gift box that looked like a pet carrying case—complete with air holes—and he marketed the stone, gift box, and pet rock manual at a gift show in San Francisco in August 1975 and later at a show held in New York. For publicity, he sent out a quirky press release of himself surrounded by Pet Rocks.

Almost immediately, Neiman-Marcus bought 500 rocks, and *Newsweek* published a story about the concept. By the end of October, Dahl shipped

out about 10,000 rocks daily. He appeared on the *Tonight Show* twice, and by Christmas Dahl had sold two and a half tons of rocks. His product appeared in editorials and newspaper articles across the country. Within a few months, Dahl had sold more than 1,000,000 Pet Rocks at $3.95 each, making him a nearly instant millionaire.

Copycat products inundated the market; some boasted painted-on facial features and others comprised a cluster of rocks that represented a pet rock family. Others hoping to cash in on the fad offered obedience lessons for pet rocks or burial at sea services for rocks that had perished. The demand for this product, though, evaporated almost as quickly as it began.

Streaking

Another fad of the decade was streaking—or darting through a public place while nude, usually for the shock value and/or to entertain an audience. Ray Stevens song "The Streak" began playing on radio stations in 1974. A significant portion of streakers were college students running naked across some portion of their campus. Had Stevens's song not become a huge hit, perhaps the effects of this trend would have been more contained; however, it became a number one song—and awareness of streaking hit the national landscape. The thrust of the lyrics was the singer's attempts to prevent his wife—Ethel—from seeing the full frontal view of a male streaker. His cautions of "don't look" apparently fell on deaf ears, though, as at the end of the song, the narrator demands that Ethel get her own clothes back on…

One infamous streaker is Robert Opal, who in 1974 raced across the stage of the 46th Academy Awards at the peak of the streaking fad. He flashed a peace sign at the cameras that were broadcasting nationally; NBC quickly cut away to avoid a frontal nudity shot. Host David Niven is also well remembered for his response: "The only laugh that man will ever get in his life," he quipped, "is by stripping…and showing his shortcomings."

GAMES, TOYS, AND HOBBIES

The 1970s saw the invention of a wide range of innovative toys, including Star Wars action figures in 1977. Based on the popular movie of the same name, these action figures were slightly less than four inches in length, much smaller than the Barbie dolls and GI Joes from previous generations. Because they were smaller, they were less expensive and children could more feasibly collect the entire set. Not surprisingly, the main characters of the movie (including Darth Vader, Luke Skywalker, Princess Leia, and Han Solo) had their own action figures, but so did the background aliens—many of whom didn't even have names until they were needed on the toy's packaging.

The year after the Star Wars action figures premiered, Milton Bradley Company invented a game—SIMON—that contained electronic lights and sounds and introduced it at New York discotheques, including the ultrachic Studio 54. The black, plastic, circular-shaped toy was divided into four sections, each with a red, blue, green, or yellow light that flashed on and off in random patterns. The player had to correctly repeat the ever-increasing complexity of the pattern—or lose the game.

SIMON—which was an electronic version of the old childhood game, Simon Says—had a big impact on society. People threw SIMON parties, and, early in the morning, extremely dedicated players would show up at FAO Schwartz to play before work. *People, Money, Esquire, GQ,* and *Newsweek* published articles about the game. The game sold out during the 1978 Christmas season and remained popular. Perhaps for the first time, a game intended for children became a pop culture phenomenon for adults—and for the country as a whole.

Television Console Games

On January 27, 1972, Magnavox introduced the first-ever home video game system: the Odyssey. Invented by Ralph Baer, an employee of a defense contractor, the original notion was to create a "television gaming apparatus" that would help develop the reflexes of those serving in the military. Baer shared his invention with Magnavox in 1970, and he signed a licensing agreement with them. The original Odyssey cost $100 and allowed users to play games that used basic black-and-white graphics as a game board. During the first three years, 200,000 units sold. Perhaps more would have been purchased,

but Magnavox implied in its advertising that the Odyssey would only work on Magnavox televisions; this was not true, but the company hoped to fuel television sales.

Nolan Bushnell saw an early version of the Odyssey's tennis game, and he invented his own game—PONG—for rival Atari. People first played this coin-operated game on machines in bars and arcades, and then Atari partnered with Sears and Roebuck to create a television-based version of the game. This system also cost $100—and more than $40 million of Atari game systems sold during the 1975 Christmas season.

After Atari's success, Coleco released Telstar and Magnavox created Odyssey 100, each of which found some sales. In October 1977, Atari released a $199 programmable video game system that sold more than 25 million units. Programmable meant that the games themselves were contained on devices separate from the actual hardware of the game system. Many consider the Atari unit the beginning of "true" home video games; these included Space Invaders, Asteroids, and Pac-Man.

Small Computer Beginnings

When the decade debuted, teens and adults interested in electronics were building games, radios, and other light-controlled devices, much as they had been for the past two decades. Early in the 1970s, though, they could begin purchasing integrated circuit boards at a reasonable price, thereby greatly extending the options available for their experimentation. This enabled hobbyists to create increasingly more sophisticated devices—at younger and younger ages.

When Intel began selling the 8080 microprocessor in the mid-1970s, people first attempted to build their own computers; MITS, Inc. sold kits for $395 each. The January 1975 issue of *Popular Electronics* featured this do-it-yourself project—which snagged the attention of Paul Allen and Bill Gates. Those two young entrepreneurs moved into the building where these computer kits were being sold and established their original software company of Microsoft. About the same time, Steve Jobs, Steve Wozniak, and Ronald Wayne were beginning to develop the Apple computer. Throughout the decade, electronics hobbyists could find increasing numbers of books and magazines that described computer building projects. Although the notion of computer kits was short-lived, the computer itself was still in its toddler stage. (See Overview of the 1980s for moreon personal computers.)

Citizens Band Radio

The Citizens Band (CB) radio had existed since 1947, but its usage did not become popular until the mid-1970s when long-distance truckers used CB radios to communicate information to one another—about traffic conditions, detours, or "speed traps" set up by police officers—and to chase away the loneliness during long hauls. A CB radio consisted of a microphone, a speaker system, and a control box. These radios were relatively easy to set up and to use, and they served as a precursor to cellular phones. Moreover, the cost of technology had become more affordable by the 1970s, which fostered even wider usage.

Users created special names and slang to solidify their subculture: "Smokey" indicated a police officer; "negatory" was a lively way to say "no;" and "10–4" signified that a listener had received a message.

C. W. McCall (pseudonym of Bill Fries) fueled the CB craze with his song "Convoy"(1975), in which a CB user dubbed "Rubber Duck" organizes a powerful bumper-to-bumper conglomeration of vehicles. More than 11.3 million units sold in 1976 alone.[1] Movies such as *Smokey and the Bandit,* 1977, starring Burt Reynolds, Sally Field, and Jackie Gleason further shared "trucker culture" with society at large.

Dungeons and Dragons

In 1971, Gary Gygax and Jeff Perren invented a fantasy game called Chainmail that involved the use of medieval warfare miniatures. The game soon evolved into Dungeons and Dragons (D&D), which also incorporated significant role playing. On the one hand, D&D was deceptively simple and straightforward. Game boards and playing pieces were optional, and there were no traditional winners or losers in the noncompetitive activity. On the other hand, successful players needed to possess strong imagination and intellect.



"Dungeons & Dragons" in 1979. AP Photo.

In D&D, the central player of the game, the Dungeon Master (DM), creates an imaginary world peopled with characters that are evil and good, weak and strong. The DM also develops a fantasy landscape complete with castles and dungeons, monsters and treasures. The DM must know all agreed-upon rules and monitor the actions of the players as they further develop their assigned medieval characters and attempt to escape from the make-believe dungeon while obstacles, ranging from goblins to physical obstructions, stand in their way.

Games could last for hours, weeks, months—or even years. Devotees of the game—who were often either teenagers or college students—purchased countless manuals and accessories to further their ability to play the game. By the end of the decade, creator Gary Gygax estimated that 250,000 Americans engaged in D&D play, while other estimates ranged up to 300,000.

Controversy, however, surrounded D&D. Some parents applauded their children's participation, calling the game challenging and hailing it as an effective way to work out psychological issues using imaginative solutions to unexpected problems. Other parents worried, though, about signs of depression in their children after their character died in the game.

GENEALOGY AND THE SEARCH FOR ETHNIC/CULTURAL IDENTITY

By the mid-1970s, the *Los Angeles Times* estimated that half a million Americans pursued genealogy as a hobby. Many of these people belonged to one or more of the 700 genealogical clubs and societies in the country; at that time, genealogy ranked as the country's third most popular hobby. According to the *Chicago Tribune,* the intense interest in genealogy and the search for ethnic, cultural, and familial history could be attributed to four factors: a yearning for family ties in an increasingly mobile society; the greater amount of leisure time afforded post–World War II; the Bicentennial; and the increasing number of adopted children seeking information about their biological family.

In response, libraries, schools, and YMCAs offered genealogy classes, while publishers began printing books and magazines on the subject. Alex Haley's *Roots* was the most easily recognizable of these printed materials. The book, which became a television miniseries, helped fuel an interest in genealogy, particularly among African Americans. (See Entertainment of the 1970s.)

Roots, though, was not the first foray into family history in the 1970s. Richard Gambino's *Blood of My Blood* shared his Italian heritage, while Irving Howe's *World of Our Fathers* explored the first-generation Jewish American experience in New York City.

In 1974, Congress approved the Ethnic Heritage Studies Program and provided nearly $6 million to allow citizens the opportunity to research their roots and for Americans of all ethnic backgrounds to learn about others' background; this act helped initiate ethnic studies programs at universities around the country. The resumption of diplomatic discussions between China and America allowed Chinese Americans the opportunity to finally visit the homes of their ancestors. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormons) also continued to add to its genealogy collection during this decade. By the mid-1970s, Mormon structures housed more than 130,000 volumes of family genealogies along with more than 1 million rolls of microfilm containing census records, birth and death certificates, probate documents, and countless other minutiae from around the world.

Travel

of the 1970s

On the cusp of the 1970s, many experts believed that more Americans than ever before would travel during the decade. Factors for this enthusiasm included the advent of the first jumbo jet—the Boeing 747—that was anticipated in 1970; the increase in ship cruise options; and the lower airfares being predicted. Furthermore, American Express announced that it expected travel to Europe to double.

Lower airfares did occur because of a rate war among airlines, and, once the 747 became available for commercial flight, airlines dramatically slashed ticket prices, making international travel much more feasible. To compete with the Boeing 747, cruise ship operators ramped up their advertising and their special deals.

High travel expectations in the 1970s dimmed, though, for a variety of reasons, including an oil embargo that caused gasoline prices to increase significantly and an overall sluggish economy with rapid rates of inflation, high unemployment figures, and slow growth that caused the average American's budget to tighten.

On a more positive note, although space travel did not continue at the fever pitch of 1969, Americans did make significant strides in space voyages and research. The 1970s saw automobile innovations, including the first American-made, fuel-efficient subcompact car. The founding of Amtrak saved a disintegrating passenger railway system from possible extinction.

SPACE TRAVEL

When the 1970s began, the country had recently celebrated the successes of extraordinary, seemingly superhuman undertakings in space. John Glenn had walked on the moon, broadcasting his historic step for all mankind throughout the world, and people's imaginations flourished, anticipating lunar colonies—or ones on Mars—as the answer to overpopulation, pollution, or any number of other social ills.

In January 1970, *Science* magazine dedicated an entire issue to the analysis of Apollo 11 lunar samples. It was the first time the magazine had devoted all of its pages to a single topic, and this attention from the well-respected *Science* seemed to reinforce that the world—led by the United States of America's efforts—was on the verge of a new galactic age. This flush of success was not limited to the scientific, either; the moon landing was, for the United States, also a political coup.

Astronauts were heroes for most Americans; in a time when many questioned the "establishment," those who succeeded as astronauts had, as Tom Wolfe defined the phenomenon, the "right stuff." To qualify, these men needed superb

physical stamina and health; they underwent a battery of psychological tests, as well, so that America could boast of the strongest and best astronauts in the world.

Hopes for an expansion of the space program quickly faltered in the 1970s, though, as economic troubles and other concerns—ranging from the Vietnam War to feminist and civil rights struggles—took precedence. The American psyche took yet another hit when the space program lost momentum—and when the first Apollo launch of the decade nearly turned tragic.

On April 11, 1970, NASA launched Apollo 13, hoping to land on the Fra Mauro highlands of the moon. Fifty-five hours later, an oxygen tank exploded on board, putting the entire crew in extreme danger. Astronauts Jim Lovell, Jack Swigert, and Fred Haise aborted their mission and used the resources located on their lunar lander to survive, including its oxygen, radio, and engines. Four days later, the rocket reentered Earth's orbit and landed safely.

The following summer, Alan Shepard led Apollo 14 into space. Shepard was America's first space traveler, but an ailment had prevented him from participating in space flight since 1961; because of a successful surgery, though, he could command the Apollo 14. When he did, he walked on the moon's Fra Mauro highlands.

Apollo 15's astronauts explored the moon's mountains using a Lunar Rover. They discovered a rock dating back 4.5 million years, nearly the estimated age of the moon; they named the rock "Genesis." Apollo 16 explored the moon's highlands using new technology known as the ultraviolet camera and spectrograph. Apollo 17 furthered the knowledge of the moon's origins significantly. All told, 12 astronauts walked on the moon during 6 lunar landings. After Apollo 17, though, budget cuts caused this particular space program to cease operations.

Soviet cosmonauts also landed on the moon, starting in 1970, and they also created automated rovers. In 1971, they attempted to claim the world's first space station, Salyut 1, but all three cosmonauts died after the cabin suddenly lost pressure. In 1973, the Soviets succeeded in a similar scientific mission, as the Cold War continued to be waged in outer space.

Exploration of Mars also occurred in the 1970s. NASA's Mariner 9 began photographing the planet in 1971. In 1976, two Viking landers touched down on Mars and gathered data; an attempt was made to find microbial life, but nothing was discovered. Mariner 10, employing gravity assist, used the pull of Venus to direct itself toward Mercury; three successful "flybys" occurred. Meanwhile, Soviets succeeded in a Venus landing and discovered 900°F temperatures. The U.S. Pioneer 10 and 11 flew by Jupiter and Saturn, while Voyager 1 and 2, both launched in 1977, began a space tour that would ultimately lead to the outer solar system.

Perhaps the most remarkable accomplishment, diplomacy-wise, happened in 1975 when a U.S./Soviet cooperative effort created the Apollo-Soyuz Test Project (ASTP). Through this initiative, the two countries studied launching and docking protocol; after spacecraft launched from each of the countries, the crews met in space for two days to conduct more experiments.

SKYLAB

Using Apollo and Saturn technology, NASA created a space platform from which trained scientists and astronauts could gather information; they would, while in space, examine the sun, photograph the earth, and study weightlessness. The creation of Skylab cost less than $3,000,000,000, and the space station was ready for a test run by 1973.

Skylab suffered from technical difficulties, though, during its unmanned experimental flight on May 14, 1973. Just 63 seconds after blasting off, atmospheric drag ripped off a shield intended to protect Skylab's workshop. After NASA repaired Skylab, three sets of three men lived in its workshop space while orbiting Earth. All 3 flights were successful and these 9 men lived in Skylab for a total of 171 days during 1973 and 1974. The 3 trips lasted 28, 59, and 84 days, respectively.

These men continuously pointed a sophisticated observation device, called the "Apollo Telescope Mount," at the sun to gather data. The crew, who were both scientists and astronauts, carefully selected targets on the sun to observe and

watched for its active regions; they then filmed those areas to record the radiation released during the flare-ups.

These men conducted nearly 300 scientific experiments while in space, trying to determine how humans adapted to zero gravity; they also continued to study the Earth and the sun. For the first time ever, refueling successfully occurred in space, and, on July 11, 1979, five years after the project had ceased operations and the men had safely returned home, pieces of Skylab fell back down to Earth.

THE AUTOMOBILE

Legislation

In 1965, consumer advocate Ralph Nader published *Unsafe at Any Speed,* which listed a substantial number of charges against the car manufacturing industry and its alleged unwillingness to spend money on safety features in cars. The car manufacturing industry and Nader clashed furiously over his claims; meanwhile, a public outcry arose, demanding that these safety features be installed in cars. Ironically, when the National Safety Council mounted seat belt education campaigns in both 1972 and 1973, no significant changes in behavior were noted.

Nevertheless, largely in response to these demands, the federal government passed significant safety-related legislation in the automobile industry in the latter part of the 1960s and during the 1970s. One area of concern was cars' bumpers. Effective September 1, 1972—for 1973 models—bumpers were required to withstand minimal impacts without damage to headlights or fuel systems. In October 1972, Congress passed an act that created a federal bumper standard.

The notion of passive restraint systems in cars was debated as well. The National Highway Traffic



Skylab space station, occupied by American astronauts during 1973–1974. NASA image.

Safety Administration set a deadline of 1974 for passive restraint systems in cars; after industry executives lobbied Richard Nixon, the deadline was extended until 1976. When that deadline loomed, Gerald Ford's transportation secretary agreed to cancel the requirement after car manufacturers agreed to voluntarily install safety air bags in selected cars. In 1977, Jimmy Carter's transportation secretary reversed that decision and gave car manufacturers a new deadline of 1984 to include passive restraints or air bags in cars.

Car manufacturers experimented with safety air bags even before legislation definitively required them to install the devices in selected cars. The Oldsmobile Toronado came equipped with air bags in 1973. That same year, General Motors built 1,000 Chevrolets with air bags for testing purposes; in the first recorded air bag fatality, an infant in the front seat of a car died after an air bag deployed during a wreck. In 1974, General Motors offered air bags as an option in selected Cadillacs, Oldsmobiles, and Buicks from 1974 through 1976. Hoping to sell 100,000 cars with air bags during that three-year period, sales were a disappointing 10,000, and so General Motors abandoned the project.

In 1975, Volvo conducted an experiment to determine the safety of putting young children in front seats of cars that had air bag safety features. The company used pigs in place of the children; 8 of the 24 pigs died and all but 3 of the surviving pigs were injured. This experiment helped lead to the conclusion that children should stay in the back seats of cars that came equipped with air bags.

Two significant technological improvements occurred during the decade; the first was Chrysler's invention of the electronic ignition in 1972. Four years later, Volvo introduced cars with catalytic converters that greatly reduced harmful emissions into the environment. The following year, California passed strict new legislation that limited the acceptable levels of the three most harmful emission types.

American Subcompact Cars

American Motors Company (AMC) premiered the Gremlin, the first American subcompact, on April 1, 1970. This vehicle was created by AMC to compete with imported cars from Japan and Germany.

Although the car's appearance received some criticism, the Gremlin had one important factor going for it—the very reasonable price. A two-seated Gremlin cost $1,879, while the four seater hatch-back cost $1,959. Furthermore, the car boasted decent mileage, which would become an important factor during the oil crisis. Perhaps to combat the criticism of its appearance—and certainly to capitalize on America's love of denim—the 1972 Gremlin came in a "Levi edition," which included copper rivets and soft-brushed denim-colored nylon in the interior.

Starting with 1971 models, Americans could choose from three domestic subcompacts: the Gremlin, the Ford Pinto, and the Chevrolet Vega. *Motor Trend* named the Chevy Vega as car of the year in 1971. The Ford Pinto, though, was in the news for less happy reasons.

Numerous Pintos were involved in car fire fatalities, in large part because the fuel tank placement seemed to make it especially vulnerable in rear-end collisions. Ford received significant criticism after 27 fatalities, and it was alleged that Ford Motor Company memos indicated the company would rather pay the expenses of lawsuits than spend the money to fix the problem.[1] More recently, though, a 1991 law review paper suggested that, because more than 2,000,000 Pintos were built, this car was no more dangerous, percentagewise, than many others of the era.[2] Regardless, the Pinto was perhaps the most controversial car of the 1970s.

Although the creation of the American subcompact car preceded the oil embargo crisis of 1973, and was in fact built to challenge the success of smaller imported cars, appreciation of these fuel-efficient vehicles increased as gas prices skyrocketed. As a comparison, large cars got only about eight miles per gallon, while compacts could get as many as 35 miles per gallon. Gas prices climbed from 30 cents per gallon to 60 cents during the 1973 embargo, and lines at gas stations stretched down the block.

In 1974, more by coincidence than by deliberate preplanning, Ford Motor Company was ready to introduce a smaller Mustang with a more fuel-efficient four-cylinder engine at a price of $2,895.

Although this model was enthusiastically received, 1974 was a bad year for the automobile industry. Sales were down 3,000,000 units from 1973 and no relief was in sight. In 1975, manufacturers modified designs to make cars look more compact—perhaps to give the impression that they were more fuel-efficient. Chevrolet introduced the Monza, a line of subcompact cars that were more substantial than the Vega, but still economical and fuel-efficient. The oil crisis also led to a brief interest in Hybrid Electric Vehicles, but that enthusiasm died once the panic over oil abated. Post-crisis, car manufacturers enjoyed a couple years of rebounding sales—but another, albeit less severe oil crisis, occurred in 1979 and once again focused interest on the smaller, more fuel-efficient subcompact car.

Oil Crisis Effect

Prior to the oil crisis of 1973, American car manufacturers focused significantly on improving vehicle performance, each trying to outdo previous efforts, surpass domestic competitors, and prevent imported cars from securing more of a market share in the United States. During the early part of the 1970s, the so-called muscle car, with its oversized engine and large body, remained popular. The rapidly increasing gas prices caused by the oil crisis made muscle cars significantly more expensive to operate—and significantly less socially acceptable in an era concerned with the environment—and so their popularity waned.

Imported Cars

Imported cars, generally still called "foreign cars" during the 1970s, sold well during the decade. In 1970, more than half a million German Volkswagens sold in the United States, as did nearly 185,000 Toyotas from Japan. American consumers still tread somewhat cautiously when buying Japanese products, though, as the phrase "made in Japan" was considered a putdown. Meanwhile, sales of American-made cars and light trucks fell. On February 3, 1975, because of sluggish sales, one-third of the workforce in Detroit's auto industry lost their jobs. By the end of the 1970s, Japanese manufacturers out-produced their American counterparts.

Cars were also used as diplomacy tools. During each of the three peace summits between the United States and the Soviet Union, Richard Nixon gifted Leonid Brezhnev with a car. In 1972, he gave the Soviet leader a Cadillac limousine, valued at $10,000. The following year, Brezhnev received a Lincoln Continental, also valued at $10,000. In 1974, the year that Nixon's domestic political situation was quite shaky, he gave a Chevy Monte Carlo, a car that retailed at $5,578. Although that lesser gift might seem to indicate a falling of Nixon's fortunes or a falling out in the relationship, Brezhnev in fact requested that car as a gift after *Motor Trend* named it the car of the year.

PLANES, TRAINS, AND TRUCKS

Boeing 747: Jumbo Jet

The success of Boeing's jumbo jet known as the 747 actually began with a failure several years prior. In the mid-1960s, Boeing lost its bid on a U.S. Air Force contract for a very large plane but, through that process, the company identified a market for a jumbo-sized jet. Furthermore, Boeing could use research material collected for the bidding process to design such a plane, and it began work on the project in 1966.

The first test flight was scheduled for February 9, 1969. The Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) warned Boeing that these planes must be substantially quieter than ones currently flying; this requirement marked the first time that federal authorities imposed noise criteria on airlines.

Boeing's first jumbo jet weighed 355 tons and cost $20 million to build. Capable of carrying 490 passengers on a 6,000-mile flight, the flight speed of the test run was anticipated to be 300 mph, and the maximum speed was gauged at 625 mph. The plane was two and a half times the size of current commercial planes, with three times the seating capacity and twice the cargo space. Airports needed to modify their facilities to accommodate the jumbo jets, and, because of safety concerns related to flying on such massive planes, insurance companies mulled over how to modify their policies.

The jumbo jet's test flight was scheduled to last four hours, but it was cut short by an hour and 15 minutes because of wing flap difficulty; all otherwise progressed well. The take-off was quiet and the landing was smooth, as well. To ensure safety, no passengers flew on this test run; to approximate the weight of passengers, 176 barrels, each containing 55 gallons of water, were placed on seats.

The plane's advent was anticipated with awe. An average jumbo jet would contain 12 lavatories, with plumbing available for 17. Between 12 and 18 flight attendants would be assigned to each flight. Meanwhile, experts talked about the psychological effect these huge planes would have on residents living near the airports.

On June 3, Boeing's jumbo jet successfully flew to Paris, its first overseas test. More than 2,000 Parisians toured the plane and its six movie theaters, spiral staircase leading to the upstairs lounge, and six different decorating schemes.

Boeing received clearance for public use of its 747 on December 30, 1969. In January 1970, the 747–100 began service with Pan American.

Deregulation

During the latter part of the 1970s, airline companies struggled beneath the weight of hefty regulations. The system of the era has been described as both inflexible and cumbersome; for example, lengthy Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB) hearings were required for two affiliated airlines to receive permission to wear similar uniforms.

CAB determined what prices airlines could charge and what routes they could take. Following their belief that consumers would not pay full price if they only needed to travel a short distance,



Thousands of employees and guests surround the Boeing 747 wide body jetliner shortly after its rollout at Boeing's Everett, Washington, plant. The new jumbo jet was the world's largest commercial jetliner at the time. AP Photo.

they set lower prices for short-haul markets and higher prices for long-haul markets. Opponents of this philosophy stated that this policy inhibited the growth of air travel—and therefore of the entire airline industry.

In 1978, Congress voted to deregulate the airlines, which allowed the companies to determine their own pricing structures and to openly compete with other companies. Consumers hoped for lower prices and better service as airlines attempted to woo them; overall, studies indicate that deregulation accomplished those goals. However, before deregulation, airline tickets were generally fully refundable and consumers could change flights without penalty, so the decision contained both advantages and disadvantages.

Amtrak

Passenger train usage began to decline during the 1930s as increasing numbers of people purchased automobiles. It dropped even further in the 1950s, when long-distance travelers had the option of flying to their destinations, and when improved highways systems made driving easier and more pleasant. In October 1967, the U.S. Postal Service began transporting first class mail by truck and plane, relegating only second and third class mail to the passenger trains. In the face of such fierce competition, many passenger train systems folded.

Shortly after the postal service withdrew its first-class contracts with the railways, an attorney named Anthony Haswell formed a lobbyist group, the National Association of Railroad Passengers, to persuade the federal government to solve the problem of declining railway passenger transportation. It lobbied Congress, the Department of Transportation, and the Federal Railroad Administration.

Concurrent with the lobbyist group forming, two major railway systems—the Pennsylvania Railroad and the New York Central Railroad—merged on February 1, 1968, to create the Penn Central Railroad system. This mammoth new railway system was expected to solve many of the railway's problems. Instead, on June 21, 1970, the Penn Central railroad system filed for bankruptcy—the largest bankruptcy to date. Penn Central's failure was agonized over and analyzed in depth. When the Penn Central Transportation Company crashed, it had 100,000 creditors and more than 118,000 stockholders, and the railway system simply collapsed beneath these demands.

Although Congress recognized the need for a solution to the passenger railway crisis, it was not united in the specifics. The collapse of the Penn Central, though, deepened the state of emergency, and, on October 14, 1970, Congress passed the Rail Passenger Service Act to revitalize passenger railroads in the country. On October 30, Richard Nixon signed the bill that authorized the National Railroad Passenger Corporation (NRPC) to operate the railroad system. Eight presidential appointees plus key members from the Federal Railroad Administration and the Department of Transportation spearheaded the planning; their goal was to operate a quality system while maintaining freedom from regulation.

The law created a quasi-public corporation—originally to be named Railpax, but changed to Amtrak. The name Amtrak stood for "American Travel by Track" and the red, white, and blue inverted arrow that came to symbolize Amtrak was designed.

Private rail companies had until May 1, 1971, to either merge with Amtrak or decide to remain independent. Private railroad systems kept control of the more lucrative freight service, causing many policymakers to assume that passenger service would eventually fade from American culture. To join the NRPC, private passenger railways could pay a fee in cash, provide equipment and services based on half of the company's losses for 1970, or purchase an agreed-upon amount of common stock in the new corporation. In exchange, the company no longer bore the financial burden of running a passenger service. Almost all services opted to join NRPC, but four chose to remain independent: Southern, Rio Grande, Rock Island, and Georgia Railroad.

Prior to the grand opening, Amtrak issued press releases promising many great things for the future. Promises included clean cars, precise adherence to schedules, quality meals, and an overall pleasant travel experience. On May 1, 1971, half of the country's railways made their final private enterprise journey and the first train

of Amtrak, clocker number 235, left New York's Penn Station at 12:05 A.M., heading to Philadelphia. Initially, Amtrak used 184 trains, covering 314 destinations along 21 key routes, each route traveling between 2 major cities. Even-numbered trains were to travel north and east; odd-numbered were assigned routes to the south and west. Because Amtrak absorbed old railway systems, though, it also kept a few numbering systems that clashed with the new organizational chart, including those from the Santa Fe Railroad and some of the Empire Corridor routes.

On the first day of operations, 184 trains covered 23,000 miles, about half of the area covered by private enterprises just the day before, and many locales had no service, whatsoever. Other problems existed, including technical incompatibility as equipment from several companies attempted to merge. Amtrak had begun its operations by leasing older coach and sleeper cars from freight railroads in the eastern portion of the country, connecting them with newer equipment from companies on the West Coast, leading some to label the first few years of Amtrak as the "Rainbow Era."

By 1974, Amtrak had purchased much of its own equipment and painted it with a consistent color theme. Throughout the 1970s, Amtrak attempted to improve its image and its service; as the decade progressed, other private railway systems—ones that had previously declined to merge with Amtrak—became part of the system, as well.

Trucks

Starting in 1977, the trucking industry saw a movement toward deregulation, which resulted in easier entry into the industry and relative freedom for companies to set their own rates. Although many positive benefits arose from this movement, safety sometimes suffered. Truckers often communicated by CB (citizens band) radios, each of which consisted of a microphone, speaker system, and control box; these were relatively easy to set up and to use. By 1977, the airwaves became so crowded that 17 additional channels were set up, for a total of 40. (See Sports and Leisure of the 1970s.)

Visual Arts

of the 1970s

In 1971, portrait painter Andrew Wyeth created the first of more than 240 portraits of his neighbor, Helga Testorf. This project lasted 15 years and Wyeth kept the sketches and paintings a secret from everyone, including his wife, as he focused on the study of light and how it affected Helga's appearance. Wyeth sometimes focused on the light hitting Helga's reddish hair; other times, he emphasized a shadow on her body. Although the Helga series has intrigued untold numbers of spectators since Wyeth first made the work available to the public, it was not the typical type of visual art being produced during the 1970s. What was typical in the 1970s, though, is somewhat difficult to define.

No major movement surfaced in the world of painting or sculpture during the 1970s. Instead, many established artists continued their work from the 1960s developing compelling—and sometimes controversial—works of art and stretching the limits of artistic expression. The 1970s was a decade wherein artistic mediums blended and merged, as painters used film, music, and video to complement their work, and as performance art came to the forefront as a form of legitimate social expression.

Improved technology served as the impetus for a controversial art form—one that some critics say wasn't really a form of art, at all. Starting in the early 1970s, graffiti artists began using newly invented aerosol spray cans of paint to scrawl text and create sketches on public property. Although graffiti certainly wasn't new, the 1970s saw an explosion of colors and designs, especially in subways. The United Graffiti Artists formed in 1972; in 1975, the association displayed an exhibition of graffiti in New York, thus causing some to label this type of work as "urban folk art" rather than random vandalism. Graffiti artists usually developed so-called tags, which could be visual or textual symbols, to identify themselves to their followers—and to their competitors.

Street photographers captured gritty portraits of everyday life, especially in New York, while war photojournalists memorialized even bloodier scenes from Southeast Asia. Meanwhile, a new brand of photography was coalescing, wherein selected photographers who took photos of celebrities became famous themselves. Photographic technology improved during the 1970s, as digital photography allowed people to create prints from negatives; prior to this, the majority of photographers used slide or chrome film, which required a slide projector for viewing.

In 1973, the National Endowment for the Arts began a program with a goal to make the arts available to everyone in the country, using public broadcast television as a communications medium.



Hugo Martinez, right, head of a group called Graffiti Artists United, discusses a new floor-to-ceiling exhibition of graffiti in December 1972 at New York College. AP Photo.

ABSTRACT PAINTING

Abstract art does not contain recognizable subjects; it does not attempt to replicate real world objects. Some abstract art is geometric and patterned, while other examples are more fluid and unregimented.

By the 1970s, several experimental art forms of the twentieth century had merged into the genre generally known as abstract act. The richness of the multitude of artistic movements inherent in the abstract form allowed painters from the 1970s to select from and play around with a wide range of philosophies and styles, including Cubism. French artist Georges Braque and Spanish artist Pablo Picasso first experimented with this art form in about 1908, after being influenced by the work of painter Paul Cezanne. The name of this artistic movement comes from painter Henri Matisse's comment that one of Braque's paintings consisted of "petits cubes," or "little cubes."

Advocates of Cubism believe that an artist can capture the essence of an object by showing it from multiple angles within the same painting. To accomplish this effect, the artist breaks up the representation of the actual object and then reassembles it in an abstracted form, following Cezanne's advice to express nature via three forms: the cylinder, the sphere, and the cone. In one of the earlier examples of this art form, Picasso's *Girl with Dark Hair,* viewers can see the front of her face as well as the side, all at the same time. Perhaps Cubism mimics the way in which the human brain actually processes visual data, as a number of glances at an object merge to create an overall perception. Italian artists influenced by Cubism became part of the Futurist movement, wherein technological force and movement inspired their paintings. In turn, Futurism contributed its own facets to the overriding concept of abstract art.

The school of Abstract Expressionism began in the 1940s in the United States, with Jackson Pollock its best-known advocate and practitioner. Abstract Expressionism, in many ways, was more of an attitude than a precisely defined style. Its advocates valued individuality,

spontaneous improvisation, and freedom of expression; some of them emphasized the physical act of painting, while others focused on the exploration of color. They believed that inspiration could be found from the unconscious mind, and that a spontaneous approach to their work would serve them well in this pursuit. Abstract Expressionism was the first significant art form that developed most fully in America and then spread to other parts of the world; prior to this, painters in the United States learned techniques and philosophies that were first developed in Europe.

Most American artists of the 1970s chose to either continue experimenting with the multiple possibilities inherent in Abstract Expressionism or to join an art form that was newer and quite different: Pop Art.

POP ART

One of the best-known examples of Pop Art is Andy Warhol's red-and-white Campbell's Soup can, created in 1964; his silk screens of the deceased movie star, Marilyn Monroe, also created during the 1960s, are other examples. Pop art incorporates popular cultural and consumer icons and objects, including advertisements, household goods, and television features to make its artistic statement. This movement began in Britain during the 1950s, made its way to the United States in the 1960s, and continued to influence the art world throughout the 1970s and beyond. Although the death of the movement was predicted as early as 1965—a rapid rise-and-crash that seemed fitting for an art form that celebrated the built-in obsolescence of modern consumerism—the form continued to reinvent itself well past its anticipated demise.

The early popularity of the art form was said to be a reaction against the Abstract Expressionist movement. Pop Art focused on features of everyday life, and was "unemotional, deliberate, systematic, impersonal, ironic, detached, non-autographic and amoral—a 'cool' or classical style."[1] Although some artists kept working in the Abstract Expressionism style during the 1960s and 1970s, pop moved to the forefront of the art world.

Some critics accused pop artists of plagiarism, of merely copying items available in the commercial world.

Warhol, the unofficial spokesperson of Pop Art, worked with a group of assistants in a studio called the "Factory" and specialized in art that used a silk background and had varieties of a master image imprinted upon it in multiple fashions. Some critics say that Warhol attempted to critique middle-class America through his art, while others claim that his work celebrated pop culture in the United States. Starting in 1970, he focused more frequently on portraits, usually of friends or figures of pop culture, and his work, in fact, began to more closely resemble Abstract Expressionism—or it at least blended aspects of the two forms.

One critic points out Warhol's uncanny ability to discern the trends of the moment—which, during the 1960s and 1970s, included symbols of consumerism and celebrity—and to then re-create them in his art. By doing so, he not only reflected the fads of popular culture, he reinvented them, illuminating elements for historians. Although Warhol's work rebelled against what had previously been considered art, many museums embraced his art and showed his paintings and silk screenings in special exhibitions worldwide.

Another American pop artist of note was Roy Lichtenstein, who created his first well-known piece of art in 1956: his print of the 10-dollar bill. He then experimented with Abstract Expressionism for three years. After returning to the field of Pop Art, he created a painting of Disney characters Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck—the type of comic strip art for which he became famous.

Although comic strip art became a significant focus for Lichtenstein, cartoons did not turn into his sole center of attention. He also painted people and created paintings using dots, attempting to prevent any visible brush strokes. He preferred that his paintings appear machine-made.

Swedish-born pop artist Claes Oldenburg set up *Lipstick (Ascending) on Caterpillar Tracks,* 1969, on the campus of Yale University This particular piece of art became a focus of student protests. In 1976, he installed *Clothespin* in downtown Philadelphia; since then, he and his spouse Coosje van Bruggen have created and placed more than 40 large-scale pieces of art in urban



Artist Roy Lichtenstein. Courtesy of Photofest.

areas throughout the United States and the world. Oldenburg chose to create such colossal pieces to intensify the presence of the object; he selected outdoor urban locales because he saw the city as his tablecloth.

Other pop artists of the era include Jim Dine, Red Grooms, Philip Guston, Keith Haring, Jasper Johns, Peter Max, Mel Ramos, Larry Rivers, Edward Ruscha, and Wayne Thiebaud.

Closely related to Pop Art was the school of Photorealism, in which painters sought to create such precise detail that their paintings appeared to be photos. The subject matter of Photorealism was often mundane, similar to what might appear in a random photo. Labels such as Superrealism and Hyperrealism were also used, and this form of art harkens back to the Illusionism of earlier, pre-photography centuries. Artists associated with this movement include John Salt, Richard Estes, and Chuck Close.

Some artists took the notion of realism even further, using their own bodies as the medium for expression in an art form called performance art. Performance artists incorporated many other art forms in their work, including music, song, storytelling, video, and sculpture. Performance art took on political overtones during the 1970s, and often served as a venue for feminist, gay and lesbian, and minority messages. Although enthusiastically received by some audiences, other critics and spectators questioned how performance art differed from theater and other visual performances.

PHOTOGRAPHY

During the 1930s, a group of photographers aligned themselves with the social realism movement and focused on capturing the hardships of society with their cameras. Perhaps one of the best-known social realists of the 1970s was Allan Sekula, who focused on people in the midst of economic or political struggles. As one example, Sekula photographed factory workers as they were leaving their shift at General Dynamics, preserving the dull monotony of the moment. In 1972, he created a series of slides from these photos, calling his collection the "Untitled Slide Sequence." In 1973, he exhibited another series of photos called "Performance under Working Conditions."

Sekula used many of his own experiences to create his art. In 1974, he shot a series of photos that he named "This Ain't China" that focused on the working conditions in a restaurant where he was once employed. Starting in 1978, he began work on "School Is a Factory," photographs of night school students who were attending the classes he taught, and the working conditions of a generation that Sekula believed had become detached from their lives. Sekula was virulently antiwar and staged photos to symbolically express his viewpoints, such as one of a man publicly slinking on his belly while wearing a straw hat and carrying a toy gun.

Sekula often employed a street photography approach to his work, capturing real-life moments as they randomly occurred in urban locales. Some street photographers used panoramic cameras to create large-scale photos, and their work, by definition, captured everyday life in the streets. Street photography interested artists around the globe, many of whom came to New York because of the challenges and possibilities inherent in such a crowded and diverse venue. Photographers Robert Frank and William Klein dominated street

photography during this era; Frank published his second book of photography in 1972, titled *Lines of My Hand,* and focused on creating montages with words and images directly scratched on the photos' negatives. Klein spent much of the 1970s experimenting with film documentaries.

The 1970s also witnessed the work of war correspondents, including Dick Swanson, who photographed scenes in Vietnam. Swanson spent five years there working for *Life* magazine. After marrying a woman from Vietnam, he was transferred to Washington, D.C. in 1971. He continued to travel between the two countries for the next four years and returned to Saigon in April 1975 to help his wife's family escape before the city fell.

Finally, in an era that celebrated celebrity, it isn't surprising that photographers who snapped pictures of celebrities sometimes found themselves accorded with some of that same status. Annie Leibovitz is a prime example of this phenomenon. She began her career at *Rolling Stone* magazine in 1970 and became the chief photographer in 1973. She first took black-and-white photographs for the magazine until the magazine switched to color in 1974 and Leibovitz adapted her craft. Her assignments included taking photos of John Lennon and serving as the official photographer for the Rolling Stones' 1975 world tour.

In 1979, Leibovitz took a now-famous photo of singer and actor Bette Midler lying in a bed of roses. Because Leibovitz focused her work on celebrities and pop culture, she received some criticism for creating commercial work; however, she always strove to capture the essence of the celebrity's public persona.

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1980s

Timeline

of Popular Culture Events, 1980s

1980

United States hockey team beats the USSR. at the Winter Olympics in Lake Placid, New York.

A two-year sting, Operation Abscam, where FBI agents passing as Arab businessmen offered bribes to government officials in exchange for political favors, indicts 1 senator, 7 Congressmen, and 22 other officials.

President Jimmy Carter sets in motion the boycott of the Summer Olympics by the United States in protest of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Toxic Shock Syndrome linked to women's super-absorbency tampons.

Ronald Reagan is elected president, defeating incumbent Jimmy Carter and independent candidate John B. Anderson.

The "Who Shot J. R.?" episode of prime-time soap *Dallas* draws 83 million viewers.

John Lennon is murdered in front of his apartment building in Manhattan; a disturbed fan, Mark David Chapman, is tried for his murder.

Bruce Springsteen's *The River* is the number one album of the year.

The Empire Strikes Back opens in movie theaters, shattering box-office records.

On the best seller list: *The Official Preppy Handbook* edited by Lisa Birnbach.

On Television: *The Cable News Network* (CNN), ABC's *Nightline, Magnum, P. I., Too Close for Comfort,* and *Bosom Buddies.*

In stores: 3M's Post-It Notes, cordless telephones, and Rollerblades.

Ordinary People wins the Oscar for Best Picture; Robert De Niro named Best Actor (*Raging Bull*); and Sissy Spacek named Best Actress *(Coal Miner's Daughter*).

1981

July 29: Prince Charles, heir to the British throne, marries Lady Diana Spencer.

October 6: Egyptian President Anwar Sadat is assassinated in Cairo, while reviewing troops.

After 444 days the 52 hostages held at the American Embassy in Tehran are released.

John Hinckley Jr. shoots President Reagan on March 30 outside the Washington Hilton; Press Secretary James Brady is shot in the head, along with two other agents.

The Columbia, America's first space shuttle, makes its maiden voyage.

Pope John Paul II is shot and seriously wounded in Saint Peter's Square, Rome; Mehmet Ali

Agca. A Turkish radical, is tried for the attempt.

The Center for Disease Control publishes a report naming a new disease Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS).

Wayne B. Williams is arrested for 20 serial murders involving black children in Atlanta, Georgia.

Sandra Day O'Connor named the first female Supreme Court justice, by President Reagan.

President Reagan fires striking air traffic control workers en masse, after they defy a return-to-work order.

On television: *Music Television* (MTV), *Dynasty,* and *Hills Street Blues.*

In stores: IBM personal computers; NutraSweet; Pac-Man.

Chariots of Fire wins the Oscar for Best Picture; Henry Fonda named Best Actor (*On Golden Pond*) and Katharine Hepburn named Best Actress (*On Golden Pond*).

1982

Seventy-seven people die when Air Florida flight 90 crashes into the Potomac River after taking off from Washington National Airport.

Seven people die in the Chicago area after taking Tylenol caplets laced with cyanide; after the massive recall of the pills, the FDA authorizes the creation of tamper-proof containers for foods and drugs.

Barney Clark, a Utah dentist, becomes the first recipient of an artificial heart; he lives for 112 days after the operation.

Disney's EPCOT Center opens in Orlando, Florida.

Elizabeth Carr, America's first test-tube baby, is born to Judy and Roger Carr.

On the best seller list: *Real Men Don't Eat Quiche* by Bruce Fierstein; *The Color Purple* by Alice Walker; *North and South* by John Jakes.

On television: *Family Ties; Cheers; St. Elsewhere; Late Night with David Letterman; Cagney and Lacey; Newhart.*

In stores: Diet Coke; *USA Today;* the Sony Watchman (miniature TV).

The Vietnam Veterans Memorial, designed by 21-year-old Yale student Maya Lin, is opened and dedicated in Washington D.C.

Gandhi wins the Oscar for Best Picture; Ben Kingsley named Best Actor (*Gandhi*); Meryl Streep named Best Actress (*Sophie's Choice*).

1983

Karen Carpenter, 32, dies of a heart attack, calling attention to eating disorders such as anorexia nervosa and bulimia.

Star Wars—the network news' term for the Strategic Defense Initiative—unveiled by President Regan.

Sally K. Ride becomes the first woman in space when she blasts off with four crewmates aboard the space shuttle *Challenger.*

A truck bomb explodes outside the Marine compound in Beirut, killing 200 U.S. Marines sent to maintain peace between Muslims and Christians in Lebanon.

Vanessa Williams becomes the first African American to win the "Miss America" competition; Williams resigns the title 10 months later when *Penthouse* publishes nude photos of her, taken years before.

Lech Walesa, a Polish trade union worker, awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for securing the right for workers in Poland to organize.

"Just Say No" drug campaign launched by First Lady Nancy Reagan.

On television: *The A-Team; Night Court; Hotel; Scarecrow and Mrs. King.*

In stores: *Trivial Pursuit;* the compact disc; the contraceptive sponge.

Terms of Endearment wins the Oscar for Best Picture; Robert Duvall named Best Actor (*Tender Mercies*); Shirley MacLaine named Best Actress (*Terms of Endearment*).

1984

October 24: United States invades the tiny island of Grenada after its Prime Minister is ousted during a coup; President Reagan uses the fact that there are a number of American medical students studying there to justify the attack.

Geraldine Ferraro becomes the first woman to run for vice-president on a major party

ticket when Walter Mondale selects her to be his running mate.

"Where's the Beef?" becomes the latest catch phrase when 83-year-old Clara Peller begins appearing in television spots for Wendy's restaurants.

"Baby Fae" is the recipient of a baboon heart during an experimental heart transplant operation; she dies three weeks later.

President Reagan wins re-election carrying 49 states, posting the greatest Republican landslide in history.

Bhopal, India becomes the site of the world's worst industrial disaster as toxic fumes from a Union Carbide plant leak into the water supply; 2,000 die as a result.

Alec Jeffreys develops "genetic fingerprinting," the ability to link an individual to a crime by tracing his or her DNA.

On the best seller list: *Bright Lights, Big City* by Jay McInerney; *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* by Milan Kundera; *What They Don't Teach You at Harvard Business School* by Mark H. McCormick.

On television: *The Bill Cosby Show; Miami Vice; Murder, She Wrote.*

In stores: The Chrysler minivan; Apple's Macintosh computers; CD-ROM.

Amadeus wins the Oscar for Best Picture; F. Murray Abraham named Best Actor (*Amadeus*); Sally Field named Best Actress (*Places in the Heart*).

1985

October 2: Rock Hudson dies of AIDS at age 59—the first public figure to acknowledge that he was dying of the disease.

"We Are The World" becomes an instant number one single after 45 rock stars get together to cut the record to raise money for famine victims in Africa.

Mikhail Gorbachev coins the phrase "glasnost" (openness) to reflect his plan for "perestroika" (reconstruction) between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world.

New Coke is introduced, the first altering of the soft-drink in its 99 year history; 10 weeks later, the old *Coke,* now termed *Coca-Cola Classic,* is brought back in response to the millions of complaints against the new product.

A TWA jet is skyjacked by Shiite Muslims, with 41 passengers aboard; after the jet lands in Beirut and the terrorists kill one passenger, the United States arranges a trade, releasing the remaining hostages in exchange for Lebanese prisoners held in Israel.

Economic sanctions are announced against South Africa in response to the country's continued policy of apartheid.

Pete Rose makes hit number 4,192, breaking Ty Cobb's 57-year record for most hits during a career.

Willie Nelson organizes the first Farm Aid concert in Urbana, Illinois, to benefit farmers at risk of foreclosure.

A hole in the ozone layer is discovered in the atmosphere over Antarctica.

On the best seller list: *The Accidental Tourist* by Anne Tyler; *Lake Woebegon Days* by Garrison Keillor.

On television: *Moonlighting; Spenser for Hire; Dynasty II: The Colbys; The Golden Girls.*

In stores: Microsoft Windows software; Nintendo entertainment systems; the Ford Taurus.

Out of Africa wins the Oscar for Best Picture; William Hurt named Best Actor (*Kiss of the Spiderwoman*); Geraldine Page named Best Actress (*The Trip to Bountiful*).

1986

January 29: The space shuttle *Challenger* explodes 73 seconds after liftoff, killing all seven crew-members including Christa McAuliffe, the first teacher in space.

Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday is celebrated as a national holiday (though it is not until 2000 that all 50 states celebrate the holiday).

August: Chernobyl, Ukraine becomes the site of the world's worst nuclear accident, killing 30 people but spreading radiation across northern Europe.

"Hands Across America" raises $100 million for the poor and homeless, as people link hands from Long Beach, CA to New York City.

The Supreme Court upholds affirmative action hiring quotas for minorities and women.

The Iran-Contra Affair reveals that the Regan administration illegally funded covert operations by the Contras (Communist Nicaraguan forces) with money raised in an arms-for-hostages deal with Iran.

Microsoft, co-founded by Bill Gates, goes public.

Prince Andrew weds Sarah Ferguson in Great Britain; Maria Shriver weds Arnold Schwarzenegger; Caroline Kennedy weds Edwin Schlossberg; Tatum O'Neal weds John McEnroe.

On the best seller list: *The Handmaid's Tale* by Margaret Atwood; *All I Really Need to Know I Learned in Kindergarten* by Robert Fulghum.

On television: *L. A. Law; Alf; The Oprah Winfrey Show.*

In stores: Microwave pizzas; nicotine chewing gum; Honda Acura; Polaroid Spectra; digital audiotape.

Platoon wins the Oscar for Best Picture; Paul Newman named Best Actor (*The Color of Money*); Marlee Matlin named Best Actress (*Children of a Lesser God*).

1987

October 18: "Black Monday," the stock market plunges 508 points.

Rev. Jim Bakker admits that he committed adultery and stole money from his ministry on his PTL (Praise the Lord) televangelist network; his wife Tammy Faye weeps copiously as she forgives him on television.

The "Baby M" case goes to court as Mary Beth Whitehead, a surrogate mother artificially inseminated under a contract with William Stern, decides she wants to keep her baby. The courts decide in favor of the Sterns.

Gary Hart, a married, Democratic party hopeful to run for president, is photographed with his then-girlfriend Donna Rice; after the *National Enquirer* publishes the photo, Hart withdraws from the race.

Lt. Col. Oliver North appears before the House Judiciary Committee investigating the Iran-Contra Affair; he claims his actions in organizing the mission were authorized by his superiors.

"Baby Jessica" McClure, an 18-month old child, falls down a well in Midland, Texas; millions watch her rescue on television.

The United States and Soviet Union sign the INF Treaty (on intermediate-range nuclear missiles). The treaty eliminates all ground-launched nuclear missiles with a range of up to 3,400 miles.

"The California Raisins" appear on television singing "I Heard It Through the Grapevine" to plug the raisin industry.

On the best seller list: *Beloved* by Toni Morrison; *Presumed Innocent* by Scott Turow; *And the Band Played On* by Randy Shilts; *Bonfire of the Vanities* by Tom Wolfe.

On television: *thirtysomething; Married . . . with Children; Beauty and the Beast.*

In stores: disposable cameras; Prozac; soymilk.

The Last Emperor wins the Oscar for Best Picture; Michael Douglas named Best Actor (*Wall Street*); Cher named Best Actress (*Moonstruck*).

1988

Jimmy "The Greek" Snyder is fired by CBS Sports when he tells a television reporter that "the black is a better athlete to begin with because he's bred to be that way."

Jimmy Swaggart, another televangelist, confesses on his television broadcast that he is guilty of sin; his sobbing confession is broadcast globally.

The U.S. cruiser Vincennes mistakes an Iranian airliner for a warplane, and shoots it from the sky, killing all 290 passengers.

The Reverend Jesse Jackson makes a strong bid for the Democratic presidential nomination with his "Rainbow Coalition."

Discovery, the new space shuttle, launches successfully; it is the first attempt since the *Challenger* disaster.

George Bush and Dan Quayle beat Michael Dukakis and Lloyd Bentsen for the presidency of the United States.

Pan Am flight 103 explodes over Lockerbie, Scotland, killing 259 passengers. Investigators later reveal that a terrorist bomb aboard the plane caused the explosion.

On the best seller list: *Love in the Time of Cholera* by Gabriel Garcia Marquez; *A Brief History of Time* by Stephen Hawking; *Breathing Lessons* by Anne Tyler.

On television: *Murphy Brown; Roseanne; The Wonder Years; Wiseguy.*

In stores: Disposable contact lenses; Rogaine hair restorative.

Rain Man wins the Oscar for Best Picture; Dustin Hoffman named Best Actor (*Rain Man*); Jodie Foster named Best Actress (*The Accused*).

1989

The Ayatollah Khomeini issues a death threat to author Salman Rushdie (*The Satanic Verses*) for supposedly insulting the Islamic faith.

The *Exxon Valdez,* an oil tanker, runs aground in Prince William Sound, dumping 11 million gallons of crude oil into the ocean.

The United States invades Panama after Manuel Noriega usurps the presidency; he later flees the country, only to be convicted of drug-trafficking, money laundering, and racketeering in Florida.

Students stage a protest as they demonstrate for reform in Beijing's Tiananmen Square; estimates of those killed when the army fires at the crowds range from 700 to 7,000.

A Robert Mapplethorpe photography exhibit, funded by the National Endowment for the Arts, draws much criticism in Cincinnati; a subsequent showing scheduled by the Corcoran Gallery is canceled.

General Colin Powell becomes the first African American chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Pete Rose is banned from baseball and is ruled ineligible for the Baseball Hall of Fame for betting on major-league games.

Leona Helmsley, billionaire hotelier, is convicted of income tax evasion; she receives a sentence of four years and a fine of $7.1 million.

Hurricane Hugo strikes the Carolinas, killing 70 people and causing $4 billion in damage, leaving thousands homeless.

Driving Miss Daisy wins the Oscar for Best Picture; Daniel Day-Lewis named Best Actor *(My Left Foot*); Jessica Tandy named Best Actress (*Driving Miss Daisy*).

Overview of the 1980s

Go-Go Eighties

NICKNAME FOR DECADE, 1980–1989

GOVERNMENT

For some, the 1980s represented an era of grand prosperity, characterized by President Ronald Reagan, who symbolized a nostalgic 1950s view of America—patriotism, conservative family values, and conspicuous consumption. For those at the other end of the socioeconomic scale, such as the large number of homeless people and the countless ill felled by a new, unknown virus, the decade represented a time of great despair. Reagan's ability to make others feel confident about their futures blinded many people to the difficult realities the United States faced.

Reagan's easy charm, calm voice, and call for a return to a better time in American history resonated with the public, particularly those in the middle class. He laid out a vision of America in simple terms that warmed listeners, in stark contrast to the seemingly endless and confusing challenges of the 1970s.

A 1985 poll conducted by the *New York Times* showed Reagan's resiliency and ability to steady the course. He deflected criticism with charming retorts and an "awe-shucks" persona, which earned him the nickname the "Teflon president." As the president's approval rating soared, pollsters determined that the public accepted him as a leader, whether or not they agreed with his positions. By the end of Reagan's term, many people could not even remember what he had done or not while in office. Still, Reagan set a mood for the nation that people found comforting, particularly when they asked themselves the important question: "Am I better off now than I was four years ago?"

It is safe to say that the 1980s began on November 4, 1979, when Reagan was elected President. The end of the 1980s is not as easily identified. Some would argue that the decade unofficially closed October 19, 1987—so-called Black Monday—when the stock market lost 22.6 percent of its total value in one day; others usher the decade out on the heels of President George H. W. Bush's defeat in the 1992 presidential election to Arkansas Democrat Bill Clinton, who used the rocky economy and the public's fear of further economic calamities to oust the Republican incumbent.

Ronald Reagan

Some eras in American history have been defined by the events that unfolded in the period, while others have been closely linked to the president who presided over the time. Certainly, Ronald Wilson Reagan served as the most pervasive icon of American life in the 1980s. He became the 40th President of the United States in 1980,

and was the first man to serve two terms in office since fellow Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower. Reagan's election initiated a conservative political movement that swept the country, and his powerful rhetoric ushered in a renewed sense of patriotism across the land. Reagan's Hollywood charm, blended with his blunt criticism of the Carter administration, helped him win the election by a 10-point margin.

By 1980, the Republican party needed change and readily adopted Reagan's optimistic, pro-America approach. Debating and campaigning on a conservative platform that put America first, Reagan swept into the White House, pinning the disastrous economy and the lengthy hostage crisis in Iran squarely on the Carter administration. Reagan's simple message, delivered with a grandfatherly air, captured the public's imagination and gave them a renewed sense of hope.

Under Reagan's watch, the administration began a series of reforms that marked some of the most significant economic and social policy changes in half a century. A key moment in Reagan's first term took place on March 31, 1981, when John W. Hinckley, a deranged loner trying to impress actress Jodie Foster, fired a volley of bullets at Reagan's entourage from close range. Although it initially seemed that the president had escaped harm, one bullet exploded into Reagan's chest, while another seriously wounded White House Press Secretary James Brady, leaving him paralyzed. Reagan survived the ordeal, using hospital bed photo ops to push his conservative agenda through Congress when public sympathy was at an all-time high.

During the next two years, economic recovery from the Carter years began in earnest: unemployment numbers dropped, interest rates remained stable, and tax cuts benefited upper-income taxpayers. Reagan's charisma, toughness, and willingness to speak directly to the American people in language that they understood led to an overwhelming victory against Walter Mondale in 1984. Mondale's running mate, Geraldine Ferraro, was the first woman to be nominated for vice president by a major political party. Mondale only carried Massachusetts and the District of Columbia, giving Reagan one of the most resounding re-election victories of all time.



The president called the "Great Communicator," Ronald Reagan, ca. 1985. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Reagan earned the nickname "The Great Communicator" for his uncanny knack of understanding the public's concerns and responding in an optimistic, believable manner. His carefully crafted speeches and effective presentation method made him appear grandfatherly and appealed to the masses that bought into his so-called family values campaign. Reagan's conservatism gave the public a sense of calm after decades of strife, from the lingering pain of Vietnam and Watergate to the psychological scars of the Iran hostage crisis and faltering economy of the 1970s, evidenced by a nationwide gas shortage and soaring interest rates.

The public forgave Reagan because he earned their trust. The president's campaign commercial "Morning in America" encapsulated his philosophy—the American values that connected patriotism, family, and moral conviction were what separated America from the rest of the world, particularly the Soviet Union's so-called Evil Empire.

However, Reagan's Republican party did not do so well in the 1984 election, and a Democratic

TIME MAGAZINE "MAN OF THE YEAR"

1980 Ronald Reagan (40th President of the United States)

1981 Lech Walesa (Polish Solidarity leader)

1982 The Computer

1983 Ronald Reagan (40th President of the United States) and Yuri Andropov (Soviet leader)

1984 Peter Ueberroth (organizer of the L.A. Olympic games)

1985 Deng Xiaoping (Chinese political leader)

1986 Corazon Aquino (President of the Philippines)

1987 Mikhail Gorbachev (Soviet leader)

1988 Endangered Earth

1989 Mikhail Gorbachev (Soviet leader)

majority blocked one of his more ambitious plans: the Strategic Defense Initiative—dubbed "Star Wars" by the media—an arsenal of satellites to render useless any nuclear attacks waged by the Soviets. In hindsight, however, Reagan's legacy consisted of an enormous debt, a booming economy that collapsed as soon as he left office, and a reputation for not really being in control.

THE *CHALLENGER* DISASTER

A blue sky and surprisingly crisp 27-degree morning greeted spectators gathered on January 28, 1986, in Cape Canaveral, Florida. Despite the cool air, conditions were nearly perfect for the lift-off of the 10th flight of the space shuttle *Challenger.* This special flight carried the first civilian astronaut, a social studies teacher from Concord, New Hampshire, 37-year-old Christa McAuliffe.

McAuliffe's presence attracted special attention to the *Challenger* flight. Networks across the nation televised the event. Millions of schoolchildren waited to see America's first teacher in space guide them through the ultimate lesson plan.

The lift-off seemed perfect, and for 73 seconds, all seemed to go as planned. Then, in a puff of smoke that trailed an orange fireball some nine miles above, it was over. Two crisp trails of smoke followed the path of the separated booster rockets as the remains of the shuttle plummeted to earth. The unthinkable had happened—the space shuttle *Challenger* was gone, and its seven-member crew were gone with it.

The tremendous publicity surrounding McAuliffe had forced NASA officials to carefully orchestrate the flight. A mother of two, the teacher had competed with 11,000 applicants to win the coveted seat after President Reagan had announced in 1984 that he wanted a teacher to be the first civilian in space.

While McAuliffe taught via close-circuit television, the other six members of the Challenger crew: Dick Scobee, Michael Smith, Judith Resnick, Ellison Onizuka, Ronald McNair, and Gregory Jarvis, planned to launch a new $100 million communications satellite into orbit and conduct a series of experiments involving the ozone layer. McAuliffe endured months of training for the mission, worked with the assigned crewmembers, and gradually became a member of the NASA family.

Her immediate family, including her mother and father, traveled from New Hampshire with 18 members of her seventh-grade class to see the lift-off in person. As the crew walked to the craft with the eyes of the world on them, McAuliffe gave the "thumbs up" sign to her family.

It would be years before the cause of the explosion was found—a set of faulty O-rings. That evening, however, among the many questions, President Reagan postponed his sixth State of the Union address to the nation, knowing he must wait to incorporate word of the tragedy in his remarks. His speechwriter Peggy Noonan then wrote one of his most memorable speeches, which incorporated lines from John Gillespie Magee's 1941 poem, "High Flight" at the end:

> And I want to say something to the schoolchildren of America who were watching the live coverage of the shuttle's take-off. I know it's hard to understand, but sometimes painful things like this happen. It's all part of the process of exploration and discovery. It's all part of taking a chance and expanding man's horizons. The future doesn't belong to the fainthearted; it belongs to the brave. The Challenger crew was



The space shuttle *Challenger* exploded shortly after lifting off from Kennedy Space Center Tuesday, January 28, 1986. Here, some of the wreckage is retrieved. NASA image.

pulling us into the future, and we'll continue to follow them. . . .

We will never forget them, nor the last time we saw them, this morning, as they prepared for their journey and waved good-bye and "slipped the surly bonds of earth" to "touch the face of God."[1]

FOREIGN POLICY

Reagan's foreign policy centered on two tightly linked ideas: virulent anticommunism and expanding America's military might around the world—represented physically by more troops and psychologically by nuclear weapons. The administration once again hoped to bolster the nation's confidence by harkening back to the early Cold War when American might was unquestioned, while at the same time, pointing to the technological future when automated weapon defense systems would protect the nation.

Moving toward a more antagonistic relationship with the Soviet Union, Reagan's efforts emulated the containment strategy used at the height of the Cold War. He began an anti-Soviet public relations effort deliberately designed to battle the enemy psychologically. The president harshly criticized the Soviet Union in his first press conference, claiming that the nation would advance world communism by any means necessary, including lying and cheating. In March 1983, Reagan labeled the Soviet Union an "evil empire," which then became the mantra of the administration's anticommunism efforts. More direct efforts at influencing world opinion took place as Reagan took steps to strengthen the United States Information Agency (USIA), Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and other media outlets.

Reagan called for a dramatic increase in military spending, while simultaneously labeling many worldwide revolutionary movements as either Soviet-backed or outright terrorism. Fighting off the lingering doubts about sending troops overseas—based on the nation's experience in Vietnam—Reagan ordered increased support for Afghanistan rebels fighting a Soviet invasion, sent Marines into Lebanon, and armed counterrevolutionaries in Nicaragua.

The Reagan administration quickly moved to restore the nation's military confidence by increasing defense spending. In 1980, the military budget stood at $134 billion. Five years later, it was $253 billion. Much of the additional budget went toward building conventional forces at home and abroad, increasing the airpower and sea power of the Air Force and Navy, and modernizing technological advances.

The ultimate expression of Reagan's efforts to prove America's strength overseas unfolded on the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada. On October 25, 1983, the United States invaded the island in the first use of direct force since Vietnam. In the view of the administration, communists could not take power in Grenada lest they create a network of anti-American governments in the area with Cuba and Nicaragua.

A bloody coup broke out in Grenada on October 13 and threatened American citizens on the

island, most notably the 800 medical students studying there. Reagan authorized the American strike on October 22. The next day terrorists attacked a Marine barracks in Beirut, Lebanon, killing 244 American soldiers. Despite the worry that the Grenada invasion would look like an attempt to divert attention from the attack in Beirut, the president proceeded with the invasion.

An initial force of 1,200 American troops swarmed into Grenada and met stiff resistance. Quickly the U.S. force grew to more than 7,000 and overwhelmed the enemy, many of whom fled into the mountains or surrendered. Documents uncovered on the island proved Grenada's close ties with the Soviet Union and Cuba, and thereby vindicated the American invasion.

The success of the Grenada invasion gave the administration newfound strength in negotiations with the Soviet Union and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Reagan stood firm in directing Gorbachev toward an agreement that would destroy land-based intermediate and short-range nuclear missiles.

The administration's far-flung efforts to eliminate communism led it into hot water when the stage turned to Nicaragua. As 1986 approached, the news media uncovered a tie between administration officials and the Contras, an antigovernment guerrilla movement in Nicaragua. In an effort to undermine the Sandinista government, Reagan officials secretly supplied the Contras with weapons, training, and financial aid.

The funding came in an "arms for hostages" deal that undermined the administration's get-tough policies. The scheme worked out by officials in the Reagan administration involved the government selling weapons to Iran (an avowed enemy of the United States), then using the money to fund the Contras. In exchange for the weapons, Iran would exert its influence to free American hostages held by terrorists in Lebanon.

Congressional hearings began in 1987, and television cameras recorded the testimonies of the two central ringleaders, Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North and Admiral John Poindexter, both Pentagon officials who acted as national security advisors. While Congress tried to link the plan to the White House, both North and Poindexter denied that they had informed the president of their actions. In the end, only North and Poindexter served prison time, yet both were accorded "hero" status for defending America by any means possible.

The scandal marred the end of Reagan's term, but not his immediate reputation. He handpicked his successor, George H. W. Bush, who won the election and guaranteed conservative representation in the Oval Office for another four years.

BUSINESS AND THE ECONOMY IN THE 1980S

One of the most highly charged debates concerning the Reagan legacy is the former president's long-term impact on economic policy. The basic tenets of Reagan's economic philosophy included freeing Americans from big government, implementing massive tax cuts for businesses and individuals, and increasing the national debt to build a stronger military. Reagan believed that easing the financial burdens of wealthy Americans would place more money into the system, which would gradually "trickle down" through the lower classes.

Reagan's tax cuts did improve the nation's economy in the short term and led to increases in both personal income and consumption. However, these gains were offset by larger budget deficits, lower levels of personal savings, and sluggish business investment. Ultimately, Reagan's supply-side economic policies weakened the foundation of the economy by relying on a massive federal deficit to bankroll America's spending spree.

The economic expansion that took place between 1982 and 1987—and that produced $20 trillion in new wealth—gave Americans new hope in the form of lower inflation, falling interest rates, job creation, and an expanding stock market. The Reagan recession yielded to the Reagan recovery, which enabled businesses and households to gain the stability that had been missing from the economy for years.

Black Monday and Insider Trading

Although some observers believe that the 1980s did not ideologically pass until Bill Clinton's election to the presidency in 1992, others consider

the decade's end as Monday, October 19, 1987, when the stock market crashed 508 points—the largest one-day percentage collapse in history. On that one day, the Dow Jones Industrial lost 22.6 percent of its value—roughly $500 billion dollars. For administration critics, the break down revealed the hidden flaws in the Reaganomics infrastructure.

The stock market flourished in the mid-1980s. Trading stood at an all-time high, having continued the growth initiated by the bull market of 1982. A series of hostile takeovers, leveraged buyouts, and a form of merge-mania fueled the events taking place on Wall Street.

As the market boomed, Wall Street culture changed. Formerly the country club of established elites trading in near secrecy, a young breed of traders backed by new money had a different objective—to get rich quick. Wall Street players in the 1980s saw themselves as economic cowboys tackling a new frontier. They played hard and drank hard. They wore "power suits" with bold red or yellow ties, slicked back their hair, and walked with a swagger. They played fast and loose with government regulations as well.

Insider trading, or the act of gaining an unfair advantage buying or selling securities based on nonpublic information, had plagued Wall Street from its earliest days. Prior to the formation of the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) in 1934 in response to the stock market crash of 1929, insider trading had occurred frequently. Since the mid-1930s, the SEC regulated trading and attempted to make the stock market a trustworthy system.

Although insider trading is usually associated with illegal activity, it also happens when corporate officers, directors, and employees buy and sell stock within their own companies. Legal insider trading occurs every day and is permitted within the rules and regulations of individual companies and government regulations that govern this kind of trade, which must be reported to the SEC.

Illegal insider trading gained great notoriety in the 1980s, epitomized by the criminal charges brought against junk-bond king Michael Milken and financial speculator Ivan Boesky. Oliver Stone's hit motion picture *Wall Street* centered on insider trading. Tom Wolfe's bestselling novel *Bonfire of the Vanities* also employs a Milken-like figure as its main character. (See Entertainment of the 1980s and Books, Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics of the 1980s, respectively.)

One of the new breed of Wall Street guru, Milken worked his way up the ladder and eventually landed at Drexel Burnham, one of the Street's revered firms. In 1986, at the height of his power, Milken earned a bonus of $550 million. The venerable *Wall Street Journal* even proclaimed Milken the most influential financier since J. P. Morgan, virtually creating a $125 billion market.

Milken's early junk-bond deals were used to finance several new high tech companies, which by their very nature exposed investors to greater risk. Some of these companies went on to great heights, despite the risk involved in their inceptions. For example, Milken's financing helped launch Ted Turner's Cable News Network (CNN) and McGraw Cellular, an early innovator in cellular telephone service.

At the same time, another so-called Master of the Universe, Ivan Boesky, privatized public companies through leveraged buyouts (LBOs). The corporate raider bought stock in companies targeted for takeover, and then sold his share when the deal took place. After taking a $24 million loss on an oil deal, Boesky built a network of insiders (bankers, brokers, and executives) who supplied him with information on new deals in exchange for cash.

The SEC launched an investigation into Boesky's dealings, and on November 14, 1986, announced his confession to numerous security law violations. In exchange for a reduced sentence (ultimately three years in prison), Boesky turned government informant. The biggest name he revealed was Milken, and government prosecutors zealously pursued him.

Ultimately, Milken pleaded guilty to six counts (of 98) filed against him and received a whopping $600 million fine, the most ever levied against an individual.

In the midst of the 1980s boom, many companies, grew, in essence, by purchasing smaller companies. Companies orchestrated leveraged buyouts by raising massive amounts of capital by selling junk bonds (with higher risk, but the possibility of greater reward through higher interest rate

payouts) to the public. Business executives then used the money to purchase targeted companies.

Another form of capital acquisition occurred when a company "went public." For instance, companies in the high tech industry launched initial public offerings (IPOs) in the 1980s, because analysts forecasted robust personal computer sales. The investing public caught a sort of mania and the release of these new commodities made the market soar. The rapid growth caught the SEC off-guard. The regulating body could not properly monitor the many IPOs, or the buying and selling frenzy that was happening across the corporate world.

In early 1987, however, the SEC uncovered a large insider trading operation and found many of the involved companies liable. In addition, the Federal Reserve raised short-term interest rates to temper a rise in inflation, which also tempered activity on Wall Street. In response, many trading firms resorted to using portfolio insurance as protection from dips in the market. This practice used futures contracts as an insurance policy—those that held futures contracts could make money if the market crashed, thereby offsetting losses in the stock market. In order to counteract the federal government's interest hikes, many institutions began trading on their portfolio insurance futures, taking in billions of dollars in a matter of minutes and causing both the futures market and the stock market to crash simultaneously. The dark cloud of "Black Monday" fell over Wall Street.

Within a 24-hour period, $500 billion dollars simply evaporated from the index. The crash created a domino effect, causing similar collapses across the globe. Individuals blamed their brokers, and when circuits jammed as a result of millions of phone calls, some people took the law into their own hands and shot brokers in their offices for not pulling out in time.

Panic ensued and a global recession looked imminent. Though caught up in the chaos, many small investors could not even begin to understand what had happened. They had trusted their financial advisors and Wall Street, and had ignored the potential risk to gain their share of the healthy returns.

YUPPIES

In the 1980s, "Young Urban Professionals" (better known simply as Yuppies) were more than just an emerging marketing demographic, they constituted a pseudo-movement, a mindset, and for some, a religion. Yuppies focused on upward mobility, status, income, proximity to power. Primarily high-income professionals, they possessed a singular concern regarding affluence. Flashy was the style of choice, whether that meant Armani suits or cherry red sports cars.

Washington, D.C. served as one of the primary Yuppie hot spots in the 1980s. In the nation's capitol, the number of Baby Boomers, those born between 1946 and 1965, increased greatly during the decade. They flocked to urban neighborhoods like Adams Morgan, a culturally diverse, trendy part of town filled with bookstores, antique shops, and a host of ethnic restaurants from Ethiopian to Caribbean and everything in between. Yuppies filled high-paying posts in the federal government, corporations, associations, and other organizations in the D.C. metro area. Many were positioned in the halls of power.

The Yuppie mentality flourished in the 1980s on the back of the growing disparity between the wealthy segment of society and everyone else. While the elites gained in the market-driven economy, the rest of the population felt the squeeze. The notion gained currency in the 1980s to the point that *Newsweek* deemed 1984 "The Year of the Yuppie." Yuppie characters also infiltrated the decade's fiction, including Jay McInerney's *Bright Lights, Big City,* 1984, and *The Bonfire of the Vanities,* 1987, by Tom Wolfe. Both were later released as major films.

The stereotypical 1980s Yuppie male worked in finance, wore bright yellow "power" ties, suspenders, and expensive suits, all designed to emulate (and in some cases outdo) firm partners. Basically, these Yuppie powerbrokers were young men simply searching for a way to look grown up.

The federal government responded quickly to the melee by lowering short-term interest rates the next day in an effort to curtail a depression and banking crisis. The market surged once more, recovering much more quickly than it had following the Crash of 1929. One long-term gain from this particular crash was the installation of a circuit breaker system to electronically stop stock trading if prices dropped too rapidly, thus preventing a similar crash in the future.

REAGANOMICS, THE ECONOMY, AND POVERTY

So-called Reaganomics had a profound impact on the American economy. The massive federal deficit drove interest rates higher, ensuring that little extra funds existed for social programs designed to help the poor and needy. The administration targeted welfare programs, believing that the work to eliminate poverty in earlier decades had failed. Reagan decimated food stamp benefits, job service programs, and low-income housing funds. The rhetoric coming from the White House waged psychological war against welfare programs and recipients, attaching a stigma to those who needed help to survive.

The tax cuts Reagan championed dropped the top individual tax rate from 70 percent, where it had been in the previous decade, to 28 percent in 1986. Working-class Americans assumed the burden of paying a higher proportion of their incomes in taxes, particularly when rising state and Social Security taxes factored into the equation.

The official poverty line stood at $12,675 for a family of four, but the ranks of those below that figure swelled into a "hyper poor" class that barely eked out an existence on the fringes of society. By the end of the decade, more than 12 million people (1 of every 20 Americans) made less than half the poverty line standard. Single females headed 60 percent of the families in this category. The number of black children in this class leaped 52 percent in the 1980s. Studies revealed that 62 percent of the hyper poor lived outside cities and 43 percent were in the South.

By mid-decade, 50 percent of America's towns saw a decrease in population as more people flocked to big cities. The travails for farmers and farm families intensified. Approximately 500,000 farms disappeared in the 1970s, and 267,000 more went under over the next 10 years. Although Reagan preached a sermon of nostalgia and recalled the simpler days of the past, the nation grew steadily more urban.

THE WORKPLACE

During the 1980s, Republican economic policies enabled the richest 20 percent of the population to increase its income by one-third, while the total income of the lowest 60 percent fell in real dollars. Out of this environment grew the notion of the "working poor," with 33 percent of working Americans earning annual incomes below the poverty line.[2]

Downsizing

The recession during Reagan's first term devastated many working-class families and communities. Many of these never recovered, even after the economy rebounded. Cities in the Midwest and Middle Atlantic—reliant on heavy manufacturing—suffered through successive plant closings. In 1982, mass layoffs eliminated 1.25 million jobs in the region, turning America's manufacturing base into a giant "Rust Belt."

The recession and resulting unemployment (11% of the total workforce) had lasting psychological consequences on Americans, particularly those male breadwinners who had lost their jobs. Depression, alcoholism, and even violence followed this life-changing experience. Few men over 40 years old who had been forced out of their companies later found work at the same income level or were able to update their job skills to qualify for a career change.

Layoffs among white-collar employees found a new name in the 1980s—downsizing. Although the exact origins of downsizing are open to interpretation, this term is now part of the American business lexicon. The practice has even become part of popular culture, showing up as a topic on the syndicated hit television show *Roseanne* and the Dilbert cartoon strip.

In 1996, the *New York Times* ran a series of articles looking at the phenomenon; the paper used

DOWNSIZING AS GOOD BUSINESS

Former General Electric Chairman and CEO Jack Welch's early tenure at GE in the early 1980s institutionalized downsizing. Under his direction, the company eliminated more than 100,000 jobs, earning Welch the nickname "Neutron Jack"—like the bomb, he turned people into dust, but left buildings standing.

The massive layoffs overturned GE's corporate culture and changed the business world. GE's stock went up, causing other CEOs to follow Welch's lead.

Welch's brand of corporate capitalism, in which shareholder return is the only measure of success, also set in motion a cruel system of constant dread—fear about job loss and the economic and psychological destruction it causes.

Welch's sole focus on shareholder return and hitting or surpassing analyst expectations each quarter won him rave reviews as a tough-minded leader. However, given closer examination, these pursuits may be seen as a magician's bag of tricks. An obsession with quarterly earnings ahead of long-term planning led GE to cut corners and not think about the environmental consequences of dumping PCBs (polychlorinated biphenyls) into the Hudson River.

Welch's personal aggressiveness was replicated throughout GE in the 1980s, implementing a winner-take-all attitude that rewarded profit and nothing else. Other corporate executives began using mass layoffs as a way to cut costs, take restructuring charges against earnings, and meet quarterly earning estimates. The tick upward in stock price benefited those with the largest number of shares . . . almost always the leadership team.

Bureau of Labor Statistics reports to conclude that 43 million people had been laid off between 1979 and 1995.

PERSONAL COMPUTERS

By the early 1980s, technological advances transformed computers from unwieldy behemoths into smaller, more efficient business and personal tools, and two companies, Microsoft, and Apple Computer, were instrumental in making small computers—often called "microcomputers" to distinguish them from the large "main-frame" computing machines already in use in science and industry. By 1983, these small computers, had become so important, and so commonplace, that *Time* magazine named "The PC" its "Man of the Year." Apple and IBM worked in competition through the 1970s, and each came to the marketplace of the 1980s ready to make the computer an essential component of the modern world.

The 1980s were banner years for IBM, which introduced the industry standard for the personal computer in the 1970s. In 1980, the corporation teamed with Paul Allen and Bill Gates to develop an operating system for their new lines of computers—the system DOS became the industry standard. Later that year, Gates's new company Microsoft received a contract from IBM to create a series of languages for its new systems. The four languages developed by Microsoft—BASIC, FORTRAN, COBOL, and Pascal—enabled the corporation to release its new personal computer in early 1981, called the IBM-PC, which ran with its new system, MS-DOS.

By 1982, Microsoft developed another language, "Multiplan" for use with the Apple II computer, developed by Apple Computer, whose founders were Steve Jobs, Steve Wozniak, and Ronald Wayne. Meanwhile, a competitor to Microsoft, WordPerfect Corporation, unveiled its new word-processing system, "WordPerfect." The company's Version 1.0 soon became the most popular word processing system in the world. By 1983, Microsoft had joined IBM in developing "Windows," a file management system for the personal computer.

As Microsoft's MS-DOS systems kept speed with new variations, IBM continued issuing newer, faster models to openly compete with the Apple computer. By 1985, Microsoft and IBM were seen as a unit, developing newer products for the growing demands of the decade. In 1987, IBM's PS/2 personal computer allowed a clearer



An August 1981 photo of an IBM Personal Computer (PC), which is outfitted with a monitor, printer, and two disk drives. AP Photo.

variety of graphics and a smaller disc size—3.5, which again quickly became the industry standard.

The Apple II is considered to be the first "personal computer" marketed for in-home use. Built in a factory, Apple's PC gave users a relatively inexpensive and easy-to-learn machine. With its extensive software capabilities and cheap "floppy discs," the Apple II was the first personal computer capable of color graphics and an easy-to-use interface. By 1982, Apple became the first PC company to reach $1 billion in annual sales.

In 1983, Apple introduced a more powerful unit, the Apple IIe. Containing 64 kilobytes of RAM, the one megahertz 6502 processor sold for $1,400 retail and ran on its new language, Applesoft BASIC. It began to be widely used in schools. In 1986, Apple released its next incarnation, The Macintosh, which contained one megabyte of RAM and a newly designed keyboard. It originally sold for $2,600.

Of course, the competition between Apple and IBM was not always friendly. In 1988, Apple filed a copyright infringement suit against Microsoft for its Windows 2.03, claiming that it was basically stylized after their program for the Mac. The lawsuit was ultimately thrown out of court.

Other popular personal computers were developed mainly for the youth market. The Commodore 64 became the best selling personal computer in history, costing only $299.00 from the start. Using the television for its monitor, the Commodore 64's large memory capacity (64 kilobytes), high quality graphics, and inexpensive discs, made it a favorite among teens. Atari Models 400 and 800 were considered the best personal computers for games and color graphics. Though the machines were capable of high quality graphics and varieties of games, their inability to accommodate business software made them obsolete quickly. By 1985, they were replaced with the Nintendo game systems, which accommodated a wider variety of games and graphics.

By the end of the decade, no office was complete without a computerized system, and millions of homes owned and operated some form of personal computer. Understanding of the workings of both the computer and the varieties of

1980s PERSONAL COMPUTERS

For children born in the late 1980s and the 1990s, the personal computer is a way of life. From social networking and online dating to massive multiplayer online gaming communities and e-commerce, the personal computer revolution is arguably the most important development in everyday culture of the twenty-first century. Personal computers originated in the 1950s, when giant machines functioning by means of punch cards gave the first glimpse into the potential of computing technology. By the 1970s, computers were much faster than their predecessors, miniscule by comparison, and were gradually appearing in the home. By 1983, the total number of computers in the United States exceeded 3 million. It was during this time that businesses first began adopting computer systems in large numbers. The days of paper filing and organization were replaced by catalogues of "floppy disks." Other companies saw the opportunity for profit and began creating peripheral equipment, like disks and printers; instructional literature and industry magazines further fueled the industry's growth. While the computers of the 1980s were as different from modern computers as bicycles are to sports cars, the decade set the tone and constant improvements, utility, and enthusiastic adoption have carried the computer into the modern age. Given its impact on daily life, the development of the computer can be viewed as similar in scope to the advent of paper or the automobile.

languages and graphic capabilities soon became an expectation in job interviews—the rapid rise of the personal computer changed the ways we did business, the words and methods we used to communicate, and the future for industry, business, and the home.

CELLULAR TELEPHONES

The development, marketing, and resulting universal use of the cellular telephone, all in less than 20 years, makes it one of the world's most popular innovations. Once merely toys for wealthy businessmen and the rich, cell phones are now a part of everyday life. The roots of cellular phones stretch back to the crude origins of mobile radio usage in vehicles. Police and emergency use pushed early development, which progressed slowly. Researchers gave little thought to public applications for mobile phones. AT&T, which built the vaunted Bell System in the United States, showed little interest in mobile phones.

In the late 1940s, technological innovations such as low cost microprocessors and digital switching, made mobile telephones more practical. The first public mobile telephone system in the United States began in St. Louis in 1945 with three channels. The St. Louis experiment was also made possible by the increased pool of skilled radio personnel after World War II and the use of radio communications in the armed services.

D. H. Ring, a Bell Laboratories scientist, originated the cellular concept in 1947. Ring and his colleagues realized that by using small geographic service areas (or "cells"), combined with low powered transmitters and radio spectrum frequency reuse, the capacity of mobile phones would be greatly increased.

Few people believed the cellular system had a commercial application, and the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) decided to limit the frequencies, thus squelching further work. Under increasing pressure from AT&T and the general public, the FCC reconsidered its position in the late 1960s. The Bell Labs once again took the lead in proposing a cellular system of numerous low-powered broadcast towers, each covering a cell only a few miles in radius. By 1977, AT&T built and operated a model cell system. The next year, after the FCC approved Illinois Bell's request, testing began in Chicago with over 2,000 customers. In 1979, the first commercial cell phone system opened in Tokyo.

In 1981, Motorola and American Radio started a second test in the Washington, D.C. area. The next year, the FCC finally permitted commercial cellular service in the United States. The FCC's 1982 decision to break up AT&T's regulated monopoly also stymied additional research and development. Ameritech provided the first commercial service the next year in Chicago, while Motorola followed up in Baltimore and Washington, D.C.

Over the next several years, consumer demand exploded. There were more than one million subscribers by 1987. The airwaves quickly became overcrowded, forcing the FCC to open the 800 MHz band. This decision stimulated growth in the cell phone industry and forced further research.

While it took decades for the cellular phone industry to develop, the acceptance of cell phones worldwide was nearly immediate. The first profile of cell phone users was generated in 1987 and found that they were primarily male, 35–50 years old, managers or entrepreneurs who spent a great deal of time in their cars and had income in excess of $35,000. Most users had mobile phones installed in their cars for business use. In fact, the average mobile phone cost $1,000 that year, with portables reaching $2,000. The biggest complaints, however, were battery weight, short battery life, and lack of privacy on cell phones. The FCC even denied a petition filed by the Washington Legal Foundation requesting that a privacy label be placed on the devices, saying it would not serve public interest.

As the 1980s progressed, the CTIA and cellular carriers embarked on a program to raise mainstream awareness of cellular phones. In 1988, the cellular industry began testing retail sales channels, such as Sears and Kmart, and audio manufacturers like Clarion and Sanyo entered the market. It would take several years before cellular phones regularly appeared in retail stores.

RELIGION

The twin pillars of American disappointment—Vietnam and President Nixon and his Watergate scandal—continued to influence the 1980s. As a matter of fact, the nation would continue to grapple with the legacy of these challenges well into the twenty first century. The loss of faith in America's military might and its political system had strange consequences for the public. In many cases, this loss of faith seemed to lead some back to religion with newfound fervor. In the political arena, for example, a renewed sense of faith became an important character trait and led to a candidate's moral standing developing into a primary rationale for support. People believed that closely examining a presidential candidate's position on religion and character would excise Nixon's ghost.

The Democratic party turned away from evangelical audiences, despite the fact that 80 percent of Americans claimed religion was a central part of their lives and the genuine religious tenets proclaimed by President Jimmy Carter. The Republicans, led by Reagan, courted this audience relentlessly, particularly as abortion became a more important political topic. In response, Republican party leaders built the disparate conservative religious groups into a voting block.

Like so much of the 1980s, a sleazier side coincided with the grassroots religious movement. Televangelist Jim Bakker and his sidekick, wife Tammy Faye Bakker, exemplified the worst aspects of the constant desire for glitz and money in the decade. The Bakkers built a theme park, dubbed "Heritage USA," as a money-generating arm of an international organization seemingly devised to bilk worshippers out of their money.[3] They built a television network to broadcast their show, The PTL Club, which is reported to have attracted upwards of 12 million viewers a week and drawn more than $1 million a week in donations. Journalists sought out Bakker for quotes, since he had little modesty in comparing himself to Jesus and claiming that Jesus would use TV evangelism if he was alive in the 1980s.

Eventually, financial shenanigans caught up with the Bakkers. In early 1987, investigators discovered that nearly $300,000 in payoff money had been given to a former employee named Jessica Hahn to ensure that she would not discuss a sexual relationship she had had with Bakker. This scandal forced Bakker's resignation. Later, in 1989, a jury indicted Bakker on a series of counts, including mail fraud and wire fraud. A judge sentenced him to 45 years in jail and a $500,000 fine. The decade was not kind to other corrupt televangelists, including Jimmy Swaggart, who provided plenty of fodder for comedians when he renounced his visit to a prostitute in a weepy apology to his congregation in 1988.

AIDS

On July 5, 1981, *The New York Times* ran its first story on a "gay cancer" identified as Kaposi's

sarcoma. At the time, only 71 people in the United States had what is now known as Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS). However, two and a half years later, 1,922 Americans were diagnosed with AIDS.[4]

When AIDS first surfaced, it appeared to be concentrated in the gay community, which caused most media outlets to ignore the details of the growing epidemic. The first activists and medical personnel to fight AIDS emerged early in the epidemic. Don Francis of the Center for Disease Control, Selma Dritz of the San Francisco Board of Health, and Marc Conant from the University of California, worked to secure funding for research and support for closing the bathhouses in San Francisco and New York City, where the disease was easily spread through unsafe sexual practices. The gay community had Bobbi Campbell, the self-proclaimed "poster boy"; Larry Kramer, the advocate/playwright; Paul Popham, who assisted Kramer in founding Gay Men's Health Crisis in New York City; and Bill Kraus, the San Francisco legislator who fought for AIDS funding. As AIDS spread into the heterosexual community, others joined the call for government assistance, including Randy Shilts, whose book *And the Band Played On* chronicled the early years of the epidemic; Cleve Jones, whose NAMES Project created a memorial to victims lost to the disease in the form of a giant quilt; and Elizabeth Taylor, actress and founder of AmFAR, still a major contributor to the research efforts to eradicate the disease.

It was not until 1985, however, that the nebulous disease acquired a notable face in the form of movie star Rock Hudson. During his 37-year career as a film star and matinee idol, Hudson had maintained secrecy concerning his sexual orientation. He was cast as a strong, quiet type in a series of woman's pictures during the 1950s. His biggest success came in the early 1960s in a series of light, screwball comedies with Doris Day and Tony Randall, namely *Pillow Talk* (1959), *Lover Come Back* (1962), and *Send Me No Flowers* (1964). During the 1970s, Hudson teamed with Susan St. James in the comic crime series *MacMillan and Wife* (1971–1976), and he returned to television to play Daniel Reese on *Dynasty* during the 1984 season.

During his stint on *Dynasty,* the tabloids began to report on Hudson's appearance—he appeared gaunt. In July 1985, Hudson was diagnosed with the disease, and his trip to the Pasteur Institute for treatment with experimental drugs not available in the United States created a media circus; when he flew back to the United States seven days later, on a stretcher, news cameras from around the world recorded his image. Hudson went public with his homosexuality and his fight against AIDS when he appeared with Doris Day, helping her to launch her cable show *Doris Day and Friends,* a show to support her activities as an animal rights activist. At the time of his death, on October 2, 1985, AIDS was finally surfacing as an acceptable topic for the nightly news. Five years later, it had become the *cause celebre,* as celebrities started the practice of wearing red ribbons at awards shows.

The AIDS crisis paved the way for many broad reaching initiatives that have had far-reaching social impact on American society. Early posters advocating "Silence = Death" and "Safe Sex" created by ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power) helped to institute a broader, franker discussion of sexuality in America's schools.

Responses to the pandemic brought the gay community together in its efforts to make the Reagan/Bush administrations assist in the fight. Actor's Equity created "Broadway Cares," a group dedicated to assisting the sick in the artistic community. The group gathered media attention when they began to ask celebrities attending awards shows to don red ribbons to symbolize the continuing struggle against indifference. Other notable artistic responses include Robert Mapplethorpe's and Keith Haring's art (see Art of the 1980s), Gran Fury's "Bloody Hands" posters, and the AIDS Memorial Quilt, unveiled for the first time in October 1987. The quilt's debut on the Mall in Washington, D.C. illustrated the deep loss felt by the American community, as each of its 1,920 panels represented a person who had died of the disease.

Interestingly, Hollywood did not respond to the crisis in a significant manner until 1993 with the release of *Philadelphia,* which won Tom Hanks an Academy Award for best Actor for portraying a lawyer fired because he had AIDS. During

the 1980s, the theater made the most notable contribution to the awareness of the epidemic by turning plays into political manifestos demanding action, including Larry Kramer's *The Normal Heart* (see Entertainment of the 1980s) and William Hoffman's *As Is*. On television, one of the first films to portray the ravages of the disease and its effect on the family was *An Early Frost* (ABC, 1985), a daring-for-its-day melodrama. The movie tells the story of a Chicago lawyer (Aidan Quinn) who returns to his New England family (headed by Ben Gazarra and Gena Rowlands) to tell them he is both gay and dying of the AIDS virus.

Despite the tragedies of the AIDS pandemic, it has had a positive aspect. Not only has it made sexual orientation a much more open topic in mainstream America, it has also proved that people can come together to fight injustice. Other health issues, such as breast and colon cancer, have replicated the activities of these groundbreaking protests to find broader support.

Advertising of the 1980s

The notion of consumer culture in the United States came of age in the 1980s. At the upper reaches of the economic ladder, flashy advertising sold images of success. Lower down the scale, advertising promised a better life, if only a person bought the right clothes, shoes, cigarettes, beer, or automobile.

Many high-profile campaigns featured celebrity endorsers and were designed to add an air of familiarity and pizzazz to the promotions. One of the nation's most popular celebrity spokesmen was Bill Cosby, an African American comedian who starred in the mega-hit television program *The Cosby Show.* (See Entertainment of the 1980s.)

Advertisers had long realized that success meant selling the perception of a better life. Creating buyers' aspirations led to a deeper connection with the product, from Nike and Michael Jordan with "Just Do It" to Miller Brewing Company's "High Life" campaigns. Linking celebrities to products added the luster that 1980s consumers desired.

Although the advertising industry gained important new outlets in the 1980s, particularly with the increasing number of cable television stations, the total money companies spent on advertising remained static for most of the decade.

Many ads from the decade became pop culture staples. The One Club for Art and Copy declared Ally & Gargano's 1982 Federal Express television commercial "Fast Talker" the best ad of the 1980s. The commercial features a typical, overworked office manager talking at a nearly imperceptible speed, but FedEx intervenes and gives him time to slow down.

Advertising executives viewed the 1980s as dominated by television, feel-good marketing, and style over substance. For example, Chiat/Day/Mojo's commercial for Apple's Macintosh computers "1984" did not discuss the features of the product or how it differed from its competitors. Instead, the commercial showed computer users as Orwellian automatons who would be freed from their black-and-white, drab world by using Apple's more user-friendly computer.

While many campaigns played on consumers' aspirations, others stuck to tried-and-true formulas that had worked in the past, or simply rehashed successful campaigns from the past, including those for Campbell Soup and Timex. Consumers felt comfortable with familiar slogans like Timex's "Takes a licking and keeps on ticking."

NIKE

No company in the 1980s rode the confluence of popular culture, fashion, and fitness more effectively than Nike. Decades later, the Nike story

ADVERTISING SLOGANS OF THE 1980s

"Absolut [something]," Absolut Vodka, 1980*

"Soup is good food," Campbell's Soup, 1980

"Visa. It's everywhere you want to be," Visa, 1985

"Just do it," Nike, 1988*

"Be all that you can be," U.S. Army, 1981*

"It keeps going and going and going…" Energizer batteries, 1989

"A different kind of company. A different kind of car," Saturn, 1989

"Know what comes between me and my Calvins? Nothing," Calvin Klein, 1980*

"Where's the beef?" Wendy's 1984*

"We'll leave the light on for you," Motel 6, mid 1980s*

"Recommended by Dr. Mom," Robitussin cough medicine, 1986

"The heartbeat of America," Chevrolet, 1986

"Just for the taste of it," Diet Coke, 1982

"Coke is it!" Coca-Cola, 1982

"The best part of waking up is Folger's in your cup," Folger's coffee, 1984

"Michelin. Because so much is riding on your tires," Michelin, 1985

"Beef. Real food for real people," Beef Industry Council, 1987

"Pork. The other white meat," National Pork Producers Council, 1987

"The fabric of our lives," Cotton, Inc., 1989

"The choice of a new generation," Pepsi-Cola, 1984

"Hefty, hefty, hefty, wimpy, wimpy, wimpy," Hefty trash bags, 1983

"Star of the American road," Texaco, 1988

"Quite possibly the world's most perfect food," Chiquita Bananas, 1989

"Choosy mothers choose Jif," Jif peanut butter, early 1980s

*Among Advertising Age's "The Advertising Century: Top 100 Advertising Campaigns," http://adage.com/century/campaigns.html.

is commonplace, but in the 1980s its dominance of the shoe market could hardly have been imagined. Throughout the early decade, Reebok, Adidas, Keds, Converse, and Pony crowded into the shoe market, making Nike just another choice among many.

Riding the jogging craze in the late 1970s and 1980s, Nike's first successes were with running shoes. Nike co-founder Phil Knight realized that by glamorizing athletes and athleticism, sports and fitness could be used as tools to measure a person's worth. Consumers that emulated sports stars would then buy products endorsed by those athletes. Nike's mission statement pushed this analogy even further, claiming, "to bring inspiration and innovation to every athlete in the world" and redefining "athlete" to mean anyone who had a body.[1]

In 1982, Dan Wieden and Dave Kennedy left their jobs and began their own advertising agency, Wieden+Kennedy. Nike was their first client. Later that year, Nike ran its first national television ads during the New York Marathon.

The decisive move for Nike in the 1980s was signing Michael Jordan to a five-year, $1.25 million contract. At the time, Jordan was a heralded basketball star from the University of North Carolina, but hardly a household name. No one realized that Knight and his executive team had bet the company's future on Jordan. Only three games into the 1984–1985 basketball season, the NBA banned Jordan's red and black Nike shoes because they did not conform to the Chicago Bulls uniform. The ban was widely reported in the media, and this, combined with Jordan's spectacular ability, increased interest in the shoes that had caused so much uproar. Suddenly, everyone wanted Nike shoes—basketball players and non-players alike.

Nike's daring commercials, directed by Spike Lee and starring Lee's "Mars Blackmon" character from the film *She's Gotta Have It* (1986), propelled Jordan and Nike to new heights. In 1988, Nike announced its "Just Do It" slogan, again understanding and somehow bottling the national zeitgeist. As Jordan's fame grew, he not only signed as a spokesperson with more companies (Wheaties, Coca-Cola, Gatorade, Wilson, McDonald's, and more), but the Chicago Bulls were regularly featured on network and cable television. Jordan

and the Nike swoosh became one symbol, forever linked by success and millions of dollars in marketing. In 1986, thanks in part to Jordan, Nike total revenues surpassed $1 billion for the first time.

Nike also introduced the idea of technology into the sneaker industry, a notion that caught on among buyers. At first, customers did not understand the company's "air" concept, used to create a better feel in its running and basketball shoes. Nike designers responded by adding a "window" into the side of the shoe that allowed a view of the air bag inside.

Nike's air cushioning was practical and made shoes more comfortable, but it also drove up the price. It helped that "Air" was one of Michael Jordan's nicknames, based on his apparent ease in defying gravity while playing basketball. Other shoe companies responded with their own innovations and gimmicks. Reebok, for example, introduced "The Pump" in 1989, which allowed wearers to use a tiny air inflation system embedded in the sneaker to make it tighter, then later push a release valve to deflate the shoe. Reebok sold the sneaker for $170. Nike countered with its own tech-laden shoe, Nike Air Pressure, which sold for $175. Nike supplied a mini-pump that buyers used to inflate the ankle portion of the shoe.

At the end of the decade, Reebok captured the high-end sneaker market with The Pump. The company spent $3 million advertising the product, much of it showing NBA stars demonstrating how the shoes worked.

Typical buyers of The Pump were on opposite ends of the socioeconomic spectrum—inner-city youngsters and yuppie businessmen. The Pump's design helped Reebok beat Nike in this category. People did not want to have to carry an extra pump, as required with the Nike version. The battle between Nike and Reebok drove tennis shoe industry revenues to $5 billion in 1989, a 20 percent jump over 1988.

CALVIN KLEIN

The mastermind behind marketing fashion to men was Calvin Klein, whose erotic advertising set the stage for a complete rethinking by Madison Avenue. In 1980, Klein created a suggestive advertisement using a 15-year-old Brooke Shields with the copy "Nothing comes between me and my Calvins." Though the ad sparked controversy over using the combination of a young teenage girl and sex to sell blue jeans, Klein's jean empire took off, and he followed with a campaign featuring his new line of men's underwear.

For the new campaign, Klein hired fashion photographer Bruce Weber to photograph Olympic pole-vaulter Tom Hintnaus, posed against a white wall and sunbathing in nothing but his briefs, on the Greek isle of Santorini. Weber focused his lens between the model's legs, and the photograph, which captured the quiet, rugged sexuality of a Greek god, made history. When the campaign was unveiled in 1982, sales for the product soared, and the photograph, which Janice Castro claims is now acknowledged as one of the most successful advertisements ever, became iconic—on par with "The Marlboro Man." Klein's efforts swiftly galvanized his reputation as a mover in the advertising business.[2] Klein employed even racier tactics for his campaigns for "Obsession," a new fragrance line for both men and women. The advertisements for the women's perfume situated a woman, usually in bed, between two men, turning her into the power figure, rather than a victim. She was often photographed facing the camera, while the naked men appeared fragmented. The ads for the men's fragrance of the same name featured more androgynous types, men with longer hair and no facial hair, partially clothed, relating the fragrance to more mysterious tastes. In some of the more famous two-page spreads, Klein featured both nude men and women in a variety of poses, almost as if they were pieces of sculpture, linking the product name with good taste and classic design.

SWATCH

Swatch is the trademark of a Swiss-based watch designer and retailer whose marketing strategy typified the materialism of the 1980s. The Swatch is a plastic watch with Swiss craftsmanship that comes in a variety of colors and designs. The idea was to mass-produce inexpensive watches in such a way that they became a fashion statement when one wore more than one. Though plastic,

the watches are water and shock resistant, so they could withstand use by the average teen.

The advertising launched by Swatch in the 1980s captured a free-thinking spirit and was directed at youth looking to break away from the more conservative middle-class culture. One advertisement showed teens dancing in brightly colored retro outfits—boys in men's suit jackets with the collars turned up and the sleeves rolled, girls in puffy 1950s styled prom dresses, hair teased to the max. Each dancer wore three Swatches on their arms. The copy for the ad read, "Priced at $40 each—why not buy three or four?" Obviously, the idea was for teens to collect Swatches and wear them all at once. Priced at $40 each, Swatches were marketed toward the more affluent teen, able to spend money on more than one accessory.

HUGGIES

Kimberly-Clark launched Huggies diapers in the late 1970s after decades of failure in the diaper market. The new design, which promised fewer leaks and a better fit, did well in market tests. The early successes convinced company executives to put $10 million into advertising and promoting the brand.

Kimberly-Clark handed marketing over to Ogilvy & Mather, which had a long history of successful consumer campaigns, including the Hathaway shirt, General Foods cereals, and Maxwell House coffee. The agency wrote the Huggies slogan "Introducing a diaper that helps stop leaking." A direct-mail campaign reinforced the theme and linked the diaper to Kimberly-Clark's more famous Kleenex tissue to back up the claims about quality and absorbency.

In markets where Procter & Gamble's Luvs dominated, Kimberly-Clark sold Huggies at a discount, and then beefed up its advertising budget to $17 million in 1981 and 1982. A year later, upstart Huggies controlled 21 percent of the diaper market, tied with Luvs, and trailed only Pampers, which had a 40 percent share. By 1985, Huggies increased its share to nearly 31 percent, while Luvs fell to 11.7 percent and Pampers fell to just under 31 percent.

While Kimberly-Clark developed Huggies and introduced improvements to the diapers, the company also conducted top-secret research on a new pull-up diaper that helped toddlers with toilet training. The company introduced Pull-Ups in May 1989 after a short few months of testing on the West Coast. Over the next three years, the new diaper captured 9 percent of the market and generated more than $200 million in annual sales.

The advertising money pumped into promoting Huggies paid huge dividends as Kimberly-Clark's other products (Kotex, Kleenex, and so on) came under increasing competition. For much of the decade, Huggies yielded significant operating profits and the bulk of the company's net earnings.

In 1987, Huggies received a prominent placement in *Raising Arizona,* a hit movie starring Nicolas Cage and Holly Hunter. At the time, 3 out of 10 disposable diapers in the United States were Huggies, so the placement reinforced the product's place in mainstream America.

ALCOHOL AND CIGARETTES

Generally, advertisements for alcohol catered to two markets. For the younger crowd, beer and wine ads in print and on television sold an image of alcohol as part of a lifestyle—particularly to the sports-minded. This is similar to how cigarettes were marketed in print—ads for Salem cigarettes, for instance, always showed young men and women cavorting in the surf, playing volleyball, canoeing—doing anything but smoking. Often, the pack of cigarettes would be placed in the corner, making the connection between the product and the lifestyle apparent. This is the same way that beer commercials targeted the youth market.

Advertisements for hard liquor were often marketed to the affluent, connecting the product with a specific way of life. The ads run by Hennesey, for instance, tied an extravagant lifestyle with the expensive liquor. In one ad, a woman comes out of the Trevi Fountain in Rome as a man tosses coins into the water, a bottle of Hennesey and two glasses on the steps, ready for his Venus. In another, a man and woman at a business function sit at opposite ends of an elegant sofa, a bottle of Hennesey between them. The copy reads, "Hennesey is the perfect ice-breaker," and the connection

registers that the liquor will provide each with the confidence to approach the other.

The change during the decade to more healthy living meant that Americans drank less, but when they did drink, premium liquors were their choice. Top-shelf liquors (priced at $12 or more a bottle) sold better than their lesser-priced counterparts. For example, Crown Royal Canadian Whisky sales increased six percent from 1988 to 1989, while the whisky industry as a whole dropped six percent in the same period.

In a typically 1980s fashion, some distillers even increased prices to make their premium brands more desirable to consumers who purchased names as much as products. Guinness eliminated discount coupons and at the same time increased the prices of Johnnie Walker and Dewar's whisky.

Advertising spending remained relatively flat for distillers overall at about $233 million, but increased among premium brands. The high-end alcohol brands advertised themselves as among the finer things of life. For example, Smirnoff Vodka, on the lower end of the premium brand scale, changed its campaign from "Friends are worth Smirnoff" to claim that it was "the reigning vodka," or the historic drink of Russian royalty.

AD ICONS

Two of the most successful icons of the 1980s were launched in television advertisements—the first animated mascot scored with a hit record; the other moved from being a popular culture icon to a political one in the 1984 Presidential election.

In 1987, "The California Raisins" turned the advertising world on its head. These so-called claymation creations sang a cover of Marvin Gaye's "I Heard it Through The Grapevine" and became one of the most successful campaigns ever. Raisin sales increased and a cottage industry sponsored by the California Raisin Advisory Board raked in billions with T-shirts and action figures of the four lovable raisins.

Created by animator Will Vinton, the Raisins soon began selling take-out pizza, fried chicken, and themselves. CBS offered Vinton a lucrative deal for a special, and *A Claymation Christmas Celebration* became one of the most watched



The California Raisins (ca. 1989). Courtesy of Photofest.

shows of the 1987 season. In 1988, a national contest was held to name the raisins; the winning entries named the members Stretch, Beebop, A. C., and Red. Vinton then created an animated special for CBS, *Meet the Raisins.* This was another popular show, providing back stories for the main quartet, and introducing other raisin relatives. In 1989, singers Michael Jackson and Ray Charles loaned their voices to raisins based on their characteristics; both of these commercials were used to sell Coca-Cola products.

Clara Peller was a retired manicurist when the Dancer, Fitzgerald, and Sample Ad Agency hired her to appear with two other elderly women in a commercial for Wendy's hamburger chain. The ads, which ran from 1984 to 1986, showcased the three grandmotherly women examining hamburgers they had purchased at a rival vendor—when one lifted an enormous bun to reveal a tiny bit of meat, Clara yelled out, "Where's the Beef?" and a star was born.

Peller's meteoric rise revealed the power of advertising in the television age. In 1988, Wendy's spent $83.5 million on TV commercials, proving that with extensive exposure and a catchy slogan, an ad agency could turn anyone into a celebrity.

Soon, the image of this 4-foot, 11-inch octogenarian asking this question was emblazoned everywhere—even on T-shirts and underwear. Peller even recorded a single record with Coyote McCloud, called "Where's the Beef?" and Walter Mondale, candidate for President, used the phrase to describe his dissatisfaction with Democratic

opponent Gary Hart and then President Reagan. Just as Wendy's retooled its commercial image to start another series of commercials featuring Peller, she signed on to a Prego Spaghetti Sauce ad, proclaiming that she had found the beef in the sauce—Wendy's immediately terminated her contract.

NEW COKE FIASCO

The Coca-Cola Company made news worldwide in April 1985 when it introduced New Coke, which to most people tasted sweeter and more bland than the "old Coke." Within three months, customer outrage forced the company to bring back the original drink, which the company now marketed as "Coca-Cola Classic." By April 1986, Coke's top corporate customers (McDonald's and Kentucky Fried Chicken) announced that they were reverting back to original Coke. New Coke bombed worldwide. Despite the utter failure of New Coke, however, the $8 billion company attained record sales and profits in 1985.

A fiasco like the introduction of New Coke would have destroyed many companies and kept them scrambling to regain market share for years. A *New York Times* reporter called the debacle "one of the greatest marketing fiascos of modern times."[3] Coke, however, had decades of consumer goodwill built up and spent about $400 to $600 million a year on promotion and advertising. The introduction of the new cola cost Coke overall market leadership to Pepsi for 1985, but Coke rebounded the following year. New Coke's failure stands in stark contrast to the 1982 launch of Diet Coke. The drink quickly became the best-selling diet soft drink in the country and helped its parent company increase market leadership.

Rather than rely on its strong heritage and classic advertising, New Coke introduced an electronic character "Max Headroom," designed to appeal to younger consumers. The new wave character was Coca-Cola's attempt to counter the "Pepsi Generation" campaign that featured hot pop stars like Michael Jackson and Lionel Ritchie. Coke's slogan, "Catch a Wave" referred to the wavy line that ran from the top to the bottom of the redesigned Coke can.

Throughout the tumultuous era, Coke continued to develop its marketing and advertising campaigns, first around the 1982 slogan "Coke Is It!" As the decade ended, the focus shifted to "Can't Beat the Real Thing," which played on a general nostalgic feeling that swept the nation and harkened back to simpler times. The ubiquity of Coke as a popular cultural icon showed as Coke bottles, machines, signs, and other paraphernalia appeared in movies such as *About Last Night* (1986), *American Gigolo* (1980), *Bronco Billy* (1980), and *Urban Cowboy* (1980).

Architecture

of the 1980s

Although not to the extent of the heyday of the 1920s, when architects built vast palaces in homage to the nation's business leaders, America's fixation on success and money in the 1980s influenced architecture. Titans of industry hired the decade's leading architects to reinvigorate commercial architecture. In turn, the resulting glare from these high-profile jobs turned architects into celebrities. Before long, it wasn't uncommon to see architects' faces (along with their buildings) on the covers of magazines and in the society pages.

Many of the decade's new buildings—designed using computer-aided graphics and innovation—were glitzy and added to the personal fame of the profession's leading thinkers. The developers and city officials who commissioned these works of art were part of the game, raising the publicity stakes as high as possible. Good public relations equaled higher prices per square foot and higher occupancy rates.

Donald Trump's sudden rise as a real estate genius in Manhattan found its way onto the New Jersey shore as he used gambling casinos to turn the economically depressed coastline of Atlantic City into one of the most lucrative real estate ventures of the century. Soon, properties in the bedroom communities of New Jersey, Connecticut, and upstate New York were selling for much more than what they previously returned. Real estate in Manhattan, particularly apartments, sold for millions of dollars. Trump's ventures created a need for more glamorous architecture to reflect these times of economic prosperity, such as the Trump Taj Mahal, a "themed hotel" located on the boardwalk in Atlantic City, for which construction began in the late 1980s; it opened in 1990.

Not all architects and firms bought into the fame and publicity of the 1980s. Others attempted to restrain the developers, yet still make an influential mark on the field. Rather than mimic the designs from earlier in the century, simply building corporate temples higher into the sky, architects in the 1980s found interesting ways to fit breathtaking buildings into odd-sized and odd-shaped lots using rounded facades and vibrant colors.

One of the first iconic buildings designed and built in the 1980s based on these principles was 333 Wacker Drive (1983), on the edge of downtown Chicago at the bend in the Chicago River. The firm Kohn Pedersen Fox built the 35-story greenish-blue mirrored building on a triangular lot bordering the river. The curved face of 333 Wacker mimics the gentle turn of the waterfront. The bottom features horizontal stripes of gray granite and green marble and a two-story main entrance.



The 42-story Trump Taj Mahal Casino Resort looms over the boardwalk before its opening in Atlantic City, New Jersey, on March 28, 1990. AP Photo.

By 1986, the postmodern effects of the 1970s were considered passé. Looking back to the grand scale of buildings such as the Chrysler Building (1930) and the Empire State Building (1931), I. M. Pei & Partners (see Architecture of the 1970s) put a 1980s twist on the skyscraper. The firm purposely moved away from the traditional rectangular cage construction when designing Fountain Place (1986) in Dallas, Texas. The resulting building looks like a gigantic, light green glass sculpture with a diagonal slice taken off the top. Rather than build in the heart of the downtown business district, the architects, led by Henry Cobb, placed the 60-story building a bit further out so that it would attract more attention and give visitors to Dallas a better view. One part of Fountain Place juts up from the street like a triangle with spaceship wings coming out the sides. The top of the building looks like an oblong glass diamond that has somehow slid down atop the triangle and been perfectly melded together. Viewed from different perspectives, Fountain Place seems to transform at the blink of an eye. Even the sheared top looks like it comes to a point from some angles and not from others.

Not content to simply design and build a fantastic skyscraper, landscape architect Dan Kiley developed an urban oasis at the building's ground level. The plaza features intricate water art comprised of 172 bubbler fountains in the pools and 360 fountainheads in the Central Court Fountain. In addition, Kiley brought in more than 200 Texas bald cypress trees to decorate the plaza.

Architecture in the 1980s, however, did not stop with ornate corporate towers. In Washington, D.C., Benjamin Thompson & Associates built a marketplace in the renovated Union Station. Suddenly, train passengers mixed and mingled among the many restaurants, retail stores, and boutique shops that filled the space. The two-story central kiosk is topped with Roman-inspired arches and lined with columns. Although still a working train station and Metro subway stop, Union Station's beauty gave visitors a calming respite amid the hustle of the nation's capital.

LEADING ARCHITECTS

Michael Graves

Born in Indianapolis in 1934, Michael Graves studied architecture at the University of Cincinnati and Harvard University. In 1960, Graves won the Rome Prize, which allowed him to study in Italy for two years. He founded his own architectural firm in 1964 in Princeton, New Jersey, he served as the Robert Schirmer Professor of Architecture at Princeton University from 1965 to 1995. While at Princeton University, Graves taught and guided the latest trends in American design during the 1980s.

Graves went on to win a number of prestigious awards, including the 2001 Gold Medal of the American Institute of Architects, the 1999 National Medal of the Arts, and the $50,000 Frank Annunzio Award from the Christopher Columbus Fellowship Foundation.

During the 1980s, Graves's design for The Humana Building in Louisville, Kentucky, won many

accolades, not only named one of "The 10 Best Buildings" of the decade by *Time* magazine, but recipient of the AIA Design Award as well. Other buildings designed by Graves include Disney's corporate headquarters in Burbank, California; the headquarters of the Ministry of Culture at the Hauge; the Federal Reserve Bank in Houston; and the Philadelphia Eagles' football stadium. In addition, Graves designed the World Bank Group's International Finance Corporation at Washington Circle in Washington, D.C.

The Portland Public Services Building (1982) was Graves's crowning achievement. The building's triple tier structure and rectangular shapes imbued with deep earthy colors called to mind classical structures for banks and courthouses, as it blended the old and the new.

The 15-story skyscraper attempted to elevate the often drab government building to new heights and redefine what a public service building could be. Graves's block design and square windows gave the building an imposing look, but it was his use of dramatic colors (blue, brown, and a deep rust red) that made it iconic and controversial. Both *Newsweek* and *Time* featured the Portland Public Services Building on their covers.

Time has not been kind to the Portland Building. City residents and architectural critics now label the building a failure. Office workers don't like the small offices in the building and the lack of natural light. In addition, many structural problems have surfaced over the past two decades, including major cracks in concrete and plaster. Many of these criticisms have been directed at Graves, but in retrospect, the city's constant budget cuts enabled some shoddy workmanship on the part of contractors. Despite these criticisms, however, the Portland Building remains one of postmodernism's most prominent structures.

Robert Venturi

Robert Venturi (1925–) continued to excel in architecture in the 1980s. A graduate of Princeton University in 1947, he received an MFA there three years later. In 1954, Venturi continued his studies as a Rome Prize Fellow, traveling there to study architecture before returning in 1956 to begin teaching at the University of Pennsylvania. His designs include the Milwaukee County War Memorial Center. In 1966, he published his first book, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture,* which pondered the place of the architect in the modern world of design.

Venturi's rebel views rocked the architecture world. His theories paid homage to architecture of the past, blending these attributes with the basic tenets of modernism, yet still exemplifying the importance of human use, memory, comfort, and entertainment. In 1969, he founded his own design office, now called VSBA (Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates), with his wife, Denise Scott Brown. The couple continue to work there. In 1972, in a book titled *Learning From Las Vegas,* Venturi joined his wife and Steven Izenour to explore the impact of the desert city on the architecture of America.

Venturi was named to the list of the American Institute of Architecture's 25 top architects. Some of his work from the 1980s includes the Molecular Biology Building at Princeton University (1983–1985), the Art Museum of Seattle (1988–1991), and the Sainsbury Wing of the National Gallery in London (1988).

Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk

In 1980, Andres Duany (1949–)and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk (1950–) joined forces in Miami to found one of the top architectural design companies in the United States, Duany Plater-Zyberk & Company. Since then, the married couple and their firm have designed more than 250 residential communities, redefining the scope and scale of urban development. In 1989, *Time* magazine selected their community at Seaside, Florida, as one of the "Best of the Decade."

Duany and Plater-Zyberk's method integrates their master plans with project-specific design codes and regulations and their choice to work within the southeastern United States and the Caribbean. Today, the firm is recognized as one of the leaders against the proliferation of suburban sprawl. (In 2001, after the publication of *Suburban Nation,* a book that articulates their theories, Duany and Plater-Zyberk were awarded the Vincent Scully Prize.)

Maya Ying Lin

The 1981 competition to design a memorial commemorating American dead and missing from the Vietnam War drew 1,425 entries. The winner, 21-year-old Yale architecture student Maya Ying Lin, designed a powerful memorial unlike any that had come before it. Rather than make the building itself the center of attention, Lin made the names of the dead and missing men and women the focus, a fitting idea for a memorial to a war that continued to divide many Americans.

The young Yale student hardly seemed old enough to put forth such a mature vision for the memorial. Lin grew up in Athens, Ohio, and her parents taught at Ohio University—her mother literature and her father art. These influences fused with her identity as an Asian American and resulted in a strong respect for nature and the earth. These tenets of Lin's thinking were clearly represented in the Vietnam Memorial.

Lin proposed a v-shaped, black granite wall that eased up from the ground at one end and back down into the ground at the other. The names of 58,253 dead and missing Americans were listed on the wall chronologically. Even more emotional than the list of names is the way the black walls reflect the onlooker's image as he or she views the wall. Through Lin's design, visitors become more than onlookers, and are basically drawn into the memorial.

Constructed in 1982, the walls of the Vietnam Memorial are each 246-feet, 8-inches long. The v-shape comes together at an angle of 125 degrees, 12 minutes, and point directly at the northeast corners of the Washington Monument and Lincoln Memorial. The walls are supported by 140 concrete pilings, driven down approximately 35 feet to bedrock.



Architect Maya Ying Lin and the Vietnam Memorial. Washington D.C. Photo by James P. Blair/National Geographic/Getty Images.

Although the announcement of Lin's winning design drew a great deal of criticism, today the Vietnam Memorial is the capitol's most visited site, with thousands leaving mementos and tributes to loved ones. Lin's idea stretched the notion of how a memorial should look beyond people's natural thought processes.

ARCHITECTURE AT HOME

The changing demographics of the 1980s—a sharp increase in smaller, nontraditional families—started to influence the way people thought about standard housing and living spaces. Yet homebuilders and apartment designers still built places as if nuclear families were the norm. If there was a concession to the nontraditional at all, it was usually to make a house smaller, not change the basic design.

At an earlier time in history moving to the suburbs may have been considered fulfillment of the American dream. In the 1980s, however, the suburbs isolated families and family members, particularly children stung by divorce or the after-school loneliness with both parents in the workforce. For single-parent families, however, neither the suburbs nor the city offered the kind of after-school programs, daycare, or social services needed to care for school-age youngsters. Thus, changing family demographics served as both a social problem and a design challenge.

The growing disparity between society's "haves" and "have-nots" also played a role in housing for millions of Americans. In a rapidly growing city like Stamford, Connecticut, which was home to many large businesses, two distinct societies sprouted up. On one side stood the prosperity of suburban life in the 1980s—those who could afford $300,000 single-family homes. These families found themselves elevated to a higher economic rung by corporate paychecks. Those on the other end of the scale were pushed further and further down the economic ladder, making too much money to qualify for subsidized housing, but barely making enough to scrape by as housing prices skyrocketed.

Crime-ridden ghettoes across America were real-life examples of how large numbers of people lived in the 1980s. These were the places that affluent white males, like those from gilded Fairfield County, ventured into to buy drugs and engage in illegal prostitution.

During the day, Stamford and other cities teamed with businesspeople and commerce. At night, however, corporate workers fled back to the suburbs and left empty shells of cities behind. In Stamford, the gap between affluence and poverty caused drug arrests to double over a 10-year period and led to a greater number of drug-related muggings.

Affluent Homeowners

Given staggering interest rates and a sluggish economy in the early 1980s, homebuilders did not stray far from traditional ideas. The changes in basic home construction that did take place featured a return to historical styles, particularly a Victorian revival, an idea replicated in the nation's politics and socioeconomic thinking. As a result, front porches became more central meeting and entertaining places at the expense of backyards.

One option for smaller, affluent families was purchasing a condominium. In 1980, there were more than two million condo units in the United States. These homes—bigger than most apartments, but smaller than traditional single-family homes—gave people more privacy and space than apartments, but without the maintenance or high price of detached houses.

In Chicago, for example, condominium construction increased in the 1970s because building owners feared rent control and discovered that they could make greater profits by converting apartments to condos. City hotspots, such as the Loop, Lincoln Park, and Edgewater, witnessed the greatest growth in condo sales. By 1980, 50 percent of the housing in the Loop was condos. Building new condos and converting older apartments remained steady throughout the decade. Given the exorbitant cost of owning a home in the Chicago region, the area also experienced heavy condo growth in the suburbs.

In San Jose, California, by mid-decade one of the five most expensive real estate markets in the nation, an influential British builder in the United States, Barratt, identified how much affluent singles and young couples could afford for a

condo. Barratt then built units they called "Studio Solo" and "Studio Duo" to meet these criteria. Although incredibly small (some units were as little as 486 square feet), buying a mini-condo was a better option than renting.

When filling the San Jose condos with amenities, Barratt designers purposely avoided giving the units an apartment feel. Therefore, they placed a washer and dryer in each condo, so occupants would avoid the college dorm experience of a shared laundry room. They also gave the condos full-sized bathrooms, large closets, garages, and small patios or decks. These minor upgrades played directly on the dweller's emotional desire to be a homeowner, not a renter, even in a place as expensive as San Jose.

Traditional home styles allowed the newly wealthy to show off their houses—precursors to today's so-called McMansions. For the affluent, homes increased in size, not only in terms of square footage, but also in terms of ornamental elements, such as intricate towers, gables, and latticework.

Many builders crammed houses full of upgrades, such as security systems, intercoms, central vacuum systems, and built-in appliances. The larger, luxurious homes—often referred to as "custom houses"—turned the kitchen into the most expensive room in the house with solid oak cabinetry, tile or wood floors, skylights, sink islands, and breakfast nooks.

Although the most money went into kitchens in affluent homes, bathrooms were often the most glamorous. A custom builder in Columbia, Maryland noted that nearly every home they built in the $100,000 to $500,000 range had a Jacuzzi tub or spa bath. The new spotlight on the tub forced builders to separate it from the shower, thus enabling the shower to receive its own attention. Fancy toilets, bidets, sinks, walk-in closets, and separate compartments for the commode also boosted the price of bathrooms in luxury homes.

The bathroom upgrade was a cornerstone of the rise in "master suites" in the 1980s. The combination of bedroom, bathroom, and sitting room came together to form a separate part of the house reserved for adults and a kind of sanctuary from the rest of the house, including children. Master suites often featured cedar-lined, walk-in closets, fireplaces, and entertainment centers.

The role of the architect in private home design usually occurred in homes priced at more than $200,000. For those at the top of the economic ladder, hiring a renowned architect or firm meant that the American Dream had been fulfilled. Architects not only fit a building to the land, but married the interior and exterior, making full use of the surrounding environment.

Books

Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics of the 1980s

In the 1980s, cultural critics, such as E. D. Hirsch and Secretary of Education William Bennett, argued that American literary culture had declined. However, a closer analysis reveals that books remained highly popular in the decade, as readers branched out into new genres and embraced best-selling authors in droves.

Commentators like Hirsch and Bennett simply did not approve of what people read, particularly writers they deemed "low brow," like Stephen King, Tom Clancy, and Danielle Steele, who sold millions of books in the decade. The appearance of serious literature by Alice Walker, William Kennedy, and Toni Morrison on *The New York Times* list of top selling books further diminished the argument of the cultural elites.

Nonfiction books also took on a very different cast during the decade. Instead of biographies of famous politicians and movie stars, people purchased the life stories of business executives, such as Donald Trump and Lee Iacocca, reading about their lives in an effort to discover insider formulas for getting rich. Along similar lines, investment primers and money management books also gained in popularity.

The publishing world replicated the rest of the decade with the ascendancy of the corporation. In earlier times, publishers may have taken a chance on quality writers who sold modest numbers of works early in their careers and then slowly built a dedicated readership over time. In the 1980s, as publishers became part of large, multinational corporations, the bottom line eliminated risk-taking. Publishers, despite critical acclaim or quality, frequently dropped authors who did not sell.

BEST SELLERS

The most successful writer of the 1980s in terms of sales and readership was Stephen King. During the decade, King hit the number one spot on the *New York Times Best Seller List* with five novels, four of these the top seller in its respective year. King's novels are long and involved, but his use of the everyday world and its confrontation with the unthinkable makes his books popular. By 1985, 50 million copies of his books were in print. Four years later, he added another 50 million copies to his total.

King's *Misery* (1988) is an example of his deft storytelling and his attention to novelistic form—two items that his critics constantly berated him for not employing. What sets *Misery* apart from King's other novels is his witty use of self-reflexivity to challenge his detractors. At the outset of the book, writer Paul Sheldon completes what he calls his "first serious novel"; he has made a fortune from writing romance novels featuring

NOTABLE BOOKS

The Bourne Identity, Robert Ludlum, 1980

Cosmos, Carl Sagan, 1980

A Confederacy of Dunces, John Kennedy Toole, 1980

Masquerade, Kit Williams, U.S., 1980

Jane Fonda's Workout Book, Jane Fonda, 1981

The Color Purple, Alice Walker, 1982

Hollywood Wives, Jackie Collins, 1983

Christine and *Pet Sematary,* Stephen King, 1983

Ironweed, William Kennedy, 1983

The Hunt for Red October, Tom Clancy, 1984

Lincoln, Gore Vidal, 1984

Lee Iacocca: An Autobiography, Lee Iacocca, 1984

Bright Lights, Big City, Jay McInerney, 1984

The Unbearable Lightness of Being, Milan Kundera, 1984

Lake Wobegon Days¸ Garrison Keillor, 1985

Lonesome Dove, Larry McMurtry, 1985

The Accidental Tourist, Anne Tyler, 1985

All I Needed to Know I Learned in Kindergarten, Robert Fulghum, 1986

I'll Take Manhattan, Judith Krantz, 1986

The Prince of Tides, Pat Conroy, 1986

Beloved, Toni Morrison, 1987

Presumed Innocent, Scott Turow, 1987

The Bonfire of the Vanities, Tom Wolfe, 1987

Battle Cry of Freedom, James M. McPherson, 1988

A Brief History of Time, Stephen Hawking, 1988

Love in the Time of Cholera, Gabriel Garcia Márquez, U.S., 1988

Clear and Present Danger, Tom Clancy, 1989

A Time to Kill, John Grisham, 1989

The Joy Luck Club, Amy Tan, 1989

The Seven Habits of Highly Effective People, Stephen R. Covey, 1989

The Satanic Verses, Salman Rushdie, 1989



Stephen King, whose popularity began to soar in the 1980s. Courtesy of Photofest.

his heroine, Misery Chastain, a noblewoman of eighteenth-century America.

In the book, Sheldon has grown weary of his romance franchise and killed off his heroine in his last release, *Misery's Child*. Sheldon then sets out to compose something that matters. Sheldon's thoughts certainly mirror those of many serious critics of King's fiction, who berated him for not turning his talent to something "important."

Sheldon then crashes his car on a remote Colorado mountainside, and his "Number 1 fan" Annie Wilkes rescues him. Annie is sad in her lonely struggle to maintain, yet crazed to obsession when things do not go her way. With the incapacitated Paul in her guestroom and the arrival of Paul's new volume, she is elated.

However, Annie's mania turns murderous when she realizes that Sheldon has killed off his

STEPHEN KING (1947–)

Stephen King was born in Portland, Maine, where he and his brother David were raised by their mother. King had an early interest in science fiction and fantasy, and as a child he read voraciously, taking inspiration from the science fiction pioneers of the 1940s and 1950s. King's own writing expanded on this influence, with stories that featured a variety of fantastic and often disturbing themes. King's first published work was a short story that appeared in a 1965 issue of *Comics Review* magazine, but it was not until 1974, after college and several years of failed manuscripts, that King published his first novel, *Carrie,* to critical acclaim. Over the next two decades, King published prolifically and his novels were so successful that many, including *Carrie,* were made into films. King eventually became known as the "Master of Horror," though he might more aptly be called a master of suspense, for it is his uncanny ability to build suspense that has captivated generations of readers. From 1965 to 2008, King published 50 bestselling novels and hundreds of stories, and his works have been translated into over 30 languages. King's stories appeal to the part of the human psyche that is attracted to the dark and mysterious, and his success testifies to the widespread appeal of the supernatural. Over the years, King published in other genres, and in 2000 King published an autobiographical book *On Writing,* in which he speaks about his unique approach to characters and plot.

heroine. In retaliation, Annie makes Paul destroy his draft of his new novel and begin a new *Misery* novel—one that resurrects its heroine. Once, when Annie leaves the house, the recovering Paul gets out of his bedroom prison to find that Annie was once tried for and acquitted of murdering a number of babies in a Colorado maternity ward, where she had been a nurse. When Annie discovers Paul's foray out of his room, she drugs him, ties him to the bed, and methodically hobbles him. Paul fights back from this new injury fueled by his own brand of revenge, fought in the novel's final pages. The novel was made into a movie (1990) that won a Best Actress Oscar for Kathy Bates.

Another popular novel of the early 1980s was *The Name of the Rose,* 1983, Umberto Eco's tale of a medieval Benedictine monk who uncovers a murder. Prior to writing this novel, Eco was a world-class intellectual, a semiotician embraced for his discussions of signs and symbols in linguistics. However, with its detective/monk seeking to solve the puzzling murder, the novel shot to the top of the charts after being translated from Italian by William Weaver.

Scott Turow, a lawyer with a bent for storytelling, began a successful literary career when he published *Presumed Innocent,* 1987, a crime drama he claimed he wrote on yellow legal pads on the Chicago subway system. The novel told the story of Rosate "Rusty" Savage, a successful Assistant District Attorney accused of murdering his mistress. Turow's adherence to the crime genre's structure made for a splendid reading experience, and the novel's complicated turn of events revealed a masterful control over the many characters and plots. However, the solution of the murder, once Rusty is acquitted, is a marvelous twist of the conventions of the crime novel—instead of the customary capture/confession/explanation, Turow forces Rusty to face a serious ethical dilemma of his own creation. For this reason, *Presumed Innocent* is recognized as a classic of modern crime fiction.

One of the biggest surprises of 1985 came when journalist Tom Wolfe turned to fiction. His first novel, *The Bonfire of the Vanities,* chronicled the worlds of Wall Street finance, Brooklyn politics, and Harlem's disadvantaged. The three-plot narrative captures the glamour of 1980s high society and the pitfalls of believing that once one rises to the top, one cannot tumble.

Wolfe's novel was truly one of the 1980s grandest reads. The novel opens with the first plot, contemplating the world of Sherman McCoy, a Wall Street broker who sees himself as a "Master of the Universe." McCoy's limited perspective from his $10 million Park Avenue apartment and his office suite downtown prevents him from objectivity.

He allows his spoiled wife and child to pamper themselves while he conducts an affair with Maria Ruskin, a trash-talking Southern belle married

to a corporate mogul who made his money offering discount trips to the Holy Land for Jewish families. After picking Maria up at the airport one night, Sherman makes a wrong turn toward the Bronx, where he mistakes two black youths for gang members. In escaping the scene, Maria, who is driving the car, hits Henry Lamb, one of the teens, and knocks him into a coma. McCoy finds himself embroiled in a scandal when Maria refuses to take responsibility.

The novel's second plot involves the District Attorney's office and the politicians who seek justice on Henry's behalf. Foremost is Larry Kramer, a 30-ish lawyer who longs for the spotlight and a lifestyle like Sherman's. On his tiny salary, Kramer is left to dream until his boss, Abe Weiss, hands him the Lamb case. Kramer seeks to use the Lamb case as his stepping stone to fame.

The third plot focuses on a reporter for a New York City tabloid paper, *The City Light*. Simon Fallow is a drunk, disorderly refugee from England, where his stories on the Royal Family won him fame and fortune. Now, nearly broke, he seeks the one story that will put him back on top, and he finds his opportunity with the Lamb case. Under his by-line, Henry Lamb goes from being a good, honest kid of the Bronx to a former honor student whose potential has been cut short by careless, upper-class white society.

The plots intertwine throughout the novel as they reveal the corruption based within the American society. One of the novel's most brilliant moments follows Sherman through a socialite party. Wolfe's keen eye and sharp pen assist the reader in understanding this outrageous world of excess as Sherman watches his wife interact within "the hive" of this social order.

Wolfe shows that Sherman comprehends the superficiality of the culture, but realizes that this is what he deserves, as he will not extract himself from it. A savage indictment of Reagan's America, *The Bonfire of the Vanities* is a powerful novel that exposes all three worlds in an effort to prove that very little separates the "haves" and the "have-nots." The subsequent 1990 film adaptation of the novel starring Tom Hanks, Bruce Willis, and Melanie Griffith, directed by Brian De Palma, was roundly denounced by critics as a poor representation of the book.



Author Tom Wolfe in a publicity photo for writing and narrating *Marshall McLuhan: The Man and His Message* (PBS special, 1984). Courtesy of Photofest.

E. L. Doctorow's *Billy Bathgate* (1989) uses the past to speak volumes about the present. The novel follows a 15-year-old boy as he matures under the tutelage of legendary mobster Dutch Schultz. The complexity of the novel is in its characterizations, as Billy navigates the grimy crime world and the glittering society worlds of the gangster and his many associates.

Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* (1988) was the most controversial novel of the decade. Radical Muslims decreed the book blasphemous due to its depiction of Muhammad. Many Muslim nations banned the book within months of its release. Iranian leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini called for Rushdie's assassination, going so far as to offer a $3 million bounty. The death threats forced Rushdie into hiding for most of the decade. Although no one carried out the assassination, reaction to the book caused a great deal of violence. Riots broke out in Turkey and India. Radicals firebombed a bookstore in Berkeley,

TOM WOLFE (1931–)

American novelist Tom Wolfe was one of the founders of a literary non-fiction movement of the 1960s and 1970s, sometimes called the "new journalism." The new journalism movement combined elements of journalism with elements more commonly associated with fiction, including evocative descriptions and character development. (See Books, Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics of the 1970s.) Wolfe was born and raised in Richmond, Virginia, attended some of the nation's leading schools, and worked as a journalist for ten years, lending his talents to the *New York Herald Tribune* and *New York* magazine. His first book, *The Kandy-Kolored Tangerine-Flake Streamline Baby,* a collection of stories about 1960s culture, was released in 1965 and hit the best seller list. Wolfe's later writings built upon his success and included a provocative exploration of LSD use and the surrounding culture. While many of his works focused on the counterculture, Wolfe also wrote books with a more general appeal. In 1977, Wolfe released *The Right Stuff,* which had been in the works for over six years and provided a fascinating inside look at the relationships and tensions of the space program of the 1960s. The book was enormously popular and, in 1983, was converted into a blockbuster film. Wolfe surprised audiences in the 1980s when he released his first novel *Bonfire of the Vanities,* which was produced in serial installments in the pages of *Rolling Stone* magazine. Wolfe's novel remained on best seller lists for more than a year and was recognized as one of the best American novels of the decade. Wolfe continued producing popular works throughout the nineties and into twenty-first century, and is widely recognized as a quintessential modern American writer. Whether dealing in fiction or fact, Wolfe helped a generation of readers and journalists realize a greater connection between life and art.

California. Rushdie's Japanese translator, Hitoshi Igarashi, was stabbed to death near Tokyo.

Rushdie's novel retells the biblical story of Gabriel (renamed Gibreel) as a satanic avenger. Chamcha, a hapless victim, encounters Gibreel as they both fall from grace, encountering an array of characters that mirror the political and historical world of the 1980s.



Muslim students display a drawing of author Salman Rushdie in a noose during a demonstration calling for his death, outside the former British Embassy in Tehran, Iran. AP Photo.

SERIOUS LITERATURE

Marilynne Robinson's debut novel, *Housekeeping* (1981), follows a girl named Ruth, a wide-eyed dreamer who has lost both her parents—her father in a car accident, and her mother to suicide. What is so unique about the novel is that it chronicles Ruth's slow unraveling as she is passed from relative to relative, seeking a new home where love will help her cope with her inner pain.

John Updike concluded his Rabbit trilogy in 1981 with *Rabbit Is Rich* (Knopf), a chronicle he began in 1960 with *Rabbit, Run,* and followed in 1971 with *Rabbit Redux.* The trilogy concludes with Rabbit still running the Toyota agency left to him by his father-in-law, and still married to wife Janice, now celebrating their 23rd wedding anniversary.

Schindler's List (1982) by Thomas Keneally is perhaps best known as an Oscar-winning film directed by Steven Spielberg in 1993. The novel, published by Simon & Schuster, chronicles the real-life struggle of Oskar Schindler, a Nazi industrialist who realizes he could save lives by foregoing profits. The novel captures the drama of the Nazi rise to power and their gradual redefinition of the Jewish people as they were first segregated, and then slowly, mechanically, decimated.

Once he realizes that the Nazis were murdering innocents, Schindler orchestrates a plan to purchase lives from one crooked commandant. Eventually, Schindler saves 1,300 Jews, helping them not only to escape, but to begin life anew.

Cathedral (1983), Raymond Carver's collected short stories, made the Seattle writer a household name, as his poignant stories of middle-class Americans found an audience among the masses. Carver's stories follow the paths of men and women who work hard, and who cannot communicate their desire for love. Marriages collapse, jobs are lost, and dreams are shattered as the outer world blithely crushes the hopes of each subject.

William Kennedy's *Ironweed* (1983) was the final novel in his Albany trilogy, an extended story of the Phelan family. After the success of the first two, *Legs* (1981) and *Billy Phelan's Greatest Game* (1982), *Ironweed* not only became a best seller, but also won the Pulitzer Prize for literature. The plot follows protagonist Francis Phelan during his return to Albany on Halloween night, 1937, to a town and a family he left after accidentally causing his youngest son's death. Francis encounters a number of spirits from his past—particularly men he killed to survive—but nothing prepares him for his return to the family he had abandoned 17 years before.

Toni Morrison, with her 1987 novel *Beloved,* became the first African American to win the Pulitzer Prize for literature. The novel recounts the struggles of a fugitive slave woman, Sethe, who commits infanticide against one of her four children rather than see her subjected to slavery. While everyone simply believes Sethe is crazy, she knows that she committed the atrocity out of love—she had planned to kill all of her children, rather than see them in bondage. The story focuses on Sethe's existence in 1873, when the spirit of the dead child rematerializes as a 17-year-old girl who has the mind of the infant. In addition to haunting Sethe, the spirit befriends Denver, the baby Sethe had in her arms as she killed the three-year-old Beloved.

Gradually, Denver begins to realize the "haunt" is seeking revenge for being the only child murdered. Sethe's guilt compromises her ability to understand this, and her sincere love for the child makes her feel complete, allowing her to succumb to Beloved's spell. As Denver starts work in the town that has ostracized her family, she learns that the black community holds Sethe at arm's length because of her actions. In an effort to save her mother, Denver convinces the community to come to her mother's rescue. Blending folklore with the complexities of the postmodern narrative, Morrison created a truly unique reading experience.

NEW WRITERS FOR A NEW GENERATION

Two young writers made names for themselves during the 1980s by writing hard-hitting, postmodern novels that bristle with irony and disdain directed toward the "Me Generation." Jay McInerney was born in Hartford, Connecticut and graduated from prestigious Williams College. Following writing fellowships at both Princeton and Syracuse, McInerney burst on to the literary scene with a short, scathing novel of life in Manhattan.

Bright Lights, Big City (1984) chronicles the fall of its main character, Jaime Conway, as he loses his family, his wife, and his career in a haze of cocaine. Written in the second person throughout, the novel's accusing tone places the reader in Jaime's position and assaults the sensibilities with a cynical morality.

At the outset, Jamie has already lost two of the most important people in his life—his mother, who had died of cancer the summer before, and Amanda, his young wife who has turned her virginal country look into a lucrative modeling career. Jamie's one friend, the socialite Tad Allagash, supplies Jamie with drugs and provides other hedonistic outlets. Jamie's goal of becoming a serious writer is impossible to empathize with as he gropes his way to his job each day—with a hangover—at

the Department of Factual Verification at a conservative magazine. Jamie's self-indulgence causes him to lose his job, and his frustrated efforts to speak to ex-wife Amanda, now in New York with her photographer boyfriend, only cause Jamie to embarrass himself again in an alcoholic, cocaine-laced stupor. McInerney's novel clearly sought to capture the club-based life of the self-indulgent youth of this generation. His stark, accusing tone gave the novel power in a vibrantly new fashion.

The second writer to make a sensation writing about the trappings of this privileged generation was Bret Easton Ellis, whose novel *Less Than Zero* (1985) took on the members of the "Me Generation" on the west coast. Born in Los Angeles and educated at Bennington College, Ellis appeared to parrot the cynicism of McInerney. However, Ellis employed a singularly different structure, breaking the narrative action repeatedly, mirroring a music video, to relate the tale of Clay, a young college student returning to his California roots during his first midterm break.

In returning home to see his friends Blair and Julian, Clay senses the need to connect with them, to hold on to the past that, in his mind, was innocent and honest. Over the course of his journey, however, Clay discovers his own bisexuality, and finds that during his four months away, Blair has turned to booze and dope and Julian snorts cocaine each morning to just get going and has turned to a life of male prostitution to supply his needs. In one chilling sequence, Clay accompanies Julian to a meeting and watches in stunned paralysis as Julian subjects himself to humiliation—all for the promise of a fix.

Ellis's narrative structure mirrors the cutting of MTV videos—short, staccato-like paragraphs that capture Clay's observations, but not his emotional core. This is because he, himself, is afraid of merging—an appropriate metaphor for this privileged group of selfish, materialistically spoiled youths. The novel ends with Clay's disillusioned return to college, hoping to find the soul that he so desperately believes he lost.

NONFICTION

Many nonfiction readers in the 1980s switched from histories and biographies to self-help books that focused on dieting and exercise and autobiographies of those people who could show others how to succeed in business by staying true to conservative roots.

The most successful self-help book proved to be *Jane Fonda's Workout Book,* which sold 693,000 copies in 1982 alone (see Sports and Leisure of the 1980s). However, looking good and feeling better about yourself was also behind the popularity of Judy Mazel's *Beverley Hills Diet* (1981's best seller) and Robert E. Kowalski's *The 8-Week Cholesterol Cure* (1988's best seller). Each of these books focused on diet and exercise as a way of staying fit and remaining young—two components very important in the age of beauty. Jim Fixx's popular *Book of Running,* 1980, went into multiple editions as a jogging craze swept the nation.

As for autobiographies, two of the best sellers told rags-to-riches stories with homespun humor, furthering the notion that one could learn from the mistakes and advice of another. Lee Iacocca's story, *Iacocca: An Autobiography* remained the bestselling volume of nonfiction for 1984 and 1985, selling a combined total of 2,565,000 volumes. What made Iacocca's story so appealing, however, was not simply the tale of his life, but his inspirational discussion of how he saved the Chrysler corporation and how he proposed to do the same for New York City, which was experiencing similar financial troubles.

The second writer who turned his life story into a profitable series of books was Bill Cosby, the creative genius behind *The Cosby Show* (see Entertainment of the 1980s). Cosby's advice books *Fatherhood* (1986) and *Time Flies* (1987) sold a total of 3,861,000 copies over the same two-year period that *The Cosby Show* was number one in the Nielsen ratings. Cosby's humorous tales of rearing children and his anecdotes about growing old reached across racial boundaries to speak to average Americans.

Investment and management books were also popular during the decade, particularly those that explained how the average person could make a financial windfall from the growing stock market. Books like Douglas R. Casey's *Crisis Investing* (1980) and Thomas J. Peters and Robert H. Waterman's *In Search of Excellence* (1983) made stock trading and commodities brokering look manageable and profitable.

The most stirring nonfiction book to come out of the 1980s has to be Randy Shilts's examination of the AIDS crisis, *And The Band Played On: Politics, People and the AIDS Epidemic* (1987). Shilts, a columnist for the *San Francisco Chronicle,* had been writing about the crisis in his native city for seven years when he began uncovering what he saw as the glaring irresponsibility of the federal government to halt the epidemic. While navigating these political waters, Shilts also reportedly found that the American research facilities, headed by Dr. Robert Gallo, and those of the French Pasteur Clinic were constantly battling over the rightful discoverer of the HIV virus. The first part of the volume follows Shilts as he blends an investigative tone with an attention to human detail to make heroes out of Doctors Marcus Conant, Don Francis, and Mary Guinan of the Center for Disease Control (CDC); Selma Dritz of the San Francisco Board of Health; and gay activists Bobbi Campbell, Gary Walsh, Bill Kraus, Larry Kramer, and Cleve Jones.

Perhaps most interesting, Shilts includes in this section a hypothesis he credits to Mary Guinan concerning Gaetan Dugas—the infamous "Patient Zero." Dugas, according to Shilts, was a flight attendant with a healthy sexual appetite. Shilts argues that Dugas was particularly key to spreading the virus between New York City and San Francisco. By the time he died in 1986, Dugas estimated that he had been with 1,100 to 20,000 men during his active sexual life, and when the figures were compiled on a cluster diagram at the CDC, it was found that "[a]t least 40 of the first 248 gay men diagnosed with GRID in the United States, as of April 12, 1982, either had had sex with Gaetan Dugas or had had sex with someone who had."[1]

The second part of the book follows a trail of blame, painting the Reagan administration, Ed Koch's mayoral office in New York, and the San Francisco Board of Health as villainous cretins. Included in this section is a detailed examination of the on-going rivalry between Dr. Robert Gallo, the director of the U.S. National Institutes of Health, and the Pasteur Clinic. The squabbling was over the right to name the virus discovered to be causing AIDS, now known as HIV. Shilts chronicles

WORDS AND PHRASES

air guitar
as if
carbo-loading
channel surf
chill pill
comb-over
cred
cyberspace
dweeb
e-mail
freakazoid
gag me with a spoon
gangsta
geekfest
geeky
gobsmacked
grody to the max
hip-hop
ka-ching (noun and interjection)
McJob
metal-head
mommy track
my bad
party animal
power walking
problemo
rightsize (for layoffs)
road rage
shopaholic
snowboarder
trash talk
uni-brow
valley girl
wannabe
wilding (packs of teens making violent attacks)
Yuppie (young urban professionals)

these petty political and academic arguments as he relates the human drama that was overlooked as the bureaucrats fought—the tainted blood supply that put surgery patients and hemophiliacs at risk. By the end of Shilts's volume, one senses that the catastrophe that still plagues the world 20 years later might have been avoided if politicians had tried to save lives, and if the doctors on the battle front had been listened to by those in the conference rooms holding the purse strings.

MAGAZINES

The combination of print and photographic innovation and abundant advertising dollars expanded the magazine industry in the 1980s. In addition, the growing popularity of personal computers led to the launch of niche magazines that focused on the new computer user. The industry confronted an interesting dichotomy—on one hand, more specialty magazines appeared, while at the same time general interest books faced stiff competition and increasingly distracted consumers who spent more time watching television than reading.

TV Guide, launched in 1953, turned into a big business as Americans spent more time in front of the tube. In 1988, media mogul Rupert Murdoch purchased Triangle Publications for $3 billion, specifically to acquire the magazine. Bringing *TV Guide* into the News Corporation family guaranteed that Murdoch's Fox television network would be listed. As Fox grew, network officials used *TV Guide* to feature its programming.

One magazine launched in the 1980s in response to the nation's changing culture was *Shape,* directed at female athletes and fitness enthusiasts. Each month *Shape* offered readers workout, diet, and beauty tips. The power of young women as consumers led to a resurgence in magazines targeting them, including *Sassy, Seventeen, 'Teen,* and *YM*. Sassy, in particular, aimed at mature young people, not only offering updated fashion styles and tips, but also more openly confronting controversial issues such as teen sexuality.

NEW MAGAZINES

Shape, 1981
PC World, 1982
PC Magazine, 1982
Vanity Fair, 1983
MacWorld, 1984
Elle, 1985
Spin, 1985
Spy, 1986
Cooking Light, 1987
Men's Health, 1987
Parenting, 1987
First for Woman, 1989
Sports Illustrated KIDS, 1989

NEWSPAPERS

What people read in the decade changed, as well as the way they acquired information. One invention that catered to the rapid pace of American life was the founding of *USA Today* in 1982 by Allen H. Neuharth in McLean, VA. Hoping to cash in on America's need for quick information, Neuharth created a 64-page paper that could be easily perused during an average commute to work. The first edition was published on September 15, 1982 and quickly surfaced as a major news source, boasting a circulation of 2,280,760 by the end of its first 12 months.

Although newspaper readership dropped in the 1980s, more women became print journalists and television newscasters. In 1982, 66 percent of journalists were male, down from 80 percent in 1971. The competition from TV also led to greater technological innovation, such as improvements in photo quality, including color, and concentration on local news and events. The most important innovation took place as newsrooms adopted computers to compose and edit stories, as well as to lay out and print copy.

Additional economic factors forced the newspaper industry to cut costs. Many advertisers turned to television rather than traditional print sources. The late 1980s witnessed an overall slowing in ad spending across the board, which led to

lower ad revenues for newspapers. Classified ad spending dropped sharply as a result. While daily circulation dropped, many weekly papers actually increased subscribers as consumers looked for hyper-local (community-level) news.

In the 1980s, most newspapers sold for 25 cents or 35 cents. Daily newspaper readership dropped in the decade, from 66.9 percent in 1980 to 63.6 percent in 1989. Sunday paper readership remained basically unchanged.

COMICS

The success of the 1970s continued into the 1980s as comic book publishers remained an influential part of popular culture. Although the average cost of an individual title jumped from 40 cents to 60 cents in the decade, monthly sales totals continued to rise, with Marvel titles dominating the top 20 lists. *X-Men* and *Spider-Man* often topped the annual best seller lists.

More and more young artists and writers flocked to the industry in the 1980s, including Frank Miller, Walt Simonson, and Bill Sienkiewicz. Many top titles focused on violence and aggressive, vigilante justice, reflecting the gritty reality of urban life in the 1980s. Marvel's character Punisher was a one-man death squad, and DC introduced Vigilante in 1983.

The art of selling comic books also changed in the 1980s. Traditionally, comic books were sold at newsstands. During the 1980s, however, comic shops replaced newsstands as venues for selling comics. Casual fans and extreme aficionados, dubbed "fanboys," flocked to shops packed with comic books and related merchandise. One series, the Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles, appealed to young children, which led to a hit animated television show, toy sales, and hundreds of merchandising byproducts. The creative duo behind the Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles, Kevin Eastman and Peter Laird, became multimillionaires.

In 1989, big-budget feature film *Batman* starred Michael Keaton as a brooding, psychologically-scarred caped crusader battling the maniacal Joker, played by Jack Nicholson. The film touched off "Batmania" and fueled more than $750 million in merchandise. Globally, Batman grossed $411 million at the box office and another $150 million in home video revenue. The success of *Batman* led the movie studios to release a series of comic books based in the 1990s.

Entertainment

of the 1980s

The performing arts underwent a series of challenges in the 1980s as television, films, and theater all responded to the more conservative political climate infiltrating the middle class. Television comedies played off of these distinctions, showcasing both black and white families wrestling with their differences in ideology. Television dramas made the most of the conspicuous consumption of the era, launching nighttime serials that basked in the glossiness of new wealth. Even police shows tapped into this ethic, with some cops parading about in the latest fashions.

Films, always a reflection of their times, appeared to take an opposite turn as most of the successful features of the decade were escapist in nature—big budget comedies, sequels, and science-fiction action pictures dominated the filmic landscape, leaving only the melodrama, which continued to reflect the changing mores of America, caught between the idealistic liberal politics of the previous generation and the conservative ideology of the middle class.

The theater world, devastated by the AIDS crisis, took on a more volatile tone in every manner. While gay playwrights confronted the disease in a number of brave political plays, female playwrights continued to make the strides they had during the 1970s by staging poignant plays that detailed their own dramas.

TELEVISION

Situation Comedies (Sitcoms)

Cheers aired on NBC from 1982 to 1993 on Thursday evenings. Even though the show received critical acclaim and landed in the Nielsen "Top 10" for 7 of its 11 seasons, *Cheers* had a rocky start, facing cancellation in its first season. By 1985, however, the show often rated first in the weekly Nielsen's. Its final episode, which aired May 20, 1993, received the second highest rating in television history for a situation comedy. *Cheers* received a record 111 Emmy nominations, and gathered 26 Emmy Awards during its 274-episode run.

Produced by Glen Charles, Les Charles, and James Burrows, *Cheers* began the practice of employing the episodic "cliffhanger" at the end of the season, similar to that employed by serial dramas. These serial elements also added a note of drama to the sitcom, causing the audience to follow the weekly exploits of the central characters. Set in Boston, Massachusetts, at "Cheers," a neighborhood bar "where everybody knows your name," the show featured bar owner, Sam Malone (Ted Danson), a former Red Sox pitcher who turned to bartending after he was forced to retire due to his problems with alcohol.

The popular regulars at the bar included customers Cliff Claven (John Ratzenberger), a

middle-aged, trivia-playing, mailman who still lived with his mother; Frasier Crane (Kelsey Grammer), Diane's priggish, one-time fiancé; and Norm Peterson (George Wendt), a tax accountant married to Vera. The central plot of the show was Sam and Diane's on-again/off-again relationship. The on-going romantic tension that ran through the first four seasons allowed the characters to develop gradually, and permitted plot lines for the other characters involving their personal lives. Frasier Crane had a successful spinoff, *Frasier,* NBC, 1993–2004, which followed Crane's life in Seattle.

The Cosby Show was one of the biggest surprise hits of the 1980s, dominating the Thursday night line-up on NBC from 1984 to 1992. Inspired by a monologue performed by comedian Bill Cosby on the *Tonight Show,* the show was produced by Marcy Carsey and Tom Werner. The series placed in the Top 3 of the Nielsen's during its first season; for the next four, it was the number one program watched in America. In its remaining years, *The Cosby Show* never fell from the Top 10.

The show revolved around the daily lives of the Huxtable family: Cliff (Bill Cosby), a successful obstetrician, Claire (Phylicia Rashad), a partner in a New York law firm, and the couple's five children. These traits created something seldom seen on television—a solidly middle-class, African American family. The show was innovative in its refusal to use one-liner jokes; instead it found humor in the reality of daily life. *The Cosby Show* stressed racial pride through a variety of techniques, including a strong nuclear family with a successful, active father figure; caring, professional parents still very much in love with one another; an emphasis on education; a secondary cast that represented a connection to a multigenerational family; and multiracial friends and colleagues. The show was a classy alternative to the stereotypical depictions of African Americans on shows like *Sanford and Son,* 1972–1977, *Good Times,* 1974–1979, and *The Jeffersons,* 1975–1985.

Family Ties (NBC, 1982–1989) revolved around Elyse (Meredith Baxter-Birney), an architect, and Steven Keaton (Michael Gross), a station manager for a local PBS station in Ohio. The couple met while serving in the Peace Corps after their activist days protesting the Vietnam War. They were the parents of three children: Alex P. Keaton (Michael J. Fox), Mallory (Justine Bateman), and Jennifer (Tina Yothers). The conflict between Alex's conservative notions and his parents' more liberal ideas took shape once the show began to solidify an audience during its first season. Fox became the breakout star, and his antics, particularly when they conflicted with his credo, became the real focus of the show.

TOP TV SHOWS

Cheers
The Cosby Show
Dallas
Dukes of Hazzard
Dynasty
Family Ties
The Jeffersons
Knight Rider
MacGyver
*M*A*S*H*
Miami Vice
Murder, She Wrote
Roseanne
60 Minutes

Police Dramas

Cagney and Lacey (CBS, 1982–1988) blended the typical police drama with the melodramatic elements of the woman's serial to create a unique series that attained a cult following. The show never surfaced in the Nielsen "Top 25," although its stars won the Emmy Award for Best Actress each year of its run. The series began as a made-for-television movie, starring Loretta Swit and Tyne Daley as the female police detectives, when creators Barbara Corday and Barbara Avedon could not sell the idea as a feature film. Once CBS picked up the show, Swit could not commit. Instead, Meg Foster was cast in the role as Christine Cagney. Foster had played a lesbian in an earlier television role and CBS threatened to cancel the series unless Foster was replaced. She was

replaced by Sharon Gless, a more conventionally feminine blonde.

Blending police action with a women's drama caused further problems with the network executives. Once Daly began to put on weight and severely cut her hair, questions of her appearance became paramount in both board meetings and in the tabloids. Story lines that involved rape, incest, abortion, breast cancer, alcoholism, and middle-aged sexual relations caused the network to threaten cancellation on more than one occasion. Once the series performed well at the 1983 Emmy Awards, however, CBS backed off, and renewed the series.

Another item that singled out *Cagney and Lacey* from standard dramas of the time was the structure of each episode. Each episode entwined three narrative strategies. The first thread involved the trials of women navigating the male-dominated work force. The second thread focused the action on a particular crime or investigation that could be resolved by the end of the hour. The third thread related this crime to a significant social problem that confronted the women in a more resounding fashion than it could if they were men.

Hill Street Blues (NBC, 1981–1987), created by Steven Bochco, blended the procedural elements of a police drama with more conventional cumulative series elements. The show was a critic's darling and had a small but extremely loyal fan-base. The series won six Emmy Awards in its first season and won the award for Outstanding Drama Series for the next four years.

The basic formula set the action in the Hill Street police station, an orderly home base in the midst of a criminally chaotic Los Angeles. Each episode opened with the morning roll call by desk sergeant Phil Esterhaus (Michael Conrad) and closed on a familiar note: "Let's be careful out there." After dismissal, the partnered police would filter out into the city. The regular teams included Hill and Renko (Michael Warren and Charles Haid), LaRue and Washington (Keil Martin and Taurean Blacque), and Coffee and Bates (Ed Marinaro and Betty Thomas).

The show also focused on the captain of the Hill Street unit, Frank Furillo (Daniel J. Travanti), who battled bureaucrats and criminals alike to secure a moral center in the city. One of the bureaucrats Furillo battled was Public Defender Joyce Davenport (Veronica Hammell), a tough, contentious attorney who carried on a secret, intimate relationship with Frank. The writers maintained the secrecy of the affair from the other characters for three seasons, until Furillo asked Davenport to marry him. Of course, the professional antagonism never left the couple, so the intersection of the personal and professional became a staple of the series. *Magnum, P. I.* (CBS, 1980–1988) proved another successful departure from the standard police show with its colorful Hawaiian locale and its tough, yet loveable hero. The show appeared in the Nielsen Top 20 each year it was on the air, and won Tom Selleck, its star, an Emmy for Outstanding Lead Actor in a Dramatic Series in 1984.

Set in Honolulu, the series featured Thomas Magnum (Selleck) as a former Navy Intelligence officer serving as a private investigator. *Magnum, P. I.* began as a standard cop drama and evolved into a more sophisticated character study of the central character and his colleagues, all veterans of the Vietnam conflict. When not investigating, Magnum served as the security officer on the estate of Robin Masters, an author never seen on-screen. Masters's estate overseer, Jonathan Higgins III (John Hillman), cynically commented on what he saw as Magnum's carefree existence.

The show's use of Vietnam helped to position it as a different series. Many episodes revolved around the idea that a gesture or an incident would trigger a memory flash that grew from war experiences. The creators gradually introduced this sub-plot. They focused initially on Magnum's adjustment to the culture of the 1980s, and, after attracting a sizable audience, began to blend war elements into the storylines to explain Magnum's behavior. The strategy worked, and the show paved the way for other series to begin to seriously dissect the effects of the conflict.

Murder, She Wrote (1984–1996), was an innovative detective series that broke new ground by employing as the protagonist a 60-plus woman. Angela Lansbury, who created and produced the show with her son, Peter S. Fisher, found an untapped audience with a made-for-television movie about a mystery writer who finds herself an amateur sleuth along the coast of Maine. When the

movie proved popular on CBS in 1984, the network asked for a weekly series.

The premise was simple. Jessica Fletcher (Lansbury), a retired, widowed high school English teacher, writes mystery novels under the name J. B. Fletcher. As her books begin to sell, she becomes a celebrity in Cabot Cove, Maine, where she bikes around town and gossips with her longtime friends Sheriff Amos Tupper (Tom Bosley), Dr. Seth Hazlitt (William Windom), and Mayor Sam Booth (Richard Paul). Each show began with a crime. All the clues to who committed said crime were presented within the first 20 minutes of the show. Viewers could play along with Jessica as she solved the puzzle.

As the series became more successful, Jessica's popularity in the fictional world grew as well, and the author found herself solving crimes in New York City, London, and San Francisco. Lansbury became a major celebrity. She became a spokesperson for elderly rights and also took on the Hollywood moguls by speaking out against the notion that television was a young persons' medium, populating the series with older movie stars. The show maintained high ratings throughout the 1980s, winning its Sunday-night time slot for 10 straight years.

Serial Dramas

Dallas was the first "prime time soap." Originally airing as a five-episode arc in 1978 on CBS, the show focused on Bobby Ewing (Patrick Duffy) and Pamela Barnes (Victoria Principle), the children of rivals "Jock" Ewing (Jim Davis) and "Digger" Barnes (David Wayne). When the series debuted that fall, the focus shifted to the Ewing clan's conspicuous existence at Southfork, the family's Texas homestead, and the elder brother J. R. Ewing's (Larry Hagman) shenanigans. For



Dallas, shown on CBS from 1978 to 1991. Shown from left: (back) Patrick Duffy, Victoria Principal, Jim Davis, Larry Hagman, Linda Gray, Steve Kanaly; (front) Barbara Bel Geddes, Charlene Tilton. Courtesy of Photofest.

the next 12 years, Dallas dominated CBS's Friday night line-up, consistently placing in the Nielsen Top 10.

J. R.'s popularity as a villainous cad created a new kind of villain—one that was fun to watch, no matter how despicable he was. He was openly abusive to his wife, Sue Ellen (Linda Gray), a former Miss Texas, now a drunk; he openly detested brother Bobby's ethics, and his own nemesis, "Digger's" son Cliff Barnes (Ken Kercheval) proved a weak, incompetent boob; audiences tuned in just to see what fresh hell J. R. could create.

The big budgets invested in high fashions, rich sets for homes and offices, and glossy exteriors shots added to the glamour of the series, making a keen ideological statement as the show began to reflect the real world of corporate monopolies and the dreams of young men and women seeking careers in big business.

The second full season ended with a cliffhanger: J. R. shot in his office, lying unconscious in a pool of blood. The mystery as to "Who Shot J. R.?" created a frenzy as the suspects remained too numerous to offer easy answers. Seventy-six percent of all television sets in America tuned in for the season premiere to find out the answer (the culprit was Kristin Shepard [Mary Crosby], one of J. R.'s many girlfriends). The success of this episode made the cliffhanger a staple of the series, and each season ended with a series of unanswered questions. *Dallas* set the standard for the serial melodramas, such as *Knots Landing* (a *Dallas* spinoff) and *Falcon Crest.*

Dynasty (ABC, 1981–1989) was the other significant prime-time serial of the 1980s. Beginning as a three-hour made-for-television movie, the creators turned it into a series almost immediately, capturing an audience similar to that of *Dallas* and often surpassing *Dallas*' numbers in the early years.

In many ways, *Dynasty's* central plot of followed that of *Dallas,* revolving around the family of Blake Carrington (John Forsythe), a wealthy Denver oil magnate; his second wife, Krystle (Linda Evans), a former model; and Blake's children. Blake's ex-wife Alexis Carrington Colby Dexter (Joan Collins) surfaced to take on the role of villain, aided by her sexy husband, "Dex"

HOW OTHERS SEE US

Big Money, Big Hair: "Dallas"

"Dallas," the massively popular prime-time soap opera that focused on a wealthy Texas oil family, became famous for its elaborate, back-stabbing plots, cliffhanger endings, and an entire season that turned out to be a dream. The show ran from 1978 until 1991 and continued in syndication internationally. Translated and dubbed into 67 languages and shown in more than 90 countries, the show achieved unprecedented levels of international success. The show's characters, including oil magnate JR Ewing in his giant cowboy hat, the elegant ladies that surrounded him, and their luxury cars and giant estates typified the nouveau riche oil culture of Texas, at least in the minds of viewers around the world.

References to the show appeared in international pop culture throughout the 1980s. Swedish disco icons ABBA sang about "Dallas" in their song "The Day Before You Came," and Irish and British television comedies of the period, such as "Father Ted" and "The Young Ones," joked about its pervasive popularity.

In many countries, the immense reach of "Dallas" raised serious concerns about the undue influence of American popular culture on local culture. At a time when leaders such as France's Francois Mitterand sought measures to ensure the integrity of French culture and language, "Dallas" came to symbolize the encroachment of American culture and its fetishization of opulence, greed, and consumerism. (Ironically, President Mitterand was reported to be a huge fan of the show himself, allegedly knowing all its characters and story lines.) Meanwhile, the DAAD German Research Foundation, seeking a scientific basis for its thesis that American imports such as "Dallas" were having a corroding effect on German culture, undertook a series of ultimately inconclusive studies on the question.

Dexter (Michael Nader), who soon turned to support Blake because of Alexis's antics, which often forced her three children to take sides against their father.

With Collins came a higher weekly budget; the show spent $1.2 million per episode (with an estimated $10,000 per episode spent on clothing alone), and the plotlines took on a campier, exaggerated quality. *Dynasty* offered style over substance: one season, 1984–1985, ended with Blake's daughter being abducted by aliens. *Dynasty* is noteworthy for a few unique contributions to 1980s television. The series included one of the first gay male characters in Steven Carrington; although he was briefly married and fathered a son, he enjoyed a long-term relationship with Luke Fuller (William Campbell). In another first, Diahann Carroll joined the cast as Dominique Devereaux, a chanteuse once involved with Blake. She became the first African American to appear as a series regular on a major serial drama. In another play for ratings, Rock Hudson took on the role of Daniel Reese for two seasons to woo Krystle from Blake. The role proved to be Hudson's last, and tabloids quickly splashed their covers with stills from his open-mouthed kissing scenes with Evans once his AIDS diagnosis became public in 1985.

Other serial dramas focused on middle-class worlds in a more realistic manner. These shows included *St. Elsewhere* (1982–1988), which detailed the day-to-day lives of doctors and nurses at Boston's St. Eligius Hospital; *Knots Landing* (1981–1991), which chronicled the interconnected lives of three families living in a southern California cul-de-sac; and *thirtysomething*, (1987–1991), which followed the domestic and professional struggles of young urban professionals outside of Philadelphia.

FILM

The New Musical

Musicals evolved into a new form in the 1970s, first with films like *Saturday Night Fever* (1977) and *Grease* (1978). The plots concerned young teens combating societal odds for acceptance, and music—whether performed by the protagonist or played as part of a soundtrack—proved popular. The soundtracks for these films, often produced by the film production company, helped to make this new brand of musical film popular among the youth market, playing into teenagers' needs for both acceptance and financial independence. For example, *Flashdance* (1983), earned $94 million—and the soundtrack not only went platinum, but its theme, "What A Feeling" sung by Irene Cara, won the Oscar for "Best Song" in 1984.

The plot follows Alex (Jennifer Beals), who works as a welder for a Pittsburgh construction company by day, and has aspirations of being a ballet dancer. At night she works as a cocktail waitress and exotic dancer. Eventually, Alex auditions for a big city company, and, is not only cast, but allowed to star. Artistic success and money are hers in return for her hard work and effort—a 1980s fairy tale.

In *Footloose* (1984), Ren (Kevin Bacon) moves into a mythical Midwestern farming community where the local minister (John Lithgow) has banned dancing and rock n' roll music. The minister's daughter, Ariel (Lori Singer) joins with Ren to stage a prom where all the students can express themselves through dance. The soundtrack had eight Top 10 singles, while the film itself reached $80 million at the box office.

Another blockbuster appealed to audiences seeking a link back to the early days of rock n' roll. *Dirty Dancing* (1987), combined teenaged romance with a rebel against authority genres to create a dance-infused vehicle that struck box-office gold, grossing $60 million. Francis "Baby" Houseman (Jennifer Grey) and her family vacation at resort in the Catskills. Baby (her father's nickname for her) hears boisterous tunes coming from the staff quarters and discovers a band of would-be dancers heating their cabins with a new form of dance, termed dirty dancing—a blend of salsa, rumba, and tango. She falls for the head dance instructor, Johnny Castle (Patrick Swayze).

Baby's father (Jerry Orbach) does not approve of Johnny or of the dance, so Johnny and Baby practice their own moves in the woods. After a series of misunderstandings, the couple gets to perform their routine to enthusiastic raves. The soundtrack and the MTV-inspired editing made the film a real hit with female audience members.

The soundtrack, blending new and older tunes, went platinum in a matter of weeks, and spawned four number one hits.

The Return of the Sequel

The 1980s, full of nostalgia for the previous decades, was ripe for sequels. A variety of sequel series—from science fiction to horror to comedy—proved to be popular with audiences.

Science Fiction/Fantasy

The most successful series of the 1980s was the *Star Wars* trilogy, launched in 1978 by director George Lucas. At the time of its release, *Star Wars* was the most successful film of all time, bringing in a total box office of $100 million. The second in the series, *The Empire Strikes Back* (1981), once more followed Luke Skywalker (Mark Hamill) and his efforts to secure his planet from the dark forces of the Empire, led by Darth Vader (David Prowse, voiced by James Earl Jones). Continuing to assist him from the first feature was Princess Leia (Carrie Fisher), the rightful ruler of the land, and Han Solo (Harrison Ford) a charismatic smuggler. Of added assistance were the nonhuman characters, made loveable by their human emotions: R2D2 (Kenny Baker), C3PO (Anthony Daniels), and Chewbacca (Peter Mayhew). Joining the forces for good against the Empire were Lando Calrissian (Billy Dee Williams), an old partner of Solo's, and Yoda (Frank Oz), a tiny green swamp creature who trains Luke in the ways of the Jedi knights. The success of the franchise was unparalleled, with merchandising money coming from the sale of *Star Wars* action figures, clothing, and commercial tie-ins (with Burger King).

Another popular sequel franchise was *The Terminator* films, produced and directed by James Cameron and starring Arnold Schwarzenegger as the android from the future. *The Terminator* (1984) is a cyborg sent from the future to kill Sarah Connor (Linda Hamilton), an innocent woman who is to mother John Connor, who will, in the future, lead a successful revolution to wipe out the cyborg species. The seemingly unstoppable cyborg, played by Schwarzenegger, wrecks everything in his path in his attempt to kill Sarah. Ironically, The Terminator ultimately kills the man helping Sarah flee, Kyle Reese (Michael Biehn), but only after he fathers John. Reese's efforts help halt the insurrection and render the Terminator useless by the film's end. *The Terminator* was followed in 1991 by a sequel, *Terminator 2: Judgment Day,* which proved even more successful at the box office, aided in part by even more spectacular special effects.

Director Robert Zemeckis tapped into the popularity of television's *Family Ties* in casting Michael J. Fox as the earnest protagonist of the *Back to the Future* series, a series that blended a Frank Capra-like vision of America with the sci-fi genre to create a magically comic franchise. The first film, *Back to the Future* (1985), opens in the present as Marty McFly (Fox) navigates the terrain of teenaged hell. Marty is the eldest son of George (Crispin Glover) and Lorraine McFly (Lea Thompson)—George is a corny nerd, and Lorraine is a closet alcoholic. Biff Tannen (Thomas F. Wilson), the prototypical bully, and Marty fall for the same girl, Jennifer (Elizabeth Shue).

Paradoxes and predicaments ensue as Marty comes into his own town 30 years in the past, where he helps his father take on the family bully and fends off his mother's advances. Marty helps his father become a confident man and brings his parents together before returning to his present. The film was followed by two sequels, *Back to the Future II* (1989) and *Back to the Future III* (1990). In *Back to the Future II,* Marty travels to the future to find himself married with a family (his wife played by Lea Thompson) in an age similar to *The Jetsons. Back to the Future III* follows Marty and Doc Brown together to the past, some 100 years before, as they save their township from villainous cowboys. Combined, the franchise made more than $400 million, solidifying Fox's star power and making Amblin Entertainment, Steven Spielberg's production company, one of the real powers of 1980s movie-making.

Undoubtedly, the biggest science fiction/fantasy film of the decade was *E.T.: The Extra-Terrestrial* (1982), Steven Spielberg's film of a lost space being and his efforts to return to his home with the assistance of Elliot (Henry Thomas), a typical American 11-year-old. Even though he loves Elliot,

E.T. still desires to return home—particularly after government agents discover him. The film's total of $800 million in world-wide receipts still makes it one of the most popular films in history. The fact that Spielberg's film rests on the shoulders of his harmless little creation is a true testament to his filmmaking.

Horror

In the late 1970s, writer and director John Carpenter created the disturbing *Halloween* franchise starring Michael Myers, who not only pursued his sister (Jamie Lee Curtis) through eight films (1978–2002), but killed every teenager who got in his way.

An imaginative take on the horror villain as protagonist genre, *The Nightmare on Elm Street* series (1984–1994) followed the exploits of Freddy Krueger (Robert Englund) as he visited teens in their dreams and murdered them while they slept. In the first film, Freddy's main goal is to murder Nancy Thompson (Heather Langenkamp) simply because she is the daughter of the local police chief (John Saxon) who stood by and watched as kids taunted and killed Freddy some years before. While Nancy emerges as the heroine and victim of the film, having to use her wits not only to fight off Freddy but the many adults who do not believe her, Freddy, with his own wit and evil laugh, makes audiences root for him to succeed.

Comedy Franchises

The two most successful comedy sequels of the 1980s began with the casting of *Saturday Night Live* alumni in the central roles. *Beverly Hills Cop* (1984) cast Eddie Murphy as the wisecracking Axel Foley, a Detroit police detective who travels to California to avenge the murder of a friend. Instead of a smart social satire that had the denizens of white Rodeo Drive contending with this black ubercop, the action film went for broader laughs, and director Martin Brest and producer Jerry Bruckheimer succeeded in creating a movie that was critically panned, but financially rewarding. In its opening weekend, *Beverly Hills Cop* brought in $14.4 million and the number one album in the country, from which came five number one singles.

The sequel, *Beverly Hills Cop II* (1987), directed by Tony Scott, reunited Axel with the Beverly Hills cops from the first feature. This time, Axel travels to Beverly Hills to avenge the shooting of a friend by Brigitte Nielsen. The caper brought in over $153,000,000.

Ghostbusters (1984) featured a screenplay by *Saturday Night Live*'s Dan Aykroyd and *Second City* alum Harold Ramis and was directed by special effects wizard Ivan Reitman. The film blended horror with quick-witted dialogue to produce an entertaining story. Using New York City as its background, Drs. Peter Venkman (*Saturday Night Live*'s Bill Murray), Ray Stanz (Aykroyd), and Egon Spengler (Ramis) open a "Ghostbusters" business to combat the many goblins and ghosts in Manhattan's major buildings. When Dana Barrett (Sigourney Weaver) begins to see signs of spirits in her apartment, she calls the team, who discovers that her apartment building is the gateway to the underworld. Armed with their nuclear powered artillery, the team fights the many demons, including the Stay-Puft Marshmallow Man, who takes on Manhattan like King Kong. The film grossed $238 million in its initial release.

The plot of the sequel *Ghostbusters II* is similar, though the special effects do not blend with the comic antics of the team as readily. The film grossed $112 million in its initial release.

Action/Adventure

Another popular serial from Producer George Lucas was the *Indiana Jones* trilogy. This series of three pictures, harkening back to the serial dramas of the 1930s, was directed by Steven Spielberg and starred Harrison Ford as Indiana Jones (Indy), a professorial archeologist who fought a variety of criminals out to secure the world's art treasures for their own selfish reasons.

In the first film, *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981), Indy travels around the globe to secure the lost Ark of the Covenant, now in the possession of a rival of Jones's who works for Hitler's Nazis. A former girlfriend, Marion Ravenwood (Karen Allen) joins Indy. In the deserts of Egypt, the mysteries of the Ark are uncovered to horrific result.

The action never lets up, and Indy and Marion find themselves assaulted by tarantulas, runaway boulders, poisoned spears—and a bevy of snakes in a sequence marked as one of the best in the action genre. Rescuing themselves from these fates, Indy and Marion chase the Nazis in one sequence that involves one truck, a horse, and a motorcycle, and ends with a nail-biting sequence where Jones crawls along the axel of a speeding army vehicle.

The second film, *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom* (1984), is more noteworthy for its gratuitous gore than for the comically adventurous chase sequences that characterize the first film. The dark sequences came under much discussion by conservative parents' groups, who argued that such violence was not entertainment.

TOP ACTORS

Warren Beatty, 1937–
Glenn Close, 1947–
Tom Cruise, 1962–
Robert De Niro, 1943–
Michael Douglas, 1944–
Clint Eastwood, 1930–
Sally Field, 1946–
Harrison Ford, 1942–
Jodie Foster, 1962–
Michael J. Fox, 1961–
Tom Hanks, 1956–
Dustin Hoffman, 1937–
Eddie Murphy, 1961–
Bill Murray, 1950–
Jack Nicholson, 1937–
Burt Reynolds, 1936–
Arnold Schwarzenegger, 1947–
Sissy Spacek, 1949–
Sylvester Stallone, 1946–
Meryl Streep, 1949–
Kathleen Turner, 1954–
Robin Willliams, 1951–

TOP MOVIES

The Empire Strikes Back, 1980*
Raging Bull, 1980
The Shining, 1980
The Cannonball Run, 1981
Raiders of the Lost Ark, 1981*
E.T.: The Extra-Terrestrial, 1982*
Fast Times at Ridgemont High, 1982
An Officer and a Gentleman, 1982
Tootsie, 1982
The Big Chill, 1983
Flashdance, 1983
Return of the Jedi, 1983*
Risky Business, 1983
Scarface, 1983
Beverly Hills Cop, 1984*
Ghostbusters, 1984*
Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom, 1984
The Karate Kid, 1984
Police Academy, 1984
The Terminator, 1984
Back to the Future, 1985*
The Breakfast Club, 1985
Aliens, 1986
Ferris Bueller's Day Off, 1986
Top Gun, 1986
Dirty Dancing, 1987
Fatal Attraction, 1987
Lethal Weapon, 1987
Wall Street, 1987
Die Hard, 1988
Who Framed Roger Rabbit, 1988
Batman, 1989*
Born on the Fourth of July, 1989
Field of Dreams, 1989
Glory, 1989
Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade, 1989
The Little Mermaid, 1989
When Harry Met Sally, 1989
*Highest-grossing movies of the decade.

ACADEMY AWARD WINNERS

1980 Picture: *Ordinary People*

Director: Robert Redford, *Ordinary People*
Actor: Robert De Niro, *Raging Bull*
Actress: Sissy Spacek, *Coal Miner's Daughter*

1981 Picture: *Chariots of Fire*

Director: Warren Beatty, *Reds*
Actor: Henry Fonda, *On Golden Pond*
Actress: Katharine Hepburn, *On Golden Pond*

1982 Picture: *Gandhi*

Director: Richard Attenborough, *Gandhi*
Actor: Ben Kingsley, *Gandhi*
Actress: Meryl Streep, *Sophie's Choice*

1983 Picture: *Terms of Endearment*

Director: James L. Brooks, *Terms of Endearment*
Actor: Robert Duvall, *Tender Mercies*
Actress: Shirley MacLaine, *Terms of Endearment*

1984 Picture: *Amadeus*

Director: Miloš Forman, *Amadeus*
Actor: F. Murray Abraham, *Amadeus*
Actress: Sally Field, *Places in the Heart*

1985 Picture: *Out of Africa*

Director: Sydney Pollack, *Out of Africa*
Actor: William Hurt, *Kiss of the Spiderwoman*
Actress: Geraldine Page, *The Trip to Bountiful*

1986 Picture: *Platoon*

Director: Oliver Stone, *Platoon*
Actor: Paul Newman, *The Color of Money*
Actress: Marlee Matlin, *Children of a Lesser God*

1987 Picture: *The Last Emperor*

Director: Bernardo Bertolucci, *The Last Emperor*
Actor: Michael Douglas, *Wall Street*
Actress: Cher, *Moonstruck*

1988 Picture: *Rain Man*

Director: Barry Levinson, *Rain Man*
Actor: Dustin Hoffman, *Rain Man*
Actress: Jodie Foster, *The Accused*

1989 Picture: *Driving Miss Daisy*

Director: Oliver Stone, *Born on the Fourth of July*
Actor: Daniel Day-Lewis, *My Left Foot*
Actress: Jessica Tandy, *Driving Miss Daisy*

Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade (1989) returned to the earlier formula of witty secondary characters who could banter with the ironic professor and the evil Nazis. In this installment, Indiana Jones's long estranged father and fellow archeologist, Dr. Henry Jones (Sean Connery) joins with Marcus Brody (Denholm Eliot) and Sallah (John Rhys-Davies), a Middle-eastern assistant from Indy's glory days, to fight off the Nazis, this time in pursuit of the Holy Grail.

The comical squabbling between Indy and his cantankerous father never detracts from the riotous chase sequences. All comes to a climax when one Nazi officer shoots Jones Sr., and Indy must use all the teachings his father once instilled in him to secure the Grail from its repository. With Henry healed from the Grail's holy water, and the Nazis destroyed by their own heresy, the four ride off into the sunset bickering—a fitting "end" to the trilogy. The three *Indiana Jones* films together grossed nearly $720 million in their initial releases and have achieved classic status on home video. In 2008 the highly-profitable franchise was resurrected with the release of *Indiana Jones and the Kingdom of the Crystal Skull.*

The War Film

The war film was represented by a very successful serial: *First Blood* (1982), directed by Ted Kotcheff from a screenplay written by movie star Sylvester Stallone. Viewers relived the horrors of the Vietnam Conflict, and, via a revisionist story, experienced winning the conflict. In the first installment, John Rambo (Stallone) is a Vietnam veteran trained in Green Beret tactics who is mishandled by policemen after returning home a hero. He wages war on the police using the same tactics that made him a killing machine during the war. The central action involves the police

tracking the warrior through the forests of the Pacific Northwest to a predictable, cliff-side battle. *First Blood* made $7 million in its opening weekend in only 900 theaters.

In the second film, *Rambo: First Blood II* (1985), penned by Stallone and James Cameron, and directed by George P. Cosmatos, Rambo returns to Vietnam to rescue a group of veterans who have been labeled "Missing In Action" by the U.S. government. Fighting off Vietcong, Rambo leads the men to freedom. Despite uniform critical panning, audiences flocked to see the film; receipts totaled $25 million in its opening weekend.

Another kind of war film blended the passions of youth, the technical wizardry of action film editing, and the patriotic verve of Reagan's America; *Top Gun* (1986) was a stylish crowd-pleaser that extolled the virtues of America's powerful men in uniform. Pete "Maverick" Mitchell (Tom Cruise) is a hot-dog pilot who risks his life for his country. He joins an elite flight school connected to the Navy's "Top Gun" program, set on preparing America's best pilots for aerial dogfights with the enemy. At this secret academy, the school's top graduate each year is named "Top Gun," distinguishing his record with assignments that test his abilities.

The film's patriotic flair had audiences cheering in the aisles as the Russian pilots were sent scampering. Not only did *Top Gun* gross $176 million in its initial release, it solidified Tom Cruise's status as a box-office draw.

The Business Film

The 1980s marked a time for big business ventures, and Hollywood released films that not only celebrated the possibilities of wealth through big business, but also told stories where American values, such as hard work and moral living, would eventually help one to succeed.

In Oliver Stone's *Wall Street* (1987), the film's protagonist Bud Fox (Charlie Sheen) works as a commodities broker. Bud's tenacity gets him an audience with Gordon Gekko (Michael Douglas), a ruthless multimillionaire whose earnings afford him a most fabulous life that Bud aspires toward. Gordon senses Bud's hunger and rewards his faithfulness with perks—an upper-Eastside penthouse, $2,000 suits, and a gorgeous decorator girl friend. Gekko's unscrupulous philosophy is revealed when he delivers the film's most famous line, "Greed is good" to a group of disgruntled stockholders.

When Bud comes to Gekko with some insider trading information involving a small airline that Bud's father, Carl (Martin Sheen), oversees as union president, Gekko lets Bud overtake the interests, but then leaves Bud hanging out to dry when it comes time to dump the stocks. Humiliated by being arrested at his office, Bud is forced to turn state's evidence against Gekko, who will undoubtedly beat the charges. In creating this morality tale of the times, Stone actually celebrated the greed and excess of the era.

In *Working Girl* (1988), Tess McGill (Melanie Griffith) is engaged and has everything that her friend Cyn (Joan Cusack) desires for her life. But Tess wants more. She believes she has found a role model when she begins a new job as an assistant for a female executive, Katharine Parker (Sigourney Weaver). Tess then learns that her boss has stolen one of her own ideas, and has passed it off as her own. Tess proves to Oren Trask (Phillip Bosco), a player from a partner corporation, that Katharine is the true plagiarist. Trask rewards her with an entry-level position with her own secretary, and Jack Trainer (Harrison Ford) rewards her with his love.

Marital Relations

In the 1950s and early 1960s, marriage films revolved around the pursuit by single men and women to marry by film's end. Films of the 1970s began to explore marriage itself, and those of the 1980s examined the destruction of the institution, becoming cautionary tales about the evils of infidelity and not communicating.

Robert Redford's directing debut, *Ordinary People* (1980) focuses on the Jarreds—an affluent family that appears to have everything. Based on Judith Guest's novel, the film focuses on how the inability to speak freely can corrode a marriage and family. Before the film opens, the Jarreds lose a son in a boating accident. The youngest son, Conrad (Timothy Hutton), survived the accident, but still holds himself accountable for his



The Breakfast Club (1985). Directed by John Hughes. Shown from left: Judd Nelson (as John Bender), Emilio Estevez (as Andrew "Andy" Clark), Ally Sheedy (as Allison Reynolds), Molly Ringwald (as Claire Standish), Anthony Michael Hall (as Brian Ralph Johnson). Courtesy of Photofest.

JOHN HUGHES

John Hughes wrote and directed several of the most successful comedies for teens of the era. Hughes's films were set in America's Midwest. His protagonists were most often middle class and white, but their discontented malaise endeared them to teen audiences. Hughes refused to speak down to his audience—his characters were witty and intelligent, and their problems really mattered to them. Hughes's skill at finding comedy in the kind of "everyman" teenager, then deriving larger messages from their experiences, gave his films their power.

Hughes launched out on his own by directing his own screenplay of *Sixteen Candles* (1984), the story of Samantha (Molly Ringwald), a girl whose sister is to be married on the same weekend as Samantha's sixteenth birthday. His next film, *The Breakfast Club* (1985), was an even bigger hit with the youth market. The film taps into the idea that authority tangles with the lives of teens in a manner that cripples identity and forces conformity. The plot revolves around five students at a typical Midwestern high school who, for various reasons, attend a Saturday detention. To the outside world and those inside the school, each student fits neatly into a stereotypical clique: Andrew (Emilio Estevez) the jock, Brian (Anthony Michael Hall) the brain, Bender (Judd Nelson) the stoner, Claire (Molly Ringwald) the princess, and Allison (Ally Sheedy) the neurotic. After spending the detention together and learning about each other as individuals the five teens bond.

Hughes followed his early hits with *Ferris Bueller's Day Off* (1986), *Pretty in Pink* (1986), and *Some Kind of Wonderful* (1987). Each film portrayed real teen problems and made young people more than just cardboard cutouts, unlike most movies and television shows in the decades leading up to the 1980s.

RADIO DEBUTS OF THE 1980s

"Rock of the Eighties" (1980): a format pioneered by KROQ in Los Angeles that emphasized punk, new wave, and modern rock, paving the way for similar radio stations across the country, as well as for MTV.

"Dick Clark's Rock, Roll, and Remember" (1982): oldies and classic rock tunes, hosted by TV and radio personality Dick Clark.

"Loveline" (1983): call-in show about relationships and sexuality, hosted since 1984 by Dr. Drew Pinsky.

"Whad'Ya Know?" (1985): comedic quiz show that also incorporates celebrity and audience interviews.

"The Howard Stern Show" (1986): nationally syndicated morning show featuring the raunchy comedy of this influential "shock jock."

"Cruisin' America" (1987): oldies music introduced by Cousin Brucie, a top radio deejay of the 1960s.

"Car Talk" (1987): call-in public radio program offering the auto-repair advice and corny comedy of mechanics Tom and Ray Magliozzi.

"Rush Limbaugh" (1988): political news and commentary from a conservative perspective, the first of many nationally syndicated right-leaning radio talk shows.

"Marketplace" (1989): National Public Radio's global business and economic news program.

"Coast to Coast AM" (1989): callers and expert guests discuss the occult, paranormal experiences, conspiracy theories, UFOs, cryptozoology, and similar topics.

family's loss—so much so that Conrad tries to kill himself. On the surface, Beth Jarred (Mary Tyler Moore) looks like she has survived these traumas as well as can be expected; however, her composure is all façade. It is left to Calvin Jarred (Donald Sutherland), Beth's husband and Conrad's father, to hold the family together.

Beth and Cal attend a birthday party, where Calvin tells others about Conrad's psychiatrist. On the return home, Beth erupts, telling Cal he drinks too much and that he should not discuss private matters in public. It is in these brutal conversations that Redford carefully reveals how fragile the Jarred family situation is.

Conrad begins the slow process of forgiving himself and Beth abandons the family. Redford's film is a telling reminder of the early 1980s concern with family values—here is the perfect family on the outside, falling apart from within.

Director Adrian Lyne brought family values to the forefront in a *Fatal Attraction* (1987), a thriller about a family man who has a one-night affair with a woman who becomes obsessed with him. Even though most critics hated the ending, believing that Alex's character was sacrificed for gratuitous audience pleasure, the ending made the film a real crowd pleaser, grossing $156 million in its initial release. The film was nominated for six Academy Awards, including Best Picture, but won none. Ideologically, *Fatal Attraction* is a fascinating film because it vilifies the career woman; Dan is never held responsible for what happens to Alex, even though he willingly engaged in the affair, and murders not only Alex but their alleged unborn child.

THEATER

Female playwrights made significant gains in the theater during the 1980s, creating plays that pushed male characters to the sidelines (or completely off stage) and placed the women center stage. The first of these plays was by Beth Henley, a first-time playwright who blended the trappings of her Southern Gothic background with the complexities of sisterhood. Her play *Crimes of the Heart* won the Pulitzer Prize for Drama while it still played off-Broadway. The play's subsequent success on Broadway and beyond certainly proves that her message was clearly understood.

Another playwright, Marsha Norman, took a vastly different approach in her 1983 Pulitzer-Prize winning play *'night, Mother.* The play opens on the last night in the life of Jessie Cates, a woman in her late 30s who announces to Thelma, her mother (and the play's only other character), that in two hours she will commit suicide by firing her father's gun into her own brain. Clocks onstage help build the tension as Jessie prepares for her

NOTABLE THEATER

Amadeus, 1980 (1,181 perfs.)
42nd Street, 1980 (3,486 perfs.)
Dreamgirls, 1981 (1,521 perfs.)
Cats, 1982 (7,485 perfs.)
Torch Song Trilogy, 1982 (1,222 perfs.)
Brighton Beach Memoirs, 1983 (1,299 perfs.)
La Cage aux Folles, 1983 (1,761 perfs.)
Me and My Girl, 1986 (1,420 perfs.)
Les Misérables, 1986 (6,680 perfs.)
The Phantom of the Opera, 1988 (8,350 perfs.)*
Grand Hotel, 1989 (1,017 perfs.)
*Still running.

final act. Jessie cannot make her mother understand that her death is the one thing in her life she can control. The play ends with Jessie retreating to her bedroom and the sound of a gun going off.

David Mamet's Pulitzer Prize winning *Glengarry Glen Ross* takes place in a second-rate real estate office, where the salesmen use whatever crafty line they can dream up to "Always Be Closing." Mamet's focus on the male social order through work helps his audience come to terms with the effects of Reaganomics—a world where ethics fly out the window for the almighty buck—a world where male camaraderie is not worth the price of a lead. Schoolyard competition and bullying are admirable traits; male bonding is something to be abused for the good of the sale.

Harvey Fierstein's *Torch Song Trilogy* won the 1983 Tony Award for drama—the first openly gay play to win the award. Writer and star Fierstein also won the award for Best Actor, and the play ran to packed houses for three years. Critics praised the play for its postmodern structure and its unconventional use of stereotypes to explode myths of homosexual relationships. Fierstein proved that a homosexual story was a human story, first and foremost.

The overall play strings three one-act plays together with a torch-singer performing blues numbers between the "acts," commenting on the action just staged. The protagonist, Arnold, is a middle-aged drag performer looking for love. He encounters Ed, a bisexual teacher, in a local bar. The first play ends as Ed leaves Arnold for a conventional marriage to Laurel.

Between the acts, Arnold meets Alan, a young model. Alan and Ed hook up for a fling that Laurel does not know about. The act draws parallels between the two couples, outlining the lack of difference between homo- and heterosexual relations—each is characterized by infidelities, arguing, and loving, tender moments. Arnold overlooks the infidelity, and "marries" Alan, while Laurel leaves Ed.

The third playlet takes place five years later. Alan and Arnold have adopted a troubled youth, David, but on the eve of moving to a new apartment, Alan is killed in a gay bashing. Ed now lives with them, but he sleeps on the sofa. This action takes on the tone of a situation comedy, openly revealing that "gay domesticity" is nothing more than "domesticity"—David refers to Arnold as "Ma."

Upon the arrival of Arnold's mother, the tone of the play turns serious, as she disparages Arnold's lifestyle. The conversation resonates with the LGBT (lesbian, gay, bi-sexual, and transgender) rights movement, as gay men and women were fighting for equal protections and escalates toward a climax where Arnold confronts his mother's homophobia once and for all.

The AIDS crisis ushered a new brand of theater, addressing the immediacy of confronting the pandemic while making a call to arms to the audience. Larry Kramer's autobiographical, episodic drama, *The Normal Heart,* recounts the founding of Gay Men's Health Crisis, one of the first community efforts to battle the stigma of the disease. The play focuses on Kramer's efforts to bring the gay community together to create this organization and to combat the white, heterosexual establishment who turned their backs to the onslaught of the disease. Kramer not only recreates the struggle with the heterosexual community, but dissects the struggles within the gay male community through these years.

Fences tells the story of Troy Maxon, a former baseball player who once played for a Negro league after being denied a spot in the legitimate white league. Troy allows this one experience to define him in his life, and his constant squabbles with his wife, Rose, and their two sons, Lyons (a small-time piano player and pimp) and Cory

(a promising football player), reveal how this single rejection destroyed his vision of a true American Dream for him and for his family.

Wendy Wasserstein's *The Heidi Chronicles* explores the positive and negative effects of 1970s feminism. The "chronicles" of the play's title episodically reveal that the protagonist, Dr. Heidi Holland, grows to have faith in herself rather than in the revolutions that bonded her to the feminist movement and in the men who promise only to be there if Heidi will compromise her ambition.

Wasserstein structures the play in an interesting fashion—Heidi is presenting a lecture to her class on Women Artists at Columbia University. Heidi presents herself as confident, articulate, and personable with her students. However, as the lecture continues, the action of the play flashes back to pivotal moments in Heidi's education: meeting her life-long gay friend; meeting her life-long love; and her burgeoning awareness of feminist thought and its ideological effects. Heidi is constant in her efforts to have men in her life and belong to a sisterhood conflict through her career as she works toward fulfillment.

As the play progresses, Heidi adopts a baby and defines herself for the first time—on her own terms. The play ends with Heidi bringing her lecture to a close, selecting as her last slide a photograph of her holding baby Judy "triumphantly" in front of a banner for a Georgia O'Keefe retrospective. Heidi learns that she can have both a professional and a personal world.

Musical Theater

Certainly the most consistent experimental voice in the theater during the 1980s was Stephen Sondheim's. For Sondheim, the decade began with *Merrily We Roll Along* (1981), his follow-up to the success of *Sweeney Todd* (1979). The production closed after 16 performances, marking it as one of the biggest musical flops in recent memory. However, since 1981, *Merrily* has been revised and restaged a number of times, most recently, as the crowning glory of a summer long celebration of Sondheim's work in Washington, D.C.

Sondheim did not give up on bending the rules of the Broadway form, and in 1983 he embarked on a fascinating project with playwright and director James Lapine that certainly bent the rules. *Sunday in the Park . . .* is based on George Seurat's painting *A Sunday Afternoon on the Island of Grande Jatte.*

The critics were impressed with this new team, but mixed in their response to the show. That year, while the play lost all the major Tony Awards that it was nominated for, Sondheim and Lapine were awarded the Pulitzer Prize for Drama, an honor that makes *Sunday in the Park . . .* one of the highlights of 1980s theater.

With a critical hit under their belts, Sondheim and Lapine looked for another project; they found it in the story books Lapine read to his daughters at bedtime. In the innovative *Into the Woods* (1987), Sondheim and Lapine defy the traditional values embodied in the romantic musical comedy, which generally ends happily. *Into the Woods* challenges the audience's assumptions not only about marriage, but also about the ideology of the romantic musical narrative. It interweaves four familiar folk tales that combine the quest motif and the marriage motif to explore the ramifications of "Happily Ever After."

Sondheim and Lapine selected three popular tales from the Brothers Grimm, "Cinderella," "Little Red Riding Hood," and "Rapunzel," as well as the popular English folk tale "Jack and the Beanstalk." They then undercut the "timeless moralities" of these tales with an original one of their own, "The Baker and His Wife." In order to produce progeny, the couple interact with their fantastic folk community to present a unified critique of how the musical predisposes the audience to unthinkingly accept marriage as a form of closure.

Ideologically speaking, the entire first act, which follows the pursuit of each character's goal, confirms the selfish, yet simplistic, motives of each storybook figure. The Baker and His Wife compromise their values by stealing, lying, and cheating the other characters out of the possessions they need. Their actions illustrate the problems and entanglements that occur when the ideology of community does not figure into the actions of each individual. The show was embraced by critics and audiences, and *Into the Woods* received numerous awards. More importantly, these musicals marked a new era for Broadway—the days of the Rogers and Hammerstein musical were gone, taken over by a new type of show that could make people think while they were being entertained.

Fashion

of the 1980s

The dichotomies of the 1980s influenced the world of fashion. Fashion in the 1980s ran the gamut from haute couture glamour to street-smart punk; from the star power trends set by Madonna, the boys of *Miami Vice,* and the *Flashdance*-ing Jennifer Beals to the conservative guidelines set by *The Ultimate Preppy Handbook.* With the percolating economy in full bull-market mode, fashion met the challenge by altering advertising trends to emphasize male beauty. Designers also drew inspiration from the new threads being sported by pop stars on MTV.

Women ditched the stringy, long hair of the 1970s, instead opting for perms and hairspray, teasing their hair into incredible walls, emphasizing the new look with two-toned eye shadows and glossy lipsticks. Males appropriated a variety of looks to emulate their role models, all in an effort to reflect their own ideas of control and power.

Since the early years of the twentieth century, entertainers, first stage stars and singers then celebrities from the film industry and later television, influenced fashion trends. What is so telling about the fashion trends of the 1980s is the influence of big business on the industry, not only in respect to styles and trends, but in regard to the market economy.

Wall Street's corporate look—long considered the stuffy, refined appearance of another generation with tweed jackets and conservative vests—suddenly found itself at the center of the fashion universe. Designers turned out their own variations of the business suit, tailoring the look for all occasions. Some of the decade's influential fashion trendsetters aped the corporate world on television, like the vixens and villains on the hit television shows *Dallas* and *Dynasty.*

For men, the new business look meant paisley or power red ties worn with fashionable suspenders or silk vests. Mimicking Michael Douglas's Gordon Gekko character in Oliver Stone's film *Wall Street,* many real-life brokers wore powder blue dress shirts with white collars and cuffs. Other trends included the return of the double-breasted suit (usually in dark blue) and oversized suit jackets with wide, padded shoulders.

By the end of the decade, however, a new look swept offices nationwide—casual Fridays. In the pressure-filled work world, giving workers a chance to relax their everyday formality by taking off their ties or wearing casual pants seemed revolutionary. Within a decade, most offices turned completely "business casual," cemented by the dot.com craze of the late 1990s. However, after the boom went bust, a return to formality made a comeback in the early 2000s. Today, the corporate world is a mix of business casual and more reserved dress.

MADONNA, MTV, AND FILM FASHION

Films were not the only trendsetters in the 1980s—the onset of Music Television (MTV) in 1983 found a youth market with money to spend, and the clothes and the looks of the rock stars whose videos were played on the 24-hour music station created a demand for high-end trends and thrift store rejects.

Madonna influenced styles in many ways via her music videos (see Music of the 1980s). Her changing styles with each new album earned her the label "chameleon;" however, by decade's end, the public was very aware that her style alterations were part of her own marketing savvy. With the release of her first album, *Madonna,* in 1982, Madonna's style was part guttersnipe, part mall chick with short, tight skirts, fishnet stockings, gloves, heavy eye make-up, mismatched earrings, and bows tied up in her two-toned hair. The look marked her as not only a renegade, but as a product of a commodified culture—appropriating discarded clothing to create a new style.



Madonna, as Susan in the movie *Desperately Seeking Susan* (1985) showed her eclectic style, which carried through to young women. Courtesy of Photofest.

This became more evident with the release of her second album, *Like A Virgin,* 1984. For a concert promoting this album and for her appearance on the first MTV Music Video Awards program, Madonna appeared in a restyled wedding gown with veil—the dress hem was cut midthigh—black lingerie, and a large crucifix. This look, much like the first, was soon replaced by a sense of glamour—a Marilyn Monroe persona with tight satins and beautifully coiffed hair for her "Material Girl" video.

With the release of her albums *True Blue,* 1987, and *Like a Prayer,* 1989, Madonna transformed herself using male-fantasy costumes of leather to take on a more dominatrix persona. In the video "Open Your Heart," she performs for men in a strip joint. The two-toned hair had been replaced by a short, sassy bleached bob. By the time she released *Like A Prayer,* the short hair had become synonymous with the performer, but her appropriation of male attire, designed by Jean Paul Gautier, for her video "Express Yourself" showed a more conscious playfulness. In this video, Madonna sports a double-breasted men's suit with slits cut in the front to accommodate—and to accentuate—her golden lingerie beneath. Possibly

FASHION HIGHLIGHTS OF THE 1980s

Power dressing was the style of the 1980s: big shoulder pads, big hair, and power ties. Styles were also influenced by movies, television, and a book (preppy style). By the end of the decade, business casual was beginning to appear in some workplaces.

Women favored big shoulder pads and tight slim skirts.

Men often wore preppy styles, including polo and oxford shirts, power ties, crew neck sweaters, khaki pants, loafers/boat shoes.

Women wore *Flashdance*- inspired ripped sweatshirts and leg warmers; men emulated *Risky Business* with Ray Ban Wayfarer sunglasses and tousled hair; and men copied *Miami Vice* styles with T-shirts under unconstructed jackets in pastel colors.

Jeans and T-shirts remained popular. Females wore leggings with oversize sweaters or T-shirts.

HOW OTHERS SEE US

Russian Youth and the Pop-Culture Rebellion

The mid-1980s were a pivotal period for the Soviet Union. Within the governing elite, elderly Communist Party hard-liners gave way to a younger group, led by Mikhail Gorbachev. His policies of *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring) would eventually result in the dissolution of the USSR. At the same time, Soviet young people looked to the United States and the West to develop a sense of fashion and style that clearly separated them from older generations.

Cracks in the Soviet system were appearing in 1981, as its young people looked to American pop culture as never before. At first the changes were incremental. The "golden youth," children of high-level government bureaucrats, set trends with their American blue jeans and leather boots. Western-influenced Russian rock bands, long an underground phenomenon, ventured into the mainstream. Groups such as Aquarium and others released their first studio albums—but to the black market, not through the state's official record label.

By 1984, these trends had filtered throughout the country, and according to Western reporters, "for the first time, young people in Russian cities are beginning to look like young people anywhere else." Jeans were ubiquitous, T-shirts sported the logos of American products and even the American flag, and Adidas sneakers were in style. Rock music was played openly with little fear of reprisal. Kids adapted English phrases freely—*diski* for records, *dzhinsi* for jeans, *dzhaz* for jazz—and created their own Russian/English hybrid terms, like *khailaifist,* or "high-life-ist," one who reveled in high-end Western goods.

All this grated on Russians of an older generation. A 1984 edition of *Pravda* published sharply divergent views on American music and fashion. Traditionalists called for a ban on rock music, saying it would destroy Russian culture "like a Colorado beetle," and denounced young people who wore American emblems. The youth fired back: "When you can make jeans better than Levi's, that will be the time to start talking about national pride," one wrote. Clearly, fashion played a complex role in loosening Soviet culture and helped pave the way for additional Western influences.

more than any other rock performer in history, Madonna set the fashion trends for the young women of the 1980s, changing the styles forced upon women for decades into the frisky accoutrements of empowered women.

For men, the 1980s were a time of appropriation as well, but of another sort. In addition to Armani's and Lauren's stylish cuts, men appropriated formal clothing for play as demonstrated in a number of music videos from England (namely those by Duran Duran, ABC, and Spandau Ballet), rolling up the sleeves of sport jackets and turning up the collars of their blazers to turn their formal wear into action wear. The hit show *Miami Vice* (NBC) took this trend one step further, replacing the shirt and tie combo with a delicate, silk T-shirt in a pastel color.

Other fashion trends became popular as a result of films. Women began wearing designer fitness wear everywhere. Bodysuits in bright flashy colors, topped by a ripped sweatshirt dangling off one shoulder a la *Flashdance,* 1983, with matching leg warmers and headbands became popular. Men began wearing Ray Ban sunglasses once Tom Cruise strutted his stuff in *Risky Business,* 1980; during a pivotal moment in the film, Cruise, wearing an Oxford shirt, white briefs, and his Ray Bans, dances to Bob Seger's "Old Time Rock n' Roll," a sure sign of desire for a limited rebellion.

TELEVISION FASHION

Miami Vice quickly earned its nickname "The MTV cop show" after its debut in 1984; it ran on NBC on Friday nights until 1989. The show acquired this nickname because of its innovative use of popular rock music to string together its episodes: its pulsating theme written by Jan Hammer reached number one on Billboard's "Hot 100" in a matter of weeks. The show's cinematography and

editing techniques—quick, montage effects that contributed to the fast-pace and glossy look of the pastel-colored city—mirrored the process of the music video, made famous by MTV in 1981.

The series' stars contributed to this look as well. The two male leads, Sonny Crockett (Don Johnson) and Ricardo Tubbs (Philip Michael Thomas) donned colorful, fashionable clothes as they drove around Miami's glossy underbelly in cool cars and on pristine boats to capture drug lords in violent exchanges. The show was shot on-location in Miami, which added to the crisp, distinct look that the producers wanted in contrast to the criminal underworld that shaped each plot.

Other television shows featured less action, but just as much fashion. Dramas such as *Dallas* and *Dynasty* featured elegant stars often in full formalwear. *Dallas* mixed several styles, from urban cowboy chic to corporate boardroom formality as J. R. Ewing and his family mixed business and pleasure at the Southfork Ranch. *Dynasty* ushered in the shoulder-pad look that soon found its way into everyday wear for women nationwide.

Dynasty debuted on ABC on January 12, 1981, and stayed on the air until 1989. The show centered on Blake and Krystle Carrington (played by John Forsythe and Linda Evans). Evans dressed in sparkling gowns with opulent earrings that peeked out from under her frosted hair. Joan Collins played villain Alexis Colby, Krystle's archenemy. Collins wore flashier clothing, often including bright colored feathers and large jewels.

As *Dynasty* soared in the ratings, tie-in products hit the nation's shelves. One of the most successful was Evans's "Forever Krystle" perfume. Producers realized that many people tuned in each week just to see the latest fashions, so they hired a fashion designer, the first series to do so. Thousands of women contacted ABC to find out what designers Collins and Evans wore and where they could buy similar outfits.

Hairstyle and jewelry played an important role in the way *Dynasty* actresses portrayed their characters. Although Evans stuck closely to her feathered look, the other women on the show teased their hair to give it volume. The "big hair" look on *Dynasty* took the nation by storm and ushered in the style everywhere. Jewelry on the show was not confined simply to hands, fingers, and ears. Many



The television show *Dynasty* (1981–1989) ushered in the big hair, big shoulder style to the television-watching public in the 1980s. Shown from left: Joan Collins (as Alexis Morell Carrington Colby Dexter Rowan), John Forsythe (as Blake Carrington), Linda Evans (as Krystle Grant Jennings Carrington). © ABC-TV. Courtesy of Photofest.

of the formal dresses were adorned with beads and sparkles that added an air of sophistication to the designs. The jewelry itself featured gaudy pieces, oversized earrings, and large gemstones (costume or real), which spoke to its owner's wealth.

Television shows continued to play an important role in setting fashion trends in the 1980s. In the beginning of the decade, the Farrah Fawcett long feathered hairstyle remained popular. However, the fitness craze mid-decade ushered in shorter styles, which many television stars mimicked. The fitness craze also brought leg warmers, headbands, and miniskirts back into vogue. Actresses on popular TV shows helped popularize these fads, like Lisa Hartman wearing headbands on the drama *Knots Landing* in the early 1980s.

TV shows even played a role in determining the kind of underwear people wore. Female actresses, such as *Moonlighting* star Cybill Shepherd, often wore the one-piece teddy, and baseball star Jim Palmer popularized men's Jockey underwear in commercials.

BUILDING RETAIL BRANDS

Two distinctly different kinds of stores dominate much of America's retail history—ornate department stores and discount stores, such as Woolworth's five-and-dimes. In the 1980s, shopping malls helped lead to the popularity of specialized retail stores. Suburbanization and more disposable income for middle-class Americans combined to give rise to malls both as meccas to consumerism and as places for teens to meet up with friends. Driven by young people's desire for affordable, yet fashionable clothes, companies that had had narrow audiences in the past suddenly became household names (and mall staples), including The Gap, Benetton, Ann Taylor, Banana Republic, and The Limited.

The Limited, founded in 1963 by Leslie Wexner, took off in the 1980s, becoming the largest, fastest-growing fashion chain in the country. By 1986, the Columbus, Ohio-based store sold more women's clothes and accessories than any other merchant in the world, leaving traditional stores such as J. C. Penney, Sears, and Kmart far behind. That year the company rang up sales of $2.4 billion in its 2,400 stores, with sales rising at an annual rate of 55 percent.

The Limited, the flagship store in Wexner's retail conglomerate, determined what was fashionable for millions of women. In 1983, when company buyers saw European teens buying bulky yachting sweaters in Florence, Italy, The Limited launched a line of their own under the private



Shopping became a major form of entertainment and excursion for young women in the 1980s. A movie, *Valley Girl* (1983), directed by Martha Coolidge and featuring Elizabeth Daily (as Loryn) and Deborah Foreman (as Julie Richman), illustrated the interests of teenagers in suburban Los Angeles as wells as their fashions. Courtesy of Photofest.

label Forenza. The sweaters took the nation by storm and became mainstays in the wardrobes of women across the nation. Its goal of producing clothes that shoppers wanted to buy led The Limited to invest heavily in market research and testing, similar to other consumer companies, but quite revolutionary in the retail business. As a result, The Limited produced 200 million items of clothing in 1985, or 3 for every single woman in the United States between the ages of 15 and 55.

Ann Taylor, another national chain, also thrived in the decade. By mid-decade, the company had 65 stores in 17 states with sales growing 500 percent.

The Ann Taylor chain knew its target customer well—the woman who wanted to keep up with fashion, but not necessarily be a trendsetter, at reasonable prices. The company's typical shopper was female, aged 25 to 40 years old, with an income of $25,000 to $60,000. Demographically, Ann Taylor benefited from the size and purchasing power of the Baby Boomer generation.

In 1980, Benetton, the flagship store in Italy's fastest-growing fashion empire, opened a store in New York City. Within four years, the upscale chain, which catered to younger consumers, had 180 stores nationwide. For a company like Benetton, marketing to young women with disposable income determined its ultimate success, particularly in the fickle fashion market. However, the chain could trace much of its success to a highly efficient computerized inventory system, which linked its stores and revealed changing purchasing patterns.

Benetton's founder, Luciano Benetton, made clothing that was not only fashionable, with bright colors and interesting designs, but also relatively affordable. The worldwide success of Benetton powered its move into the United States. From 1980 to 1983, revenues jumped more than 50 percent to $271 million. Benetton also began a striking advertising campaign that promoted racial harmony and challenged authority.

Seattle-based Nordstrom solidified its place among 1980s retailers by becoming the national leader in customer service. The company performed this task so well that it changed the way its competitors dealt with its customers. From a financial point of view, the focus paid off. Nordstrom's sales grew tenfold over the course of the decade, reaching $2.3 billion in 1988. The company also went national, expanding from 15 to 42 stores.

Nordstrom made simple moves that had dramatic effects on its customers. Rather than approach shoppers after 10 minutes, like most retailers, salespeople on the floor got to them in less than two minutes. They provided liberal merchandise returns policies. Nordstrom also put its salespeople on commission, which fostered a different mindset among the staff and reemphasized the importance of the customer.

In direct competition with retailing stalwarts Macy's and Bloomingdale's, Nordstrom stood out by providing a more relaxed atmosphere—open and airy—rather than the glitzy and glamorous that department stores usually employed. Nordstrom also provided small touches that customers enjoyed, such as a real pianist entertaining shoppers on a Baby Grand. From a fashion point

THE PREPPY LOOK

According to the *Official Preppy Handbook,* one is born a preppy. Following the fashion trends set by Ralph Lauren, the preppy look was a style characterized by name-brand clothing, always monogrammed, in fetching contrasts (such as pink and green), hair styled in the manner of the latest country club set, and tastes that ran from "Bloodies" in the morning to knowing the right taverns and restaurants at which to eat dinner (preppies never cooked).

The phenomenon that Lisa Birnbach spoofed in the *Handbook* was a real craze that came with the 1980s, mainly as a result of the conspicuous consumption many teens could enjoy with their affluence. Retail and designer names such as Ralph Lauren, L. L. Bean, and Izod became staples of the preppy wardrobe. Top-siders, loafers, and cuffed trousers were the staples of the blazer set. Typified by Michael J. Fox's character Alex P. Keaton on television's *Family Ties,* preppies were interested in making names for themselves in business (with their Ivy-League MBA) and marrying into the right families, preferably from the Connecticut suburbs, who had summer homes along the coast.

METALHEADS

Much the opposite of the Preppy, Metalhead was another style that became popular during the decade. Taking their name from the rock bands they adored, metalheads listened to what MTV branded "Heavy Metal"—a kind of rock music played by male bands, characterized by wailing guitars and loud, brash lyrics. The teens who listened to this music sought an alternative to pop music. They embraced the guitar-based, aggressive music because of its rebellious quality. Popular bands falling into this category include Motley Crue, Def Leppard, Bon Jovi, and Van Halen.

Rebelling against the pretty, synthesizer-based groups in constant rotation on MTV, headbangers wore T-shirts emblazoned with the logos of their favorite bands. Often they cut the sleeves off, turning them into "muscle shirts." Some metalheads mimicked the tight spandex clothing of their rock heroes and wore tight jeans adorned with various bandanas and holes. What the tattoo is to youth of the early 2000s, the earring was to teens in the 1980s. Headbangers pierced their ears and wore a variety of diamond studs, fish hooks, and dangling crosses.

The most popular hairstyle among rockers was long and teased with hairspray. Others let the back grow long, while keeping the front and sides shorter. This style became known as the "mullet." Headbangers imitated the hairstyles they saw on their heroes, such as the bushy manes of Van Halen frontman David Lee Roth or Jon Bon Jovi, which were actually rather androgynous.

of view, Nordstrom did not stray far from designers that appealed to its upper middle-class customers, such as Calvin Klein, Gianni Versace, and Donna Karan.

The customer service payoff for typical Nordstrom employees (young and college educated) included the opportunity to make upwards of $30,000 a year. Nordstrom often served as a first step in a retail career, either with the Seattle company or elsewhere in the industry. Tales of extraordinary achievement, called "heroics" by execs, were trumpeted throughout the chain and served to build company lore. The same leaders, however, also pushed the sales staff to meet quotas and maintain the level of service that made the company famous.

Top Nordstrom salespeople earned the label "Pacesetters," which some people thought akin to earning varsity letters. In many respects, company officials used the analogy of a sports team at a pep rally to build camaraderie, but also to build internal competitions among the sales staff.

HAIRSTYLES OF THE 1980s

For many who lived in the decade, the 1980s is a fashion period that is best forgotten. While the fashion of the 1960s and 1970s was tied to a cultural revolution that began the "counterculture" movement, fashion in the 1980s was more ambiguous in origin and seemed to move in a multitude of directions at once. In the playground of hairstyle, the 1980s were a time of creativity and tremendous eccentricity. Following the comparative simplicity of hair fashion in the 1960s and 1970s, a variety of new hair styles were invented in the 1980s, and products of various kinds were used to create spikes, twists, and bangs that seemed to stretch into the atmosphere. The dominant theme was to make the hair seem big, both in extent and impact. Vibrant colors flooded the hair dye market, with blues, pinks, and magenta streaking across women's and men's hair. A variety of styles seemingly inspired from tribal fashions, like the "mohawk" and "liberty spikes," entered the mainstream on the heels of music and cultural movements. In more mainstream circles, men and women seemed dissatisfied with the standard division between short and long, giving rise to the "mullet" and other hairstyles that combined short bangs with a free-flowing hair in the back. In the twenty-first century, the hairstyles of the 1980s seem like a humorous side note in history, though the inventiveness of the era's stylists left its mark on history. Still, many now look at the eccentric styles of the age and can't help but ask, "What were they) thinking?" or worse, "What was *I* thinking?"

LEADING DESIGNERS OF THE 1980s

Giorgio Armani

Born in Italy in 1934, Giorgio Armani attended medical school for two years before signing on to complete his military requirements and taking up the hobby of photography. After the army, Armani worked in the famed La Rinascente, a department store, where he was first introduced to the possibilities of fashion as a career, designing their windows with his instinctive taste. He signed on to work with Nino Cerruti as a designer from 1961 to 1970, and embarked on a solo career as a designer shortly thereafter. His women's wear label was founded in 1970; he began designing his menswear label in 1974.

Armani's designs reached international popularity in the late 1970s, but his casual wear was not launched until 1981, setting off a global demand for his "designer jeans." In 1982, in addition to launching his first fragrance line, Armani began selling his designs for underwear and swimwear, gradually moving into accessories and eyewear by 1987.

Armani's clothes became the fashions of choice throughout Hollywood, and his style enhanced a number of films in the early 1980s. His costumes for Richard Gere in *American Gigolo* (1980) set the standard, and men everywhere wanted the sleek two-piece suit that Gere wore throughout his escapades as a male gigolo. Seven years later, Armani designed the costumes for Brian DePalma's remake of *The Untouchables* (1987), and his Depression-era suits, with large fedoras and vicuña coats, set the stage for a retro look that padded the shoulders of men's jackets and tapered their double-breasted suits.

Ralph Lauren

Born Ralph Lifshitz in New York City in 1939, the man who became "Ralph Lauren" never attended design school. He worked in the fashion industry as a retailer until 1967, when he launched his own line, Polo—named for the game that promotes an ideal of "discreet elegance and style." Lauren is credited with widening the men's tie, making it a more flamboyant article of clothing. By 1968, he was designing an entire menswear line of tailored suits in the style of European fashion designers.

By the 1980s, Lauren and his "Polo" emblem had transferred themselves into a multimillion dollar conglomerate with the popular mesh shirt in 24 colors in 1972, the fragrance and women's accessories line in 1973, and the women's wear line in 1974. The 1980s saw the creation of Lauren's home-style line, introducing home décor, luggage, and furniture to his ever-growing boutiques. The need for a central locale led Lauren to purchase the famous Rhinelander mansion on Madison and 72nd Street in New York and convert it into a showcase for his designs. The mansion, pushed into receivership after being neglected for almost 100 years, became the flagship store of Lauren's empire in 1986.

Lauren's approach to advertising has its roots in his love of film and photography. After opening his first boutiques, which were exclusively for men, in 1969, Lauren capitalized on his approach to style in a variety of 20-page ads beginning in 1974. This also coincided with his selection as chief costume designer for Jack Clayton's *The Great Gatsby* for Paramount Studios. By 1979, the ads had become a standard of the industry, and were used to sell Lauren's lines of casual clothes as well as his professional attire. The ads were considered revolutionary because they emphasized the ideal that clothes are as important as the lifestyle they characterize and because they used little to no copy—only the company's trademark. Lauren's success is predicated on his determination that Americans want to feel that they are part of the American Dream; his clothes and his trademark lifestyles have brought the glamorous life to every corner of the world.

Food

of the 1980s

The changes taking place in the 1980s extended to the foods people ate and the methods they used to prepare meals. Americans were on the go, so their eating habits reflected society's increased speed. Fast food's popularity continued to grow and few homes were without a microwave oven. Microwaves and fast food made life easier for children home alone after school to make a quick snack or for single mothers or working parents to pick up or prepare meals. In the 1980s the traditional nuclear family was harder to find, and many households ate meals while watching television or playing video games.

A 1989 poll conducted by the Gallup Organization revealed that only about one in three adults dined at home with other people and engaged in conversation during meals without distractions. Most people—a whopping 64 percent—did some other activity while eating, such as watching television, working, or reading. Nearly half of the respondents said that their typical meal was frozen, packaged, or take out.

Large food corporations were quick to offer frozen foods suitable for microwaving. From 1984 to 1988, sales of frozen foods increased more than 300 percent, from $49 million to $153 million. Kraft, Campbell Soup Company, Hormel, and Betty Crocker led the way, putting frozen cakes, hamburgers, soup, finger foods, and hot dogs on the market.

One of the early movements toward healthy living, and fueled by America's need to look good, created a need for an artificial sweetener that did not prove as toxic as saccharin. In 1982, Nutra-Sweet was unveiled with great fanfare, causing sales of diet foods to skyrocket. Soon, almost every product on the shelves contained Nutra-Sweet, virtually turning any item—even ice cream and candy—into a dieter's delight.

Although Nutra-Sweet found its way into a multitude of products, the fitness craze that swept the 1980s caused people to look more closely at the foods they were consuming. Concern about additives and preservatives created a new market for organic produce, particularly among vegetarians, boosting the need and sales of items such as soymilk. America's taste became refined, and many people wanted more natural foods, which created avenues for newer, faster, and tastier products.

Changing lifestyles transformed the way people cooked in the decade. America's two-income families created a niche for microwave foods, which were easier for children and for working parents to prepare as meals. Everything from specialty dinners to pizzas became "microwavable." The appliance soon became a staple in every home.

FOOD HIGHLIGHTS OF THE 1980s

1982 Taco Bell replaces its logo—a sleeping Mexican in a sombrero—and removes any cultural references to Mexico from its décor when market research shows Americans distrust "Mexican" restaurants as being unhygienic.

1983 Meeting the trend for microwavable foods, Hot Pockets brand stuffed sandwiches arrive on the market. By 2008, the product line includes 22 different flavors.

1983 There are nearly 123,000 fast food establishments in America, triple the number that existed in 1963.

1984 American Popcorn Company, headquartered at One Fun Place, Sioux City, Iowa, introduces its first flavor of Jolly Time microwaveable popcorn.

1987 The California Raisin Advisory Board comes up with the California Raisins, animated singing and dancing raisins who not only become the board's spokesfruit, but spin off into children's books, musical recordings, a cartoon series, toys, and lunchboxes.

1988 Oscar Mayer launches Lunchables and creates a new food category, the lunch combination. Loosely based on the Japanese bento lunchbox, the prepackaged cheese, meat, and cracker lunches have wide appeal among time-pressed working parents who need to pack school lunches in a hurry.

1989 When asked by a Gallup poll what they were having for dinner, more than half of respondents said they were eating a packaged, frozen, or take-out meal.

FOOD CONSCIOUSNESS

It is no wonder that in a decade labeled the "Me Generation," people were consumed with the way they looked and felt. As a result, the public paid closer attention to the foods they ate and started reading and studying food labels. Dieting became a constant topic of office chatter and talk-show filler. The government and health organizations responded with efforts to educate the public by publishing a variety of guidelines and reports.

By releasing a series of frightening reports about the risks of unhealthy living, these agencies (both public and private) made food education an important issue. In 1980, for example, the National Research Council released "Toward Healthful Diets," a tract that linked dietary factors and chronic disease. At the end of the decade, the 10th Edition of the *Recommended Dietary Allowances* provided detailed information about the role of wholesome eating and long-term health. Perhaps for the first time in the country's history, the general public understood the consequences of an unhealthy diet.

Scientific evidence supported the research findings. By linking these figures to eating habits, then presenting them to a willing audience, officials informed the public about the evils of heart disease and other ailments. More than 1.25 million people had heart attacks each year, resulting in 500,000 deaths, but the number of deaths decreased in the 1980s because of medical innovations and changes in lifestyles. The government facilitated this decrease with the 1984 Coronary Primary Prevention Trial, which showed that lowering cholesterol levels greatly reduced fatal heart attacks. The results of this study were highlighted on a March 1984 cover of *Time* magazine, which showed a face made of two fried eggs and a frowning piece of bacon. The cover brought the discussion of cholesterol into the mainstream.

The government promoted the idea of cutting fat to prevent heart disease throughout the decade. The Surgeon General's office spearheaded the charge, along with the National Heart Lung and Blood Institute. Foods that aided in lowering cholesterol levels (bran, oatmeal, omega-3 acids, and so on) were featured in television commercials and other forms of advertising. Companies helped educate consumers, which led to increased sales.

The government worked to publicize heart disease, but also attacked the second leading cause of death in the 1980s—cancer—afflicting nearly 1,000,000 people annually and killing 400,000. The National Cancer Institute commissioned an early study examining the link between cancer and diet. Published by the Committee on Diet, Nutrition,

and Cancer in 1982, the study showed that one-third of all cancer deaths are related to diet.

Major food companies responded to the increased education taking place by offering alternatives to traditional fare. Kraft, the second largest food company in the world in the decade, launched several "low fat" options in the late 1980s. The company developed Light French Dressing, Cholesterol Free Mayonnaise, and other healthy options in hopes of appealing to weight conscious customers. In 1983, Kraft introduced Planters Lite peanuts, which used a technological innovation that reduced the caloric content of peanuts by one-third.

DIETING

Dieting became a multibillion dollar industry in the 1980s. Bestselling book lists were filled with books that promised unwanted pounds would melt away. At least 24 diet books attained best seller status, with titles like *Fit for Life,* 1985, *Dr. Berger's Immune Power Diet,* 1985, and *The Beverley Hills Diet,* 1981. Countless fitness gurus, from actress Jane Fonda to Richard Simmons, promised to get people moving again, sweating or dancing away pounds. Ironically, in a decade filled with public education campaigns, many people trusted clearly misleading or erroneous advice found in many of the era's diet tomes.

The constant concern with dieting led to people losing, and then regaining weight, at an alarming rate. Researchers called these people "crash" or "yoyo" dieters. They were almost set up to fail, because the body's response to starvation is to slow metabolism, thus making it even more difficult to lose weight. When Oprah Winfrey appeared on her show in size 10 jeans claiming that she had lost 67 pounds on a liquid diet, countless women flocked to similar fads.[1]

Entire industries sprouted up to fulfill people's desire to lose weight. Managed weight loss centers, such as Weight Watchers, Nutri/System, and Jenny Craig, ran nearly constant commercials during daytime television hours, hoping to lure women into their pricey programs. Some people attempted to manage weight loss on their own, turning to meal replacement shakes and drinks, such as Medifast and Ultra Slim-Fast.



Oprah Winfrey shows off her new figure in 1988. She credited her 67-pound weight loss to a liquid diet and exercise. Her goal was to fit into size 10 blue jeans, which she wore for the first time on her national television show. AP Photo.

FAST FOOD

Ironically, in a decade so consumed with health and wellness, fast-food restaurants became a major staple of many Americans' diets in the 1980s. The nation's 130,000 fast-food restaurants rang up $60 billion in sales in 1988. The notion of quick, cheap food came into its own, developing into the modern fast-food industry that we see today.

Speed, rather than taste or nutrition, seemed the most important factor in the expansion of the fast-food industry. The widespread acceptance of the microwave in people's homes significantly increased the competition for customers. Restaurant executives realized that consumers didn't have to wait in lines to microwave food at home, and that the whole notion of what *fast* meant had

changed dramatically; as a result, they altered their businesses significantly. Thus, fast-food chains searched for innovative ways to cut down on ordering time by using computer technology and even changing their physical appearance, removing seating areas that were basically unnecessary for customers on the go.

Rather than simply waiting for customers to come into fast food restaurants, many looked for new ways to reach people. Kentucky Fried Chicken and other restaurants toyed with the idea of home delivery. Pizza Hut, which prided itself on fast delivery, built mini-ovens and placed them where consumers would be, such as in student cafeterias, hospitals, and malls. It even attempted a nationwide, toll-free number so people wouldn't have to waste time looking in the phone book for the number of the closest branch.

Most of the 1980s witnessed double-digit sales growth in the fast-food industry. However, many corporations expanded too quickly, and the market became oversaturated. Labor, construction, real estate, and advertising costs squeezed some of the chains. Restaurants stopped at nothing to win market share, whether it meant changing their menus to appeal to health conscious eaters with salads and roasted chicken or beginning breakfast service. Pizza Hut began serving "personal" pan pizzas to bring in a larger lunch crowd, while Burger King introduced "Burger Bundles," bite-sized hamburgers sold in three- or six-packs. Companies outside the fast-food business also fought for customers by capitalizing on the notion of speed and convenience. Not only did McDonald's compete with Wendy's and Burger King, but convenience stores such as 7-Eleven offered an alternative with deli counters and microwavable entrees.

McDonald's grew into the industry leader, with sales in excess of $14 billion and providing service to 17 million customers a day at its 10,000 restaurants nationwide. The burger chain even became the second largest in chicken sales with the introduction of "Chicken McNuggets." The company's ongoing success allowed it to continue building stores in the best locations and to invest money into new innovations, such as the double-sided grill that cooked both sides of the hamburger at once. Its profitability also gave McDonald's more funds for marketing campaigns and signing celebrity endorsers.

HOW OTHERS SEE US

Fast Food, Slow Food

From 1967 into the 1980s, as McDonald's expanded as a global brand, reactions to the opening of franchises in Toronto, Paris, London, Hong Kong, Rome, and elsewhere varied widely. Where some saw "burger imperialism" and a capitalistic steamrolling of local custom and cuisine, others saw modernity and progress. ("It's like the coming of civilization to Moscow," said a Russian man as he polished off his first Big Mac in 1990.)

Italian journalist Carlo Petrini, on learning that the first Italian McDonald's was set to open in Rome's famous Piazza di Spagna, chose resistance. In 1986 he formed Arcigola, a group dedicated to the promotion and enjoyment of Italy's own foods, wines, and specialty dishes. Three years later, this Greenpeace-for-gourmands went international with a new name, Slow Food, and new chapters in Zurich, Brussels, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Vienna, Fez, New York, and San Francisco.

Rejecting critics' charges of elitism, snobbery, and anti-American bias, Petrini insisted that the trend toward mass-produced fast food was damaging nutritionally, socially, and ecologically, and that locally produced "slow foods" could be made accessible to people of all classes, at all income levels. "I'm not trying to overthrow the system," he said. "I'm hoping we can offer an alternative to the fast life. We won't throw bombs at McDonald's." Nearly two decades later, the movement had grown to encompass more than 83,000 members in 800 local branches around the world. "It's revolution with a spatula, not a Kalashnikov," as one reporter put it.

NEW COKE

One of the most unsuccessful food changes involved an American tradition. Invented in 1886 by Dr. John Pemberton, Coca-Cola was the

world's reigning soft drink in the early 1980s. Even with the advent of Pepsi Cola, Coke had maintained a popularity unsurpassed in the world of soft drinks, and its CEO Roberto Goizueta had proved a genius when in 1982 he introduced Diet Coke—a lower calorie version of Coca-Cola with a similar taste. In the mid 1980s, Goizueta had diversified Coke's assets into the acquisition of Columbia Pictures, adding to its cache as a major American corporation.

However, by 1985, Pepsi created a marketing campaign that centered on toppling Coke as the number one choice. "The Pepsi Challenge" ads, featuring celebrities like Michael J. Fox, Michael Jackson, and, for a very short time, Madonna, proved effective with the growing youth market. By mid-year, Coke sales, for the first time in history, trailed Pepsi sales by 1.7 percent—one third of Coke's total sales. Even though Coca-Cola's advertising budget surpassed $100 million that year, the soft drink began to feel that the challenge was threatening their hold on the American mindset. With the approaching centennial of Coca-Cola, Goizueta knew that a radical idea was necessary to help Coke triumph.

Therefore, Goizueta authorized the creation of a "New Coke," permitting the existing formula to be tampered with in order to create a new taste sensation. Conducting blind taste tests in their laboratories, scientists found that a slightly modified version of Coke proved more successful than Pepsi—sometimes by 18 points. With this sketchy result, the product was immediately marketed for wide distribution—even when the press, which had found out about the experiment, pointed out that their studies proved that most Americans objected to the experiment in the first place.

On April 23, 1985, "New Coke" was released—and almost immediately rejected. By mid-June, sales plummeted, and the reaction was swift and humiliating to the company. According to Michael Bastedo, the press likened the taste of New Coke to "sewer water, furniture polish" calling it "Coke for wimps" and likening the taste to that of "two day old Pepsi."[2] *Newsweek* likened the altering of the formula to "spitting on the flag;"[3] *Time* recorded the response to the drink in an interview with one Coke drinker: "At first I was numb. Then I was shocked. Then I started to jump and scream and run up and down."[4]



Bottles and cans of "New Coke" from Coca-Cola are shown May 5, 1986. The release of the new version of Coke was a spectacular failure. AP Photo.

Immediately, "Old Coke" (as it was called by aficionados) became a luxury item. People began stockpiling cases of it in their homes, paying upward of $30 a case for it. Others used Fed-Ex to ship it to relatives in Canada. One Hollywood executive rented a $1,200 wine cellar to hold his 100 cases of Old Coke.[5]

Obviously, the strategy backfired, making the corporate heads at Coca-Cola look foolish. While the executives believed that the tampering would simply improve the product, the public outcry showed them immediately how wrong they were. By the end of 1986, when the company announced it would stop the production of the new product and return to making "Classic Coke," even Congress approved—"This is a very meaningful moment in the history of America," said Arkansas Senator David Pryor, "It shows some American institutions cannot be changed."[6]

NOUVELLE CUISINE

Characteristic of the 1980s, Nouvelle Cuisine became the staple of most trendy restaurants in America's big cities. Yet, while the concept appears to represent the faster pace of America's corporate world, the idea of carefully placing a small amount of food on a plate and charging exorbitant amounts for it had its birth many years earlier.

In 1969, Andre Gayot, Andre Gault, and Christian Millau founded a culinary magazine called *Le Nouveau Guide,* a monthly publication devoted

to food and wine for chefs. First distributed in France, and eventually around the world, the magazine revealed the new strategies the chefs had concocted in their world-famous French kitchens. Seeing themselves as cultural revolutionaries, the chefs used their magazine to unveil a new way of thinking about food, wine, and presentation.

This magazine ran a manifesto, of sorts, unveiling a series of principles in food preparation and presentation. "First, a dinner was an opportunity to satisfy all our senses, beginning with sight."[7] Food was to be presented in an artistic fashion, taking color, texture, and form into consideration—almost as if the plate was the chef's canvas and the food his paint. Second, new methods of preparation were to be utilized, including food processors and state-of-the-art ovens. Third, quality and freshness of the food were paramount, minimizing the need for heavy sauces. Not only did this method go against the nineteenth-century notions of cooking and overloading, but also it blended well with the new American lifestyles emphasizing fitness and health.

QUICHE

Undoubtedly, the most maligned food of the 1980s was the quiche—the savory cheese pie made from eggs, Swiss cheese, bacon, onions, and cream. Quiche became a symbol of all that was wrong with the redefined ideas of masculinity in the 1980s. Historically, the dish was a favorite of the French. When it was introduced to Americans in the late 1970s, restaurants began to experiment with the pie, adding mushrooms, tomatoes, asparagus, and broccoli to the egg mixture, making it a vegetarian dish.

In 1982, author Bruce Feirstein released his humorous "guidebook to all that is truly masculine," *Real Men Don't Eat Quiche*. The book sold millions of copies, becoming an overnight best seller on the *New York Times* list and steering sensitive men toward the path of rugged individualism. Correlating the quiche to effeminate behavior branded it as something un-American.

Later in the book, in the chapter titled, "The Real Man's Nutritional Guide," Feirstein spelled out the ingredients of a properly masculine diet. Though the book's humor makes as much fun of the "Real Man" as the effeminate man, it is clear to see that the homophobic jokes of the text still paint a seriously skewed impression of the 1980s—a time when a simple dish like a quiche caused an entire gender to think twice about what they ordered at a restaurant.

Music

of the 1980s

Several technological innovations in the 1980s changed how people listened to music. The most significant change came with the development of the Compact Disc, or "CD," a plastic, metallic disc that could not only hold more music than a traditional vinyl album, but also protect musical purity. The creation of the CD-player made the record player with its diamond-tipped stylus obsolete and turned "record stores" into very different places than they had been previously. Another change was that small transistors made music more mobile. Consumers sported "Walkmen"—personal stereos that played audio tapes or CDs—as they jogged, rode the subways, or walked.

In 1983, the music scene in America was changed forever when a new television station, Music Television (MTV), began broadcasting from Manhattan. Blending "the music of today" with the cinematic possibilities of videotape, the joint venture between Warner Communications and American Express created a 24-hour television station devoted to airing 1,000 video titles in its first year. The music television phenomenon caught on quickly.

MTV transformed the music industry almost immediately, but also had larger implications. The cable station turned into a true capitalist phenomenon, given its ability to market and sell to America's youth. Videos had began as promo-clips in Europe in 1976, designed to sell bands to disco dancers and television viewers in suburban areas. When the video came to America, however, big budgets found a way to create stars of band members. The rules for success in the music business changed quickly. Traditionally, a new group built a fan base by constantly touring. With the rise of MTV, a band had to have "video potential" in addition to musical talent as record companies quickly budgeted for this new medium.

In short order, videos affected music sales. Few bands proved the power of videos more than British pop sensation Duran Duran. The band featured heavily synthesized dance beats and catchy lyrics, but more important in the MTV age, good looks and high fashion. *Newsweek* magazine's Eric Gelman reported that prior to the risqué video for "Girls on Film," Duran Duran's album *Rio* couldn't even break into the Billboard Top 100 albums. The publicity generated by the video, however, led MTV executives to put the group's next release into heavy rotation. After four months on the music network, *Rio* broke into the Billboard Top 10 and sold more than 1 million copies.

The fact that videos exposed bands and sold records made record company budgets soar as each one tried to capitalize on the trend. Record companies were willing to sink large sums into videos because successful videos dramatically

POP MUSIC IN THE 1980s

When it comes to musical eccentricity, few periods can match the experimental flavor of the 1980s. Pop music of the 1980s combined newly emerging electronic instrumentation with the fashion and sensibilities of the British punk and post punk music scenes. A number of British artists, like Pink Floyd and David Bowie, rivaled domestic artists in terms of both mass appeal and influence. The 1980s has been called the "forgotten decade" because so much of the cultural development, from clothing and hairstyles to music, seems like more of a cultural pit stop than a period of significant importance. In contrast to this popular view, many songs of the 1980s have remained remarkably popular for over 20 years. While early electronic instruments may sound dated by modern standards, the integration of new technology was certainly innovative at the time. As the computer age was reaching its adolescence, American pop joined in for the ride as a variety of beeps, clicks, and synthesized instruments replaced the guitar, bass, and drums of earlier decades. It was also during this decade that the video became popular, fueled by the emergence of MTV (Music Television), and sparked a worldwide phenomenon in the combination of visual and musical media. Though 80s pop is sometimes laughed at for its eccentricity, the pop music of the day has left an impression on the industry and on the culture, encouraging a generation of artists not to fear experimentation.

improved CD sales. MTV provided the boost that the sagging record companies needed, and it created a number of music video stars who became household names.

MICHAEL JACKSON

For many, Michael Jackson epitomizes the 1980s. His album *Thriller,* released in 1982, spawned seven Top 10 singles and eight Grammy awards. Songs like "Billie Jean" and the title track, "Thriller," defined the era, not only reinvigorating dance music in mainstream America, but taking music videos to new heights. When *Rolling Stone* magazine released its list of the 500 greatest albums of all time in 2003, *Thriller* came in at number 20, based largely on its 37-week stay at number one and sales of 26 million.

Born in 1958 in Gary, Indiana, Michael Jackson was the fifth son in a large working-class family. The boys were urged to sing by their mother, who sang in the church choir, and their father Joe, who played guitar part time in a small blues band. In 1970, Joe traveled to Detroit with his sons to form The Jackson 5, who eventually released 13 albums on the Motown record label. The Jackson 5 had a string of hits, and many people considered the group the premier rhythm and blues/soul band in the country. The Jackson 5 became a popular culture phenomenon, even launching a Saturday morning animated cartoon. Michael, the youngest and "cutest" Jackson, served as the group's front man, dazzling audiences with his singing and dance moves.

In 1977, the group signed with Epic Records and changed their name to "The Jacksons," but they were unable to maintain their popularity. In 1979, Michael recorded his first solo effort *Off the Wall,* with producer Quincy Jones.



Thriller (1983 video short). Directed by John Landis. Shown: Michael Jackson. Courtesy of Photofest.

Jones also produced Jackson's second solo album, *Thriller.* The album catapulted Jackson into the limelight for both the quality of the songs and the frequent playing of the videos on MTV. Jackson quickly transformed from pop star to music legend.

Jackson's videos for *Thriller* were legendary because of the performer's street-wise beats and his amazing dancing. The first single, "Billie Jean," narrates a story about a one-night stand that results in a baby. The video's stylish look splits the screen into thirds and showcases Jackson's modern look and his incredible abilities as a dancer. It is in this video that Jackson sports a single sequined glove on one hand and wears matching socks. The singer's tuxedo, made of shiny black leather and outfitted with a purple satin bowtie, suits the moody look of the video. In one of the more memorable elements of the video, the panels of the sidewalk light up as Jackson dances across them, providing the only bright light in the piece. "Billie Jean" proved a phenomenal hit and set the bar for videos that followed.

Loosely based on *West Side Story,* the video of the album's second release, "Beat It," features Jackson taking on the persona of a negotiator between two rival gangs. He struts about dressed in red leather, while the song pulsates with an urgency that culminates in him leading both gangs into a dance that is both physically challenging and masculine. Soon after the release of "Beat It," many kids, even those in suburban white neighborhoods, began sporting a single sequined glove and red leather jackets.

The release of Jackson's epic video for "Thriller" turned into a worldwide event, which MTV milked for publicity. Directed by John Landis, the 17-minute video paid homage to horror films by



Beat Street (1984), told the story of young hip hop artists trying to break into show biz. Here Robert Taylor demonstrates some excellent breakdancing. Courtesy of Photofest.

BREAKDANCING

The urban dance craze known as "breakdancing" had its roots in the "hip hop" urban culture of the late 1970s. Featuring a blend of movements inspired by traditional African dancing, modern jazz, ballet, tap, and acrobatic moves that resemble martial arts, breakdancing started as a "street" dancing style. Breakdancers performed in clubs and in the streets, where breakdancing developed into a type of battle dance, halfway between street fighting and ballet, with breakdance "crews" competing for bragging rights and respect. From the inner city streets, breakdancing was popularized by hip hop artists of the early 1980s like Afrika Bambaataa of the Universal Zulu Nation. The obvious passion and athletic skill of breakdancing allowed the style to become popular far from the inner city streets of New York and Los Angeles. Some breakdancing moves, like the "moonwalk" that was famously performed by pop star Michael Jackson, began seeping into mainstream pop culture. Within a few years, breakdancing moves were popular everywhere from middle school dances to modern jazz performances. Though breakdancing peaked in the 1980s, it remained part of hip-hop and urban culture into the twenty-first century and played a role in the development of the next generation of street dances, including the "clown" and "krump" dancing of the Los Angeles dance scene.

opening in a theater where Jackson and his date watch *I Was a Teenage Werewolf* starring Jackson on the big screen in the Michael Landon role.

The video featured state of the art computer graphics and cinematography. In one scene, Jackson "morphs" from human to werewolf using computer graphics to make the transformation seem smooth and therefore more frightening. As Jackson and his date leave the theater, they find themselves surrounded by ghouls, who join Jackson in a stylish dance number, reminiscent of old film musicals.

MTV announced the times the video would play throughout the day, intensifying the movie-like feeling. "Thriller" made an important contribution to MTV's legacy—the video was released on VHS home video with a behind-the-scenes documentary that recorded how the video was made. The 60-minute tape sold millions of copies, making it the first such venture of its kind. *Thriller* not only revealed that MTV was a commodity that people wanted, but it ensured that it was here to stay.

MADONNA

Like Michael Jackson, Madonna defines the 1980s. Seemingly overnight, she emerged from nowhere to become a music icon. Madonna's music has been purchased by hoards of fans and maligned by industry critics since she first appeared on the scene in 1983. No artist of the 1980s had a larger effect on the cultural landscape than Madonna.

Born in Michigan, Louise Ciccone moved to New York City with dreams of becoming a ballerina in 1977. After studying with Alvin Ailey, she joined a few Village repertory dance companies before signing on to Sire Records as a solo performer. Adopting her mother's maiden name, "Madonna" quickly made a name for herself in the bustling club circuits with her first singles in 1982.

Madonna's self-titled debut album was released in 1983. The first single, "Holiday," was a catchy dance number that emphasized the beat and downplayed Madonna's tinny voice. "Holiday" enjoyed some success, but it was Madonna's video for MTV, "Borderline," that pushed her into the stratosphere. When the song broke the Top 10 in March 1984, it became the first of her 17 consecutive Top 10 hits—an industry record for a female solo performer.

The songs from Madonna's first album have a frisky, disco dance quality that appealed to a variety of consumers. The carefully packaged videos introduced Madonna to the world decked out in leather, lingerie, and two-toned hair, lace gloves, high-heeled boots, and a belt buckle emblazed with "Boy Toy."

Fun and sexy, the videos from Madonna's second album *Like a Virgin* playfully maligned the

role of men in the world. The album sent young female teens, called "wannabes," to thrift shops in droves hoping to find styles that mimicked Madonna, further establishing her as a cultural lightning rod. (See Fashion of the 1980s.) Selling millions of records solidified her status as a major force in the record industry.

Madonna caused an uproar among conservatives when she appropriated religious and virginal wedding attire for the video to "Like A Virgin." In a live performance of the song on the "MTV Music Awards," Madonna slithered across the floor, dripping sexuality. Many parents of teenage girls were up in arms over Madonna's influence and her videos. Her freewheeling sexuality challenged societal norms.

The second release from the album *Material Girl* solidified Madonna's reputation as a chameleon, as she transformed herself from "guttersnipe" to a Marilyn Monroe look-alike in a video that employed a visual pastiche of Monroe's number "Diamonds Are A Girl's Best Friend," staged by Howard Hawks for the film *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (1953). The video's parallel structure allowed Madonna to be seen as both a man-eating "material girl" and a more down-to-earth alter ego. Many popular culturists read Madonna through this video as the symbol of the affluent, self-centeredness that pervaded the culture. That was the power of MTV—its immediate link to the popular culture and the populace. Madonna learned early to use it to her advantage, and her stardom shows how careful she was to control the process.

In 1986, Madonna courted more controversy with the first videos from her new album *True Blue.* The best of these was the video for "Open Your Heart," directed by Louis Malle. Famed still photographer Herb Ritts, who took the cover photograph for the album, shot the video, giving it a cinematic feel and emphasizing Madonna's newly shorn and bleached hair. The video showcased Madonna's training as a dancer and her willingness to become the center of attention. In it, Madonna performs in a peep show wearing a black leather bustier and fish net stockings, spinning about a bentwood chair *à la* Bob Fosse.

Of course, controversy surrounded the video, mainly because the character Madonna played in the video had the charge of a small, seemingly innocent Italian boy who waited for her outside while she "worked"—Malle employed a cross-cut technique to show that while she dances inside, he struts about outside imitating her suggestive movements in front of a poster advertising her performances. As she leaves work for the evening, she joins him outside, bestowing a long, sensuous kiss on his lips. The two dance off together into the sunset in a nod to the innocent "road movies." However, the image of this young boy being entrusted to this type of woman sent many into a panic.

With the release of *Like a Prayer* (1989), Madonna once more found herself in controversy, as the video for the title track toyed with her Catholic heritage and her questioning of organized religion. Pepsi-Cola, the soft-drink giant, entered into a multimillion dollar contract with the singer to back a tour for the new album, in return for the use of "Like a Prayer" as a commercial tie-in. The ensuing controversy, orchestrated by right-wing conservatives, caused Pepsi to back out of the contract. In the video accompanying the song, Madonna—now brunette—performs with a black gospel choir on stage, simulating a passion play of sorts. Again, the structure employs a dual narrative: in one, Madonna pauses before a statue of a black Christ, kisses his feet, and receives his suggestive embrace as he comes to life; in the second, Madonna witnesses an attempted rape perpetrated by white skinheads and the same black man is arrested for the crime.

Feminists embraced the video for its overt confrontation of the Catholic Church and its reach toward social responsibility, as the Madonna character tells the police what happened, freeing the young black. Yet, the conservative public demanded punishment, pressuring Pepsi to pull out of its obligation.

HAIR METAL

In the 1980s, heavy metal musicians, raised on bands like Led Zeppelin, Kiss, and Black Sabbath, fused hard rock with an overt image consciousness to form the hair metal (or glam metal) wave. Strong on guitar licks and melodic choruses, but cognizant of costumes and hair spray, groups like

Mötley Crüe, Van Halen, Def Leppard, and Bon Jovi exploded onto the scene, promoted almost equally by MTV and tales of bad-boy escapades.

In the early part of the decade, two bands dominated the scene: the U.K.'s Def Leppard and Van Halen from the United States. In 1983, Def Leppard released *Pyromania.* The first single, "Photograph," sparked a headline tour across the country. Sales for the album surpassed seven million in America alone. Def Leppard almost came to an end the next year when drummer Rick Allen lost his left arm in an auto accident. Allen, however, surprised audiences by learning to drum one-handed, and the band played on.

Def Leppard remained a musical force throughout the 1980s, but took a secondary position for several years after *Pyromania* as young, Los Angeles-based bands stole the spotlight. The band retooled its sound, getting bigger and more anthem-like. In late 1987, Def Leppard put out *Hysteria,* led by the single "Pour Some Sugar on Me." Def Leppard played 227 shows to promote the album in 1987 and 1988. The album had a total of seven hit singles and constant rotation on MTV, which led to 16 million albums sold worldwide.

In the late 1970s, the group Van Halen rose from the streets of Los Angeles, led by front man David Lee Roth and guitarist Eddie Van Halen. The group released its self-titled debut album in 1978, which set off a string of five bestselling albums, culminating in *1984,* which sold 10 million copies. Van Halen had a unique sound, but also rode the music video wave, first with a fun-filled romp through "Jump," then in a hilarious take on the single "Hot for Teacher." Roth's video persona



Glam metal band Mötley Crüe. Nikki Sixx, Mick Mars, Vince Neil, Tommy Lee. Courtesy of Photofest.

"Diamond Dave" wore multicolored tights, did high-flying karate kicks on stage, and sported long, bleached blond hair. His larger-than-life antics were countered by Van Halen's blistering guitar and ever-present smirk.

Despite reigning over the rock world since their influential debut album, animosities between Roth and Eddie Van Halen split the band apart. The original Van Halen lineup broke up in 1985. Van Halen replaced Roth with Sammy Hagar, a successful solo artist who shared their artistic influences and freewheeling lifestyle.

Van Halen released *5150* in 1986, and the disk quickly climbed to number one on the Billboard album charts, a first for the band. A string of singles, including "Why Can't This Be Love," "Dreams," and "Best of Both Worlds," introduced Van Halen fans to a new sound, which some found too much like the era's pop music, particularly with the heavy use of keyboards and synthesizers. Two years later, Van Halen (dubbed by many "Van Hagar" to distinguish it from earlier days) released *OU812,* another pop-driven album that fans bought in droves, but that further alienated many early Van Halen devotees.

The successes of Van Halen and Def Leppard paved the way for other hair metal bands, but many used MTV's influence and stories of wild partying to establish themselves. Los Angeles served as one proving ground for glam metal groups, with Motley Crue opening doors for later acts such as Poison and Guns N' Roses.

Mötley Crüe released a string of multiplatinum albums, including *Shout at the Devil,* 1983, *Theatre of Pain,* 1985, *Girls, Girls, Girls,* 1987, and *Dr. Feelgood,* 1989, which became the group's only number one album. Early in the band's career, its members wore heavy androgynous makeup and looked nearly feminine. As the glam wave spread, however, Mötley Crüe adopted a tougher look, though still with multicolored leather clothing and teased locks. Hair bands could not afford to look too soft and possibly offend male fans who drove their sales.

Fueling Mötley Crüe's power was the way the band mastered videos, gaining a wide audience among the MTV crowd. Mötley Crüe also embodied the rock star lifestyle of drugs, partying, sex, and decadence.

Glam rock continued to do well in the 1980s, but a change loomed on the horizon. Hair metal lost its edge as it gained in popularity. Too many fans turned away from the pop-oriented songs and ballads being churned out by second-rate bands like Europe, which hit number one with the schmaltzy single "The Final Countdown" in 1986.

Guns N' Roses (GN'R) helped close the door on hair metal by revealing a darker side to the music that groups like Bon Jovi, Cinderella, and Poison could not duplicate. Led by front man W. Axl Rose and guitarist Slash, Guns N' Roses released the seminal *Appetite for Destruction* in 1987. Riding the wave of hair metal, but providing a grittier version, the disk hit number one and eventually sold 20 million copies. Three singles ("Welcome to the Jungle," "Sweet Child O'Mine," and "Paradise City") spent time in the top 10 and were popular videos in constant rotation on MTV. Tales of excess followed GN'R around the world as the band toured to promote the album.

In 1988, Guns N' Roses caused an uproar with the song "One in A Million" on its *G N' R Lies* CD. The lyrics included references to "niggers" and "faggots," which Rose claimed reflected the societal problems in America. Critics, however, took the band to task for its words and actions. The adverse publicity fueled the band's notoriety and record sales. Guns N' Roses churned out new songs as the decade ended, releasing two separate albums on the same date in 1991, *Use Your*

HIT SONGS OF THE 1980s

"Another Brick in the Wall" (Pink Floyd)—1980

"(Just Like) Starting Over" (John Lennon)—1980

"Billie Jean" (Michael Jackson)—1983

"Every Breath You Take" (The Police)—1983

"Jump" (Van Halen)—1984

"Like a Virgin" (Madonna)—1984

"We Are the World" (USA for Africa)—1985

"Walk Like an Egyptian" (Bangles)—1986

"I Wanna Dance With Somebody (Who Loves Me)" (Whitney Houston)—1987

"With or Without You" (U2)—1987

Illusion I and *Use Your Illusion II*. The gimmick paid off as the disks debuted holding the top two spots on the Billboard charts.

THE NEW BRITISH INVASION

Duran Duran

In 1962, The Beatles released their first album and made their first tour of America, bringing with them a new sound that quickly galvanized America's youth. In 1983, as MTV began in America, videos had already been circulating in the clubs of Europe, making record producers and industry critics agree that the Brits had, once more, cornered the initial market, producing clever, meaningful videos that celebrated the culture and sold bands.

The new British Invasion benefited groups like Duran Duran, who excelled at producing modern pop music and stylish, popular videos. Founded as a punk-oriented band in 1978 in Birmingham, England, the initial members—Nick Rhodes, John Taylor, Andy Taylor, and Roger Taylor—played in small pubs with one major disadvantage; these talented musician/songwriters needed a lead singer. In 1980, they met an acting student in London named Simon Le Bon.

As the newly-energized group began to make a global name for themselves, they exerted more control over their video efforts, pushing the form in a number of positive ways, including the use of computer-generated animation.

The group became an international sensation with the advent of MTV and their video for "Hungry Like the Wolf." Filmed in an exotic jungle setting, the video places the band in tropics reminiscent of *Raiders of the Lost Ark,* dressed in safari outfits as they stalk the "wolf"—a bevy of beautiful models sporting day-glow lines painted all over their bodies. The song's catchy dance rhythm and haunting lyrics blend with the vibrant colors and lush splendor. In 1983 the video won the first Grammy Award for a video.

As the 1980s progressed, Duran Duran began to take more risks, creating a body of video work that is still viewed by many as groundbreaking. For their next album, *Seven and the Ragged Tiger,* the group blended animation with live performance to create the video for "The Reflex," a song that quickly went to number one. Their video for the "The Wild Boys" is one of their more ambitious videos. It is a celebration of boisterous activity—those boyish antics that defy authority. The video opens in a classroom, and the "boys" sit dressed in their Etonian best, listening to a teacher. As the song picks up momentum, the boys begin to rebel, smashing their desks about the room, embracing the freedom of anarchy.

These images are intercut with those of a futuristic series of male warriors dancing in unison as members of the band seek to rescue lead singer, Simon Le Bon, who is tied to a windmill that spins him about, ducking his head under water as it goes around. The singer continues to lip-synch the song as he boldly looks into the camera, obviously defying his captors. Once the band frees him, Le Bon enters the water, only to be assaulted by some *Alien*-like creature. As the song ends, and the camera pans the destroyed, abandoned classroom and the warriors return to their dance, the video registers as an apocalyptic reminder of the fine line between chaos and control.

George Michael

Born Georgios Kyriacos Panayioutou in 1963, George Michael grew up in a working class ghetto of London. After playing in a number of street bands, he formed a partnership with another student named Andrew Ridgley, and together they recorded as Wham. The duo's first album *Fantastic* hit number one in the United Kingdom, and their second effort *Make It Big* hit number one in the United States as well. *Make It Big* scored as a direct result of the fun, campy video for "Wake Me Up Before You Go-Go," a joyfully banal celebration of life.

After the second album, George decided to leave the group to perform as a solo artist. His first album, *Faith,* helped redefine the capabilities of video performance, which re-invented Michael's image from clean cut and carefree to black leather chaps and a three-day stubble. The album sold eight million copies and spawned four number one singles, earning Michael a 1988 Grammy for Album of the Year.

The videos for *Faith* are directly responsible for Michael's success. Using his good looks to his advantage, the videos position him as a masculine sex object. For instance, the video for the cover single shows glimpses of parts of his body: a strong profile in one shot, his ever-present stubble upon his chin; a flash of his derriere in another, shaking to the beat of the song, clad in tight jeans. In the video for another hit, "I Want Your Sex," Michael courted controversy, appearing naked as he scrawls "Explore Monogamy" across the back of his female lover in red lipstick. The video for "Father Figure" brought Michael the most fame as the ballad hauntingly recounts a tale of dominant desire. Filmed in muted colors with stop-action photography, the images cut between Michael driving a cab, and a female model, haunted by the memory of their coupling, deciding to move on to a more successful photographer. The "Father Figure" video experiments with openly using images to complicate the song rather than overtly illustrating it.

Michael rejected his music company's plan for further sexualized videos toward the end of the 1980s, and did not appear in videos for his next album *Listen Without Prejudice*. Interestingly, the album failed.

MALE SOLO PERFORMERS

In addition to creating icons, MTV affected the gender roles in America, in some cases strongly delineating the stereotypical roles of men and women, and in others blurring the lines between women and men by celebrating androgyny.

Bruce Springsteen

The persona that Bruce Springsteen honed during the 1970s served him well in the 1980s, helping him become one of the most respected musicians in history. His album *Born in the USA* (1984) contributed to his iconographic image as a masculine ideal.

Born in Freehold, New Jersey in 1949, Springsteen grew up in a fairly typical middle-class environment, beginning guitar lessons in high school. After he graduated, he traveled to New York City, where he tried to make it big in the folk music scene of the Village. His failure to do so brought him back to Ashbury Park, New Jersey, where he began performing in small bands until one of his own creation, the E-Street Band, found a spot on the local venue.

Their first album, *Greetings from Asbury Park, NJ* (1973) won critical praise, but little audience attention. In 1974, he released his next album *Born to Run,* which became a hit as his sound began to filter into the rock scene.

Springsteen opened the 1980s with a double album, *The River,* which went platinum in a number of weeks due to the instant success of his first number one single, "Hungry Heart." In 1984, the album *Born in the USA* sold 20 million copies and launched a world tour that lasted two years. This album brought "The Boss" to MTV and the videos he made for the singles reveal much about the masculine ideal the singer represented.

Some of the videos for the *Born in the USA* album emphasized Springsteen performing with his band, strutting across the stages of America in front of thousands of cheering fans. In "Dancing in the Dark," Springsteen pulls a young woman from the audience (a young Courtney Cox) to dance to the song, every concert-goer's dream. The video for the title track was also this type of performance video, but with a savage political edge, intercut with images of the Vietnam Memorial and close-ups of Vietnam vets in the audience. As the song speaks of the irony of being "Born in the USA" to a land of privilege and freedom, the images sharply illustrate the plight of the veterans, crippled and forgotten by the policies of the Reagan administration.

The video's closing image of Springsteen facing an American flag, dressed in white T-shirt and blue jeans (as on the album's cover) and looking back over his shoulder, became one of the most charged political images of the 1980s. In it, "The Boss" looks directly into the camera—at his audience—daring them to remain complacent.

However, the video also provides an interesting illustration of the generation gap caused by MTV. For his 1984 re-election campaign, Ronald Reagan's strategists began playing "Born in the USA" at rallies, hoping to incorporate it into a new campaign anthem. Missing the irony of the lyrics completely, the Republicans only heard the

song's refrain, believing it suited Reagan's message of a better tomorrow. They only ceased using the song when Springsteen threatened to sue the Republican National Committee. Springsteen's image as a political rebel, a masculine man-of-the-people, and as a common man was eventually embraced by the Democrats—a party more suited to Springsteen's personal ideology—when they worked to elect Bill Clinton in 1992.

Prince

Prince stood on the other end of the masculinity barometer on MTV. The artist fused an urban funk beat with pop and rock to reshape the musical terrain in the 1980s. His soundtrack from his feature film debut, *Purple Rain,* made him one of the most celebrated artists of the decade, bringing him both a Grammy and an Oscar. Prince's videos for *Purple Rain* were mainly pulled from the film and revealed a different kind of American masculinity. Prince created an image more androgynous and street-smart savvy than Springsteen's "common man."

Prince's 1982 album *1999* sold more than 3,000,000 copies and the videos for his songs "Delirious" and "Little Red Corvette" introduced him to America's living rooms. The soundtrack for *Purple Rain* (1984) spent 20 weeks at number one, and yielded four Top 10 singles.

The videos that accompanied Prince's *Purple Rain* were mainly advertisements for the film—trailers with additional footage of the provocative performer in various states of undress ("When Doves Cry") or in performance ("Let's Go Crazy"). Despite adopting an androgynous persona, including heavy makeup and eyeliner, Prince exuded heterosexual sexuality and manliness. Although the nation seemed to skew toward conservative thinking in the 1980s, the music industry had room for different brands of masculinity, represented on different ends by Springsteen and Prince. Ultimately, the viewing public demanded this variety, nudged along by what MTV programmers thought would sell.

Prince's video for "When Doves Cry" featured a supposedly naked Prince in a bathtub, gazing into the camera while singing the opening lyrics. His hair is long and curled and his mascara evident, even though the room is filled with steam. After cutting to scenes from the film, the video returns to the star, who is this time crawling across the floor like a cat. The video intercuts this crawling with more scenes from the film before cutting completely away from the bath to a performance space, where Prince performs with his band, all of whom are dressed in glittery tailcoats and frilly blouses. Prince's own outfit is a skin-tight, lime green bolero jacket and tight trousers, and he wears a large purple hat with a veil. Again, his features are heavily made-up with mascara and eye shadow, much like the other members of his band. The video, however, shows the star as sexy, provocative, and daring.

Prince's adoring fans interpreted his appearance as more punk and funk influenced than feminized. Prince's effect on the ideas concerning masculinity is almost as important as his contribution to the music of the era—he offered another look at man, one that embraced a desire for show and glamour, but that was still heterosexually charged.

FEMALE SOLO PERFORMERS

MTV redefined common perceptions of women with the rock-music video. In a 1985 *Newsweek* article, Jim Miller argued that 1980s female musicians were firmly ensconced in the day's gritty reality, no longer willing to sing mindless songs about pretty rainbows or first loves. The music world began to change for women after only two years of MTV. More importantly, their music and style helped transform the way Americans thought about women.

Cyndi Lauper

Born in New York, Cyndi Lauper learned the guitar at an early age and began singing professionally after dropping out of high school. After touring with a few small bands in the 1970s, she began a solo career in 1980 and released her first album, *She's So Unusual,* in 1983. The album sold nine million copies in the United States and garnered four Top 10 singles. Lauper won a Grammy in 1984 and many "Best New Artist" awards. After a world tour in 1985, she released a second

album, *True Colors.* Her new, more mature sound did not mix well with the MTV crowd, so the album did not sell as well. However, the title track ballad went platinum.

Lauper's first single, "Girls Just Want to Have Fun," became an anthem for young women across America. Lauper's outrageous appearance–bright red dyed hair, shaved on one side, tons of costume jewelry, and dressed in an outfit half thrift store chic and half remnants from a fire sale, drew in young MTV fans who wanted to emulate her style. Lauper's friends in the video come from all walks of life—girls dressed in colorful, daring clothes with hair dyed every color of the rainbow. As they dance about the streets, joined here and there by handsome boys, the video clearly illustrates the song's intended message: that girls—young women—deserve just as much right to "have fun" as young men, without society thinking less of them.

Lauper's other releases from this album also became anthems of the MTV crowd, but her video for "She Bop" rocked the censors as it proclaimed women's rights to not only talk openly about reading pornography, but masturbate to it as well. The video for "She Bop" ends with a variety of people, from all walks of life, attempting to dance a Busby Berkeley production number.

The humor increases as each person turns around to show that they are wearing dark glasses and wielding walking sticks for the sight impaired. Lauper's primary agenda seemed to defy the moral majority. Her work of the 1980s paved the way for young women to take control of their lives and enjoy themselves.

Tina Turner

Tina Turner, the former Anna Mae Bullock from Nutbush, Tennessee, already reigned as a rock-and-roll legend in the 1980s. After leaving Tennessee for St. Louis, she teamed up with her husband Ike Turner and his band, the Kings of Rhythm, to become The Ike and Tina Turner Review, a mainstay of rhythm and blues throughout the 1960s. Tina recorded as a member of the Revue until Phil Spector approached her to release a single of her own, "River Deep, Mountain High" (1969). After opening successfully for the Rolling Stones, the Revue had a major hit with their cover of the Credence Clearwater Revival song "Proud Mary."

Ike's temper, however, corrupted the working relationship between the band members and his marriage to Tina. Evidence of abuse finally destroyed the union, although the wider world would not learn the full details until the 1993 film *What's Love Got to Do with It?* Tina left Ike in 1976, securing enough money for a divorce two years later.

In 1980, Tina signed with manager Roger Davies, who helped reshape her career and move her away from the second-rate Vegas-styled career she maintained on her own. Their first album together, *Private Dancer,* sold 10 million copies and scored a number one hit with "What's Love Got To Do With It?" in addition to four other Top 10 hits. The song went on to win four Grammys, and in the next three years, Turner won three more.

The video for "What's Love Got to Do With It?" introduced a different kind of femininity, based in the personal life of the singer herself, to the MTV audience. Turner returned to the music scene at the age of 54, and the video showed her looking like a much younger sexual goddess, decked out in a mini skirt, denim jacket, fishnet stockings, and six-inch heels. Her new trademark was a big, blonde hairdo, a startlingly funky change from the stylish wigs she wore when performing with Ike. The song itself allowed Turner to use her low, gravelly voice to call attention to the fact that she was on the prowl, looking for a man who could satisfy her, and not try to control her. She strutted about Manhattan, gazing at men like they routinely gaze at women in most videos, actively turning the tables to show a woman as the owner of the gaze. Turner's toughness made her a *cause celebre,* and her style revealed that women could make it big in a man's world.

Paula Abdul

Born in Los Angeles, Paula Abdul began her career as a dancer and choreographer. For a time, she was a cheerleader for the L.A. Lakers, which got her noticed, and she slowly began to parlay that attention into jobs with artists who needed dance choreography for their music videos.

LIVE AID

Contrary to the "Me Generation" label, young people in the decade had a growing awareness of the world's problems and their roles in changing society for the better. The response to the famine that rocked Ethiopia in 1984 is a perfect example of how Americans could be moved to help.

During that year a million Africans perished due to a severe drought and lack of international aid. British pop star Bob Geldof (lead singer of the Boomtown Rats) decided to use his celebrity to fight the famine. With singers from the British groups Midge Ure and Ultravox, Geldof wrote a song released in December 1984 called "Do They Know It's Christmas?"—a ballad that spoke of the need for mankind to pay attention to the Ethiopian victims.

On November 25, 1984, 40 pop stars from the British recording industry, including Sting, Phil Collins, George Michael, Bono, members of Duran Duran, Culture Club, and Bananarama, recorded the song, hoping to raise $150,000 for relief. The record went multiplatinum worldwide, raising $16 million for famine relief. This effort was followed in America with "We Are The World," a song written by Michael Jackson and Lionel Ritchie, performed by 75 rock stars in America on the night of the Grammy Awards in February 1985.

Geldof worked to stage an intercontinental concert that would raise more funds and increase awareness of African starvation. "Live Aid" was staged on July 13, 1985 at Wembley Stadium, London, and at JFK Stadium, Philadelphia. The roster of performers was staggering: Elton John, Madonna, Sting, Queen, U2, Eric Clapton, Spandau Ballet, The Four Tops, Run DMC, David Bowie, Bryan Adams, the Beach Boys, Billy Joel, and Tina Turner. Phil Collins performed in London that morning for a crowd that included Prince Charles and Lady Diana and then flew aboard the Concorde to play with Sting and Eric Clapton in Philadelphia. The event was carried live all day on both CNN and MTV, and the youth of America watched in record numbers, raising another $80 million for famine victims.

Abdul choreographed the dance sequences for a number of big stars in the music business, including Janet Jackson, Duran Duran, and Tracy Ullman. Gradually, Abdul convinced industry insiders to take a chance on her as a singer. Her first album *Forever Your Girl* soared after the video for the first single "Straight-Up" jumped into heavy rotation on MTV. The album went on to sell 10 million copies and had three additional number one songs.

Abdul's highly stylized videos carefully showcased her beauty and dancing ability. The video for "The Way That You Love Me," for instance, intercut a series of material objects—fine wines, CD players, sleek auto interiors—with the glowing image of Abdul, singing directly to the camera: "It ain't the money or diamond rings/Honey, I don't care about material things/It's just the way that you love me."

In the video, the portrayal is that of a man who needs material objects to satisfy his ego. However, the beautiful woman argues that it is not the things that make the man, but the man himself—a stylish lesson for the materialism of the decade.

THE DEATH OF JOHN LENNON

The assassination of former Beatle John Lennon on December 18, 1980, outside the Dakota, his Manhattan home, marked the end of an "age of innocence" for many Americans. A self-proclaimed peace advocate, Lennon, who orchestrated the break-up of The Beatles with his marriage to Yoko Ono, died from a single gunshot to the head, fired by Mark David Chapman, an obsessed fan.

In the years since the demise of the Beatles, Lennon had taken the lead of the anti-war movement, mobilizing hoards of young men and women to rally against the Vietnam War in 1972, and Richard Nixon in particular. Nixon's paranoia set off an FBI investigation into Lennon's activities that lasted until he died. Ono refused to let her husband's death pass without meaning. Throughout the 1980s, she used the incident to lobby for tighter gun control restrictions. Lennon's message of a world filled with peace resonated throughout the 1980s as a call to the rebels of the 1960s and 1970s to not forego the battle against aggression.

Sports

and Leisure of the 1980s

America's long preoccupation with sport and leisure activities changed during the 1980s. While millions jogged and aerobicized themselves into better shape during the decade, millions more became fixated on the sofa, watching sports, playing videogames, and learning DOS on their new computers. America's notion of leisure changed during the decade, influenced once more by the melding of technology and the advertising convictions of Madison Avenue bent on assuring Americans that they could not get along without more commodities.

A series of fads swept the nation, from the Rubik's Cube to Cabbage Patch Dolls. Millions of Americans took to the malls, sometimes just to window shop or meet up with friends. Often, however, a trip to the mall included a movie at the burgeoning multiplexes.

AMC Theaters, founded in the 1920s and headquartered in Kansas City, Missouri, helped build the multiplex industry. In the 1960s and 1970s, the company built multi-screen theaters close to or attached to shopping malls, convinced that moviegoers wanted the added convenience. In the early 1980s, AMC realized that by combining many screens under one roof, movie theaters became more efficient and profitable.

The cost savings enabled AMC to introduce new innovations in technology and marketing. AMC developed the automated projection system, which revolutionized the industry. In 1981, the company installed the first cup-holder armrests. It also bumped up the number of screens in each location from 5 or 6 to 8 or 12.

SPORTS

The sporting world's hold on the nation broadened as technological innovations such as cable television gave audiences more opportunities to watch sports. Television catapulted athletes to new heights of wealth and fame. The professional athletic leagues used different methods to promote their sports on television, ranging from the NFL's emphasis on winning teams, such as the Dallas Cowboys and San Francisco 49ers, to the NBA focusing on its marquee players, like Michael Jordan, Larry Bird, and Magic Johnson.

With little original programming, cable networks traditionally relied on network reruns and old movies to fill space. In the 1980s, cable television executives realized that sports would attract audiences and build loyalty among viewers. For example, early NBA playoff coverage on Ted Turner's TBS network drew record ratings across all cable programming.

ESPN started as an alternative to the short sports segments in standard television news broadcasts

and the information found in "Sports" sections of newspapers. ESPN started out fairly small and often had to broadcast unorthodox sporting events, such as tractor pulls; international sports relatively unknown in the United States, such as Australian Rules Football; as well as the short-lived United States Football League (USFL), to attract viewers.

In 1987, ESPN landed a contract to show National Football League games on Sunday evenings, an event which transformed ESPN from a smaller cable TV network into a marketing empire and a cornerstone to the enthusiastic "sports culture" it largely helped to create. The major networks soon followed with increased sports programming.

Advertisers used this newfound intimacy between athletes and fans to promote their products, turning sports stars into mega-celebrities. In the 1960s, less than 10 percent of all ads featured sports figures. In the 1980s, however, that figure climbed to 20 percent.

Corruption also intervened in the sports world in often harsh ways in the 1980s. Many of the episodes were driven by greed on the part of franchise owners or players, while others revolved around illegally bending the rules to gain a competitive advantage.

Other incidents were more tragic. University of Maryland basketball star Len Bias died of a cocaine overdose before ever getting to don a Boston Celtics jersey as the team's first round draft choice. Olympic diving champion Greg Louganis and Los Angeles Lakers basketball star Magic Johnson each contracted the HIV virus, opening the world of AIDS to the American public like never before.

BASEBALL

In the 1980s, nine different Major League Baseball (MLB) teams won the World Series, which made the decade interesting for fans. Rather than the dynasties that had dominated baseball in past decades, a handful of teams had a legitimate chance at winning the title. Baseball fans also saw numerous individual and career achievements during the 1980s. In 1985, for example, Pete Rose passed Ty Cobb as baseball's all-time hit leader, a mark that many observers thought would stand forever. Three years later in 1988, millions watched as Kirk Gibson hobbled off the bench on injured knees to hit a homerun off Oakland A's star closer Dennis Eckersley to lead the Los Angeles Dodgers to a World Series title.

WORLD SERIES

1980 Philadelphia Phillies (NL), 4 games; Kansas City Royals (AL), 2 games

1981 Los Angeles Dodgers (NL), 4 games; New York Yankees (AL), 2 games

1982 St. Louis Cardinals (NL), 4 games; Milwaukee Brewers (AL), 3 games

1983 Baltimore Orioles (AL), 4 games; Philadelphia Phillies (NL), 1 game

1984 Detroit Tigers (AL), 4 games; San Diego Padres (NL), 1 game

1985 Kansas City Royals (AL), 4 games; St. Louis Cardinals (NL), 3 games

1986 New York Mets (NL), 4 games; Boston Red Sox (AL), 3 games

1987 Minnesota Twins (AL), 4 games; St. Louis Cardinals (NL), 3 games

1988 Los Angeles Dodgers (NL), 4 games; Oakland A's (AL), 1 game

1989 Oakland A's (AL), 4 games; San Francisco Giants (NL), 0 games

THE OLYMPICS

The Olympic Games of the 1980s took on a political air not seen since Jesse Owens ran at the 1936 Munich Games; participation and medal counts were seen as a reflection of a nation's power.

1980 Olympic Games

Protesting the USSR invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, President Jimmy Carter announced that if Soviet troops did not withdraw before February 20, 1980, he would refuse to allow the American teams to participate in the Moscow Olympics. The Soviets called his bluff, justified their invasion to the world, and waited for America's official withdrawal. Carter signed

the order withdrawing the American delegations, and the world—including the American teams—turned against Carter. The International Olympic Committee announced that the Games should be above politics; however, West Germany, Japan, Canada, and China joined the U.S. boycott, which set the stage for Soviet domination of the Games; they won 197 medals, 80 of them gold.

This action by the United States made the Winter Games at Lake Placid, New York, all the more interesting. The Soviets, still in Afghanistan, sent their delegation to participate, and the showdown over the new world order took place on a hockey rink, rather than on a battlefield. The U.S. team, coached by Herb Brooks, emerged the victor in a series of stunning upsets over Sweden and Czechoslovakia. A showdown with the heavily-favored Soviet team loomed for the underdog Americans. The teams battled furiously, understanding the political and cultural ramifications of the game. They skated to a 3–3 tie at halftime. Then, team captain Mike Eruzione scored a third period goal that allowed the American team to beat the Soviets. Sports fans around the nation celebrated the victory as if it had been the gold medal game.

The final victory over the Finnish team gave the United States its first gold medal in hockey—a "miracle" that resonated as a victory for democracy.

Another highlight of these Games was Eric Heiden winning five gold medals in speed skating—taking first place in each of his races. Heiden set Olympic records for the 500-meter, the 1,000-meter, the 1,500-meter, and 5,000-meter races and a world record for the 10,000-meter race. Heiden's sister Elizabeth won the bronze medal in the Women's 3,000-meter speed-skating race.

1984 Olympic Games

The 1984 Summer Games in Los Angeles boasted its share of American athletic heroes in a variety of sports, partially because the USSR boycotted these games. Texas native Carl Lewis won four goal medals in the track-and-field competition, tying Jesse Owens's record set in 1936. Lewis would defend his medals in the 1988 Olympics.

Diver Greg Louganis became the first American in 56 years to win two gold medals for diving, in the springboard and the 10-meter platform events. Louganis had won a silver medal at the 1976 Rome Games, and he was the first diver to receive a perfect score of 10 at the 1982 World Championships. He was prepared to win the gold in Moscow when the Americans pulled out of the competition. He became the first diver to pass 700 points in both events in the same Olympics, and his total of 710.91 points remains the most number of points awarded to a diver in Olympic history.

American gymnast Mary Lou Retton became "America's Sweetheart" as she won five gold medals at the Summer Games. In addition, she won a silver medal for her performance on the vault, and two bronze medals in the floor exercise and the parallel bar events. Her impressive back somersault with a backward twist from the vault won her the gold medal for best all-around gymnastic competition; she became the first American gymnast to win that prize. In addition, her silver medal awarded for team competition made her one of America's most decorated gymnasts in the history of the Games. She retired from competition in 1986, but worked as a television commentator during the 1988 Games.

1988 Olympic Games

The 1988 Summer Games were held in Seoul, South Korea, and no nations boycotted the competition. Lewis defended his long jump title with a jump of 28′ 7¼″. His attempt to defend his 100-meter title was the center of much greater controversy, and Lewis lost the crown of "world's fastest man" to Ben Johnson of Canada in a dramatic race. Sparks erupted after the race, however, when Johnson tested positive for steroids. Olympic officials stripped Johnson of the medal and awarded Lewis the gold.

Greg Louganis faced difficult competition in defending his medals as well. Going up against 14-year-old Xiong Ni of China, Louganis attempted a reverse somersault pike and hit his head on the diving board, shocking the world. The gruesome video of the accident was replayed countless times. After receiving stitches, the American



Olympic athletes often go on to perform in other venues, including entertainment. Here, figure skater Dorothy Hamill (who won a gold medal in the Winter Olympics of 1976), and diver Greg Louganis (who won gold medals for diving in both 1984 and 1988), are seen in 1986 on CBS-TV's *The Eleventh Annual Circus of Stars*. Courtesy of Photofest.

diver came back the next day to nail all 11 dives perfectly and regain his title. Louganis became only the second American diver in history to win back-to-back titles.

The thrilling Olympic victory after such a horrendous accident was overshadowed by the revelation that Louganis was HIV-positive at the time, revealed the following year in his autobiography, *Breaking the Surface*. Many speculated that the diver's injury put other contestants at risk, but doctors agreed that the chances of that were minimal.

Wearing hot pink spandex running suits and brandishing multicolored, 5-inch nails, Florence Griffith Joyner appeared more like a fashion plate than an Olympic athlete. However, "Flo Jo" took the world by storm, winning gold medals for the 100-meter, the 200-meter, and the 4 × 100-meter relay. She also won a silver medal in the 4 × 400-meter relay with her teammates.

FADS

Like most things connected to the 1980s, extreme fads reveal much about people. While Americans lived healthier due to avid interests in jogging, weightlifting, rollerblading, and aerobic exercise, the advent of the videogame and the personal computer tied people, particularly youngsters, to the couch and led to a rise in obesity.

Fads such as Cabbage Patch Dolls and Care Bears, and action figures such as Go-bots and Transformers, made shopping for Christmas a nightmare. In malls across the nation, desperate crowds stampeded stores in hopes of acquiring these toys for their children. In an image conscious decade, these toys became status symbols, even to the very young. For some parents, acquiring the toys became an end in itself and much more important than the impact the toy would have on the child getting it.

The biggest fad of the 1980s came in the form of a toy. The Coleco Toy Company launched their "Cabbage Patch Dolls" in 1983. Originally the dolls were part of an elaborate art show mounted by Xavier Robert, a sculptor from Cleveland, Georgia. Robert used them in an art show he mounted in a local gallery, where he and his assistants dressed as maternity room attendants. The basic design of each doll was the same—they were all chubby with pudgy faces and close-set eyes. However, Roberts made every doll distinct. He dressed them differently and provided a birth certificate for every one, offering them for "adoption" rather than for purchase.

After Coleco purchased the initial design from Roberts, they used computers to assign each doll a distinction, in order to comply with Roberts's original intent. The demand soon overwhelmed the factory, with sales reaching $60 million in 1983, the first year on the market. Shortages caused mass stampedes at shopping malls and fistfights in the aisles as a Cabbage Patch Dolls craze broke out during the 1984 Christmas shopping season. By 1985, sales reached $500 million, and many stores held lotteries for customers to

secure orders. By the next year, however, the fad had passed.

Physical fitness became another fad that tapped into an America that wanted to look good and feel healthy. The foremost guru for the fad came from an unlikely source—Jane Fonda, actress and political advocate. Unveiling a video titled *Jane Fonda's Workout,* the 44-year-old actress demonstrated an aerobic style exercise regimen that women could perform along with the actress. Her video sold millions of copies, and Fonda became the poster girl for clean and healthy living. Her *Workout* book, complete with diet plan, was number one on the *New York Times* Best Seller List for months, and Fonda was named one of the most influential women of 1984 by the *World Almanac*—ahead of Sandra Day O'Connor and Nancy Reagan. By the end of the decade, Fonda had starred in and produced 10 other fitness videos for every kind of woman—from pregnant and elderly women to those in the working world.

Fonda's video bonanza was just the first in a long line of fitness related ventures that made physical fitness a legitimate, billion-dollar industry. Women began aerobicizing and jazzercizing in gym classes and with other videos, like Richard Simmons's *Sweating to the Oldies.* The film *Flashdance* ushered in a new trend in fitness clothing for women—sweatshirts—frequently ripped—worn off the shoulder, with leotards, leg warmers, and headbands becoming the latest gym fashions. The new emphasis on the male physique brought about by Calvin Klein's underwear advertisements made men more conscious of how they looked as well. Instead of three martini power lunches, some men retreated to the gym to jog or to power lift in clubs outfitted with new Nautilus training equipment. Because of a renewed interest in holistic healing, spas began to experience a surge in attendance for massages, tanning facilities, and saunas. A gym membership became a badge of honor, and memberships to some establishments in New York City cost about $2,000 a year.

One example of the fitness craze appeared on the *Billboard* charts with Olivia Newton John's single "Physical." The song climbed to number one in three weeks and remained there for much of 1982. The video for the song, one of the first in heavy rotation on MTV, showcased Newton John's new image, worlds away from the simple country girl she had portrayed in earlier work. With "Physical," Newton John transformed into a confident, sexy woman of the world, prowling about a trendy gymnasium dressed in a body suit with matching headband and leg warmers, posing between muscle-bound weight lifters and encouraging out-of-shape men.

GAMES

A number of new games became popular during the decade—some old-fashioned and others acutely electronic. Jenga, distributed by Milton Bradley, was one party game advertised as a game of skill. Wooden blocks fit together to form a tower of 18 levels—each level comprised of three blocks at right angles, intersecting with the previous layer. The object of the game was to pull out the blocks one at a time without toppling the tower. The person who toppled the tower lost.

Another board game that became an instant sensation was *Trivial Pursuit,* advertised as a "party in a box" when it debuted in 1982. Initially, the game caused only a minor stir when unveiled at the American International Toy Fair in 1982. Its creators, Scott Abbott, a Canadian sports writer; Chris Haney, a photo editor for the *Montreal Gazette;* Chris Abbott, a former hockey player; and Ed Werner, an attorney, devised the game in Canada after trying to stump one another with trivia questions. They sank all their money into producing the prototype unveiled at the Fair, but were disappointed by the initial results. Soon, however, word of mouth spread and the game became a Christmas season sensation, selling more than 20 million games in 1984 alone.

Given the widespread interest in Trivial Pursuit, the team then produced specialized versions, such as the "Silver Screen" and the "All Sports" editions. In 1988, Parker Brothers purchased the rights to the game. The company increased the variety of specialized versions to include a popular culture version and a children's version. Across all the different versions, the goal of the game remained the same—to fill in your "pie" by answering trivia questions correctly from five categories, each represented by a different color wedge: Geography

(blue), Arts and Entertainment (pink), History (yellow), Literature (brown), Science and Nature (green), and Sports and Leisure (orange). The player who fills his pie, then returns to the center of the board and answers a question in a category picked by his opponent, wins the game.

Another hot item was the Rubik's Cube, a plastic puzzle cube with six different sides each made up of nine colored squares. Players attempted to align the sides of a jumbled Rubik's Cube so that each side featured its original solid color. The best players nimbly whirled the cube at near blinding speed, in a frenzy of clicking, until they completed the puzzle regardless of how jumbled it had become.

The game was invented in 1974 by Erno Rubik, a professor of Interior Design at the Academy of Applied Arts and Design in Budapest. The model for the cube was the basis of one of Rubik's lectures and consisted of a three-dimensional cardboard cube he had constructed to assist his students in figuring square footage and other useful theories. When the students enthusiastically responded to the cube as a game, Rubik applied for a patent in 1975, and the leading toy firm Politechnika released the game to Budapest toy stores in 1977.

Rubik's Cube mania spread quickly in Hungary, and word of the puzzle reached Ideal Toys in 1979. Unveiled at the International Toy Fair of London in January 1980, the Rubik's Cube made an enthusiastic debut in the West, making the cover of *Scientific American* that same month. Orders for the Rubik's Cube surpassed expectations in the United States. Although Ideal



Sonoma State University's (California) Space Invaders Club (1980), shows the popularity on college campuses of early video game enthusiasts. Courtesy of Photofest.

VIDEO GAMES

The video game industry had its roots in 1952, when Cambridge University Researcher A. S. Douglas created the first graphic computer game, a version of tic-tac-toe, for his dissertation on human-computer interactions. From Douglas's game to the 1970s, video games remained simple, with basic graphics and controls and little complexity in terms of plot. The 1970s was a major decade in computer design and saw a number of innovations, including the first arcade games (1971), the first home gaming console (1972), and the first multi-game console, the Atari 2600 (1977). In under a decade, the video game industry accelerated from a crawl to a sprint. It was in the 1980s, however, when home gaming evolved from a minor pastime into a national obsession. Game systems became smaller and more reliable, and increased graphical capabilities made games more engaging. Along the way, video games attracted controversy, including attempts at censorship because of adult content or because of fear that violence in video games would have negative psychological effects on players. In most cases, judges chose to protect video games with other forms of media under First Amendment provisions guaranteeing free speech. Though some continued to criticize video games as a lower form of art, millions of gamers around the world objected and still say that video game designers and writers are innovators and should be credited with creating new worlds of creative entertainment.

considered renaming the game before its release, the company decided to keep the original name, and launched the game in May 1980 with a Hollywood party hosted by actress Zsa Zsa Gabor. Over the next two years the Rubik's Cube sold more than 100 million units, puzzling children and adults alike.

Board games appealed to traditional fans, but electronic-based video games transformed leisure time in the 1980s and soon became an integral part of many people's childhoods. The most exciting game to come along was Pac-Man, a video arcade game invented in 1977 by Toru Iwatani, who claimed that his inspiration had come from a slice of pizza.

Pac-Man, the yellow chomping circle pursued by evil ghosts, arrived in American arcades in 1980, the first video game targeted toward preadolescents. By 1982, there were 100,000 machines in arcades across the country, and Pac-Man was a household word. Not only did the video game inspire its own novelty song "Pac-Man Fever," it spawned other versions, including Ms. Pac-Man and Professor Pac-Man.

Travel

of the 1980s

Travel in the 1980s reflected the desire for bigger and better methods of transport, affecting everything from the family automobile to the largest corporate jets. During this time, Chrysler unveiled its new minivan, marketing it for suburban families on the go. Honda and Toyota, Japanese corporations, brought out new cars promising better gas mileage than any American-made car on the market. In an effort to keep pace with these foreign vehicles, Ford released its Taurus, a newly designed sedan.

In an era of high stakes business deals and one-upmanship, tried and true foreign car manufacturers such as BMW, Saab, Volvo, and Mercedes, made pricey, foreign cars that became status symbols in corporate America and among the wealthy.

HOME FOR THE HOLIDAYS

The convenience of air travel made Americans more mobile than ever. This mobility became most apparent during the holiday season. More than 22 million passengers traveled during the holiday season in 1988, a record at that time. The chaotic atmosphere intensified as the regular business and corporate travelers were joined by vacationers, college students, and military personnel.

As the holidays grew nearer, the headaches increased for the airlines. At Chicago's O'Hare Airport, United Airlines reported that it escorted 900 children from one plane to the other on a busy day. Not only were the airlines moving an influx of travelers, they also shipped countless tons of mail; some airlines lugged up to one million pounds of mail a day. Checked and carry-on luggage increased during the holidays as well.

Despite the record number of air passengers in the 1980s, the airlines did not make profits commensurate with the influx. Passengers used new computerized airline ticketing systems to book several different flights, often without letting the airlines know which ones they were not taking. As a result, flights that should have been full were often less than half full. The 15 to 20 percent of all passengers that were "no shows" during regular times of the year jumped to 60 or 70 percent during the holidays. Pan American World Airways hedged its bets by forcing customers to prepay for tickets and did not give refunds for no shows.

Some days and destinations were sure bets for the airlines. Around Christmas, Hawaii stood as vacationers' number one destination. In response, United added 74 additional roundtrips to and from the islands, which added nearly 30,000 new seats between Christmas and New Year's. Even a single-day event like the Rose Bowl could



John Z. DeLorean answers reporters' questions at his news conference in New York on February 19, 1982. AP Photo.

bolster airline profits. United added four extra 254-passenger DC-10 trips between Los Angeles and Detroit, specifically catering to University of Michigan boosters.

AMERICAN AIRLINES

The passage of the Airline Deregulation Act of 1978 had far-reaching consequences for air travelers and the industry. The act removed government control of air routes and ticket prices and encouraged new airlines to enter the market. The regulatory changes meant that large companies could expand routes into new parts of the nation and overseas. However, it also opened the skies to smaller, cut-rate airlines that could sell tickets for much less than their larger competitors.

Realizing it needed a new kind of management to deal with the changes taking place in the industry, American hired Robert L. Crandall as president and chief operating officer in 1980. Crandall had previously worked at TWA and Bloomingdale's before joining American, and he had a reputation for innovative uses of technology

THE DELOREAN

One symbol of affluence was the limited edition DeLorean. John Z. DeLorean was born and raised in Detroit, Michigan, son of an autoworker at the local Ford plant. After graduating with an MBA and working for Packard Motor Company, DeLorean worked for General Motors as chief engineer of the Pontiac, where he reworked the "old ladies' sedan" to make it more powerful and more affordable. When the GTO sold 31,000 units in 1964, DeLorean was hailed a genius.

After parting ways with GM in 1975, DeLorean founded his own motor company in Detroit, eventually moving to Park Avenue. Set to unveil a product that catered to the newly affluent, DeLorean hired the top designers from Porsche, Renault, and BMW, but the development of the car itself proved a formidable task. Unveiled in 1978, the distinct features of the car included gull-wing doors, a rear-mounted, PRV-6 engine, and a 304-grade stainless steel body. In addition, the car's stainless steel body was not painted to avoid rust, making it appear a sleek silver bullet as it sped along the roads of America.

Early purchasers paid $1,000 down for the privilege of being one of the first owners, but projected costs were off, and the car that was initially set to cost $12,000 actually cost $28,000 by the time it was complete in 1981. Consumer groups rated the car low, but advertising paid off, and sales of the car were good for the first year.

In 1982 a sting operation in Los Angeles found DeLorean (some say he was framed) in a cocaine bust, linking him to drug trafficking. Although he was eventually acquitted, the series of trials left the company bankrupt. According to the DeLorean Owners Association, 6,539 cars were produced in 1981, 1,126 in 1982, and 918 in 1983, making it a highly sought after collectible. The DeLorean also achieved fame as the vehicle used as Doc Brown's time machine in the *Back to the Future* films. (See Entertainment of the 1980s.)

that drove greater efficiencies. Crandall became American Airlines' Chairman and CEO in 1985.

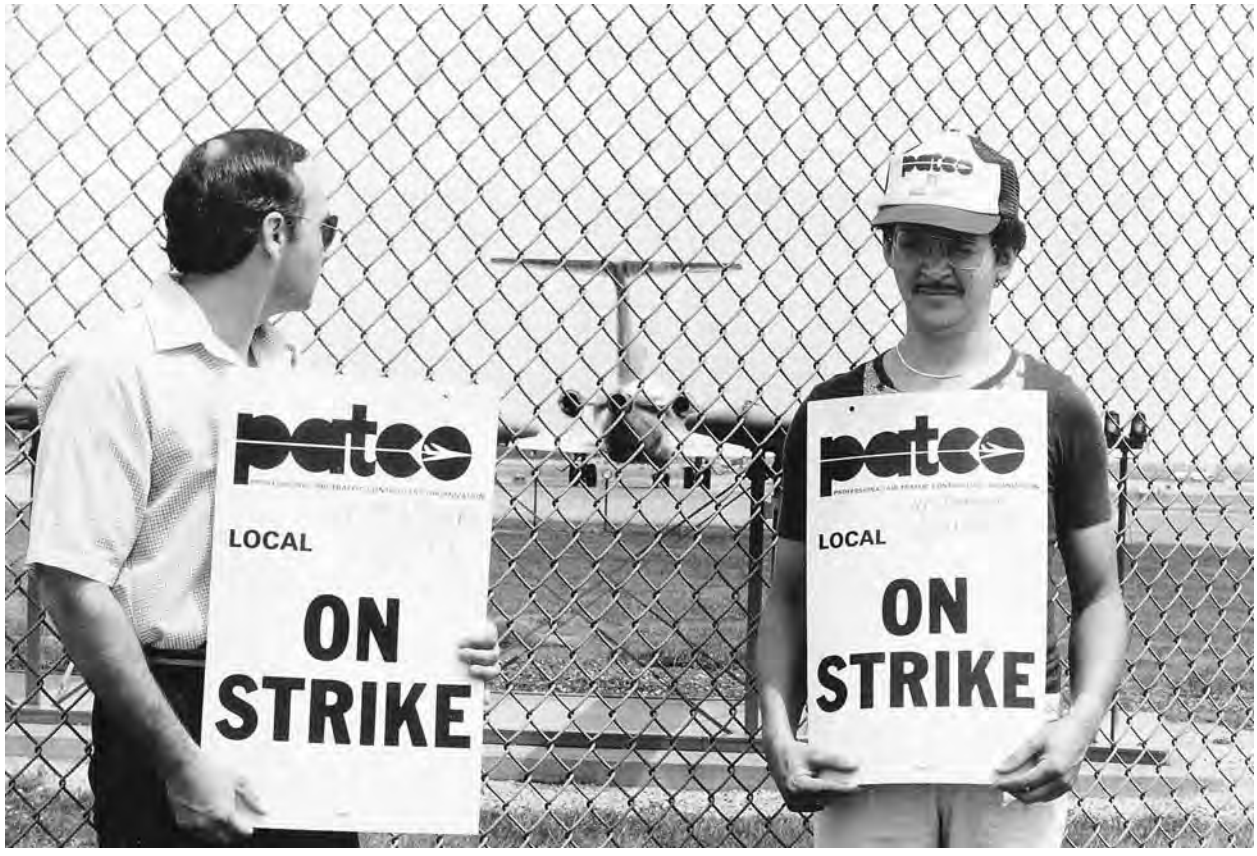
In January 1979, American Airlines took advantage of deregulation (see Travel of the 1970s) to introduce new flights to a wider selection of cities in the United States and across the Caribbean. The same year, the airline also took a bold step, moving its headquarters from New York City to Dallas/Fort Worth, Texas. The new complex also housed a training facility for employees and pilots and a reservations office.

In 1981, as more people took to the skies for business and leisure travel, American Airlines introduced AAdvantage travel awards program, a marketing program to reward frequent fliers. The same year, the company also brought out its "AAirpass," an early corporate travel card that offered guaranteed fixed air travel costs. The company continued its marketing efforts in the face of the many competitors battling for market share. In 1985, American introduced "Ultimate Super Saver" fares, which offered passengers up to 70 percent discounts, a direct assault against its smaller competitors. American also attempted to draw in older travelers with its Senior SAAVers Club, which gave discounts to senior citizens.

These attempts to deal with increased competition went beyond marketing campaigns. In 1984, American introduced the American Eagle system, a network of regional airlines that linked small communities to large cities through connections to and from American Airlines.

AIR TRAFFIC CONTROL STRIKE

One of the most serious tests to labor laws concerning the travel industry came early in Ronald Reagan's first term. The Professional Air Traffic Controller's Organization (PATCO) believed that the Federal Aviation Agency (FAA) had never



Two striking air traffic controllers stand on a picket line as an airliner taxis on the runway behind them at New York's La Guardia Airport, 1981. AP Photo.

seriously addressed their concerns about working conditions in the industry. PATCO had argued its case and registered complaints against the agency in years past, but the continued threat of a strike was never believed to be real until 1980. At this time, concerns about fair labor practices and compensation were simply rebuffed once more, and the union believed they had enough votes to finally make the threat a reality. On August 3, 1981, the Controllers gained the votes necessary for a walk out, and 13,000 air traffic controllers went on strike, following talks that had begun the preceding December.

Robert Poli, PATCO President, explained that the union's three major demands included a $10,000 across the board raise, a 32-hour work week (down from 40 hours), and a substantially improved retirement package. The press, generally, was not sympathetic to the union demands, and made much of the raise in pay. PATCO had hoped it would be able to avoid the strike by pushing the federal mediators into negotiations, but the talks failed.

Most historians consider President Reagan's handling of the striking air traffic controllers the crowning achievement of his first administration: Within 48 hours of the walkout, Reagan simply fired 11,350 workers on the basis that they had each taken an oath not to strike. He insisted that not one of the fired air traffic controllers be rehired, even if a contract was signed. Although the action was thought extreme, the public rallied around the President, believing that the air traffic controllers should not be able to walk out.

While studies showed that job stress for air traffic controllers was high, the FAA's "Rose Report," named for Dr. Robert Rose, did not find the job as problematic as alleged. Reagan's firing of the workers forced the FAA to hire inexperienced workers to fill time slots. These new workers created a new union by 1987, the National Air Traffic Controllers Association (NATCA), and Reagan was credited with crushing the old organization. The long-lasting effects of the Air Traffic Controllers' Strike changed the way unions went about making demands on management. The strike also revealed the need for more advanced technology, which has steadily become more available in the subsequent years.

FAMILY VACATIONS

High gas prices for the period and memories of national gas rationing in the late 1970s placed a damper on many family vacations in the early 1980s. As the decade progressed, though, gas prices dropped and more families hit the nation's highways. Fluctuations in gas prices often determined the length of vacations and the distances families travelled from home. During the 1980s, gas prices ranged from a high of about $1.38 in 1981 to a low of about $0.93 in 1986.[1] Nearly 83 percent of all summer travel took place in motor vehicles in 1989, with 273 million vacationers traveling in the 14-week holiday season between Memorial Day and Labor Day.[2]

Many family vacations took place at the country's national parks. In the early 1980s, the most visited park was the Great Smoky Mountains National Park on the Tennessee/North Carolina border. In 1980 the park had 8.4 million visitors, but that number jumped to more than 9 million the next year. Throughout the decade, about 240 million

DISNEY

In the mid-1980s, the Walt Disney Company undertook an aggressive marketing campaign to regain its place among the nation's top vacation spots. In 1984, Michael Eisner was named chairman of the entertainment conglomerate. He sparked a campaign to reinvigorate Disneyland, Walt Disney World, and Disney's motion picture division. The full-blown branding operation included getting the "Disney Sunday Movie" back on network television and sending its main characters (Mickey Mouse, Donald Duck, and others) on a 120-city tour that included hospitals and local parades. In October 1986, company executives sent Mickey to China on a publicity tour and then brought Chinese journalists to Disneyland to promote the company.

Disneyland celebrated its 30th anniversary in 1985 with record-setting attendance, surpassing 11.5 million guests. The park celebrated by giving away a new car to every 30,000th visitor and a free watch to every 30th person entering the gate.

people vacationed at the country's national parks each year.

The concept of the long weekend really took hold in the 1980s as more families had both parents working outside the home. The increased pressure at work and the uncertainty about downsizing and layoffs also made workers apprehensive about taking long vacations.

The changing workplace also contributed to the way employees approached vacations. As technology made workers more efficient, some companies responded by giving workers more freedom in establishing their own hours, and did not necessarily require 9-to-5 or 40 hours a week. In other organizations, particularly hospitals and critical care facilities, employees worked fewer, but longer, shifts.

ATTRACTING FOREIGN TRAVELERS

States strong in tourism sought to offset the economic ups and downs of the decade by attracting foreign vacationers. American travel companies and state chambers of commerce and development produced slick marketing brochures and magazines designed to promote tourist sites to overseas audiences. Pacific Gateways, a firm based in Portland, published Japanese language *Colorado Gaido* ("Colorado Guide") and *Oregon Treiru* ("Oregon Trail") for sale on newsstands in cities such as Tokyo, Nagoya, and Fukuoka.

Local tourist attractions added signage in Japanese so tourists would feel more comfortable staying (and spending money) in the United States. Casinos in Vegas also catered to Japanese visitors by adding Asian games of chance, such as Sic Bo and Pai Gow. With traditional Western industries (mining, railroads, forestry) on the decline, many states worked to build tourist attractions.

The Mountain West states created a promotional organization, called "Visit USA West," in an attempt to build the same momentum with Asian tourists as Hawaii, California, and Alaska had in earlier decades. In Wyoming, 8,000 Japanese tourists visited in 1989, double the number that had visited the previous year. Ski resorts in Utah went from almost no Japanese visitors to 3,000 in only two years. In Deer Valley, Utah, Asian guests found Japanese-speaking ski instructors and Japanese-language restaurant guides.

Visual Arts

of the 1980s

The art of the 1980s reflected the turbulent times of the world that produced it. Art was no longer the paintings or sculptures purchased to match the sofa—art was seen as the viably relevant statements of a disenfranchised portion of the social culture. The world of museums had relevance within the American culture, and art was seen as a purveyor of the cultural climate.

As in many aspects of life in the 1980s, greed, speculation, and the lure of a quick profit defiled the art world. By the end of the decade, the art boom, fueled by Wall Street's money culture and a strong Japanese yen, which enabled foreign investors to enter the market, lost steam. Some paintings still received record bids at auction houses like Sotheby's and Christie's, but far more failed to reach their estimates.

What changed in the art world were the buyers, not necessarily the artists themselves. Newly rich investors sought to treat art like just another commodity that could be bought low and sold high. Pop artists like Andy Warhol opened up the art world to the masses, for better and worse. Public outrage became commonplace in a sensationalized media environment. The hoopla surrounding Robert Mapplethorpe's Cincinnati exhibit culminated in sanctions against the use of taxpayer money for artistic exhibits, but it was not the only public outburst of the decade. Public art, like Maya Lin's Vietnam Memorial, spurred hotly contested debates about art's place in society. It seemed that as new money flooded into the art world, sensationalism swept in with the backwash. Using art as trading cards was one way to commodify it. Using outcry over supposed indecency as political fodder further debased the business.

The financial security of the 1980s critically affected the art world, throwing art into the speculative realm of the stock market. This operated in two significant ways. First, *nouveau riche* collectors on Park Avenue and from around the world began to pay outrageous prices for masterworks. At the start of the 1980s, the highest prices ever paid for paintings at a public auction were: Turner's *Juliet and Her Nurse* for $6.4 million; Velazquez's *Portrait of Juan de Pareja* for $5.4 million; and van Gogh's *Poet's Garden* for $5.2 million.[1]

By 1988, these prices would appear cheap as a Japanese insurance conglomerate paid $35 million for van Gogh's *Sunflowers;* another investor paid $47 million for Picasso's *Yo Picasso;* and Australian broker Alan Bond paid $53.9 million for van Gogh's *Irises,* which was later purchased by the Getty Foundation for its private collection.[2] By the end of the 1980s, with the bottom of the stock market tapped dry, the art market dried as well.

The second effect the 1980s had on the art world involved the artists themselves, who became new celebrities, with agents assisting them in securing multimedia deals to show and sell their work. The icon most budding artists held up as their role model was Andy Warhol, the pop artist of the 1960s who had revolutionized the art scene with his concept art, focusing everyday commercial images in his work.

A series of events came together in the 1980s that enabled talented young artists to rapidly climb the art ladder—a larger art audience, an upwardly mobile Baby Boomer generation, summer trips to Europe, and more disposable income and sources of credit to finance purchases. Young artists, potential superstars in the making whose works were still under $50,000, reaped the benefits. The market itself ballooned. In 1970, there were 73 galleries listed in New York City, but 15 years later, the number approached 450.

ERIC FISCHL

The paintings of the 1980s characterize a commitment on the part of the artist toward revealing the phoniness of the middle-class world. Eric Fischl used bright colors to convey the coldness of the suburban world. His most famous work, *Sleepwalker,* shows a typical young teen masturbating in a wading pool.

The painting's use of cool blues appears soothing against the vivid greens of the grass and the lawn furniture. The boy's creamy skin, highlighted with only touches of pink and white, starkly blends with the blues of the pool water—the figure of the young man is in profile, not completely turned away from the viewer's perspective. He almost dares us to watch, maybe even to participate in this bold defiling of the innocent children's pool. This is not the shameful act of American lore from the 1950s, but a bold exhibition—a liberation that entices the spectator to join in the exploration of sexual freedom. In essence, the scene assaults the vision of suburbia, protector of the wholesome American middle class, for its title, *Sleepwalker,* does not refer to the masturbating young man but to the adults who have left the lawn chairs empty—it is adult America that wanders about in a coma while the youthful spirit assaults the safe images of childhood.

JEFF KOONS

In his television series *American Visions,* Robert Hughes visits the "factory" of Jeff Koons, the last of the artists created by the boom of the 1980s. In Hughes words, Koons was a "starry-eyed opportunist par excellence," his art a painful homage to the Pop Art movement of the 1960s. Koons, a former commodities trader, openly reveled in his personal assault on the art world. On the day Hughes visited him, Koons showed Hughes how he mass produced his gigantic sculptures.

In one of his more famous pieces of the period, *Michael Jackson and Bubbles,* 1988, Koons captured through his ceramic and gold leaf creation the superficial, plastic ideal of 1980s celebrity. The reclining Jackson, dressed in a gold Sgt. Pepper-like band uniform, has only his eyes and lips painted in color, making him appear to be a Kabuki geisha rather than the innovative rock and soul talent he was at the time. Koons appeared to comment on the shallowness of the MTV-generation with the piece.

In one of his catalogues, Koons dared his critics and patrons to embrace the trashy, gaudy side of their personalities. He believed that everyone had a superficial side that is at once obnoxious, at another filled with bravura. He felt that embracing this aspect permitted a social persona to emerge, elevating the spirit toward a new level of success—his art typified the flaunting quality of the pop culture experience.

KEITH HARING AND JEAN-MICHEL BASQUIAT

The graffiti movement began in the late 1970s and rose to prominence in the mid-1980s, quickly fading soon thereafter. Begun as a form of self-expression on the subway cars of Manhattan, the movement was chiefly characterized by two Village artists, Keith Haring and Jean-Michel Basquiat. Both men died at the peak of their careers (Haring of AIDS and Basquiat from a heroin overdose), their work profiting by their youthful



"Ushering in Banality," 1988. Artist Jeff Koons describes this piece and others like it as both satirizing and celebrating trite images. AP Photo.

exuberance and carefree attitudes toward stereotypes and artistic codes.

Haring used the whimsical characters and bold primary colors found on the subways to relate an alternative, highly politicized message articulating a rage against the conservative politics of the Reagan era.

Basquiat symbolized the way artists were marketed in the 1980s. At 18 years old, the young artist (never formally trained) was homeless, and often slept on friends' couches. Five years later, he sold paintings for up to $25,000. His clients included Richard Gere, Paul Simon, and the Whitney Museum of American Art. Basquiat's works were heavy in color and words, like a modern montage of edgy images and symbols. His first solo show was held at the Mary Boone Gallery in New York City in early 1984.

Basquiat gained early fame as a graffiti artist in the SoHo section of New York. He signed his works "SAMO" and developed a reputation for witty, slightly anarchistic drawings. Quickly, Basquiat gained a reputation in New York and Europe. He left behind the SAMO persona and produced more mainstream pieces.

Basquiat drew inspiration from a variety of sources, particularly Picasso and boyhood hero Andy Warhol. The latter became a friend and mentor to the young artist, encouraging him, providing direction, and giving him exposure. Warhol also worked with Basquiat on a series of projects that combined their two styles—the older with familiar symbols and the younger with figures, words, and pictures.

ANDRES SERRANO

Photography would be the artistic arena that would test the stamina of the public taste and attitudes concerning American art in the 1980s. The first test came in the form of an exhibition of work funded by the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), a government resource designed to promote the arts for the masses via grants to artists. One photo in the exhibit, by Andres Serrano, was entitled *Piss Christ* and consisted of a cibachrome



Keith Haring sits in his Broome Street apartment in New York, 1983, surrounded by some of his art. AP photo.

photograph of a plastic crucifix swimming in a bottle of the artist's own urine.

The photo itself is a brilliant orange color, due to the process of development. The crucifix, of white plastic, glows through the vibrant orange. The photo certainly embraces the artist's identity politics, which challenge the sanctity of the icon; however, there is another way to read this. By immersing the sacred artifact in his own waste, Serrano reminds the viewer of the real Jesus Christ—a man whose good deeds are celebrated through the tenets of organized religion.

In placing him on a pedestal, organized religion has forsaken the notion that Jesus was a real man, with real loves and real fears—the urine represents this common attribute of all humanity. Therefore, the photograph does not denigrate Christ, but reminds us of his basic humanity—his mission to treat all men and women with equal esteem.

Unfortunately, Congress used the photograph as evidence in hearings about public spending on art that ultimately stripped the NEA of its funds for artists in 1995. Soon thereafter, the NEA lost its ability to fund major exhibitions, public broadcasting series, and humanities projects (books, lecture series, films) that might be seen as unpatriotic.

ROBERT MAPPLETHORPE

In 1990 in Cincinnati, Ohio, an NEA-sponsored exhibition of Robert Mapplethorpe's photographic art was to be staged. The curator, refusing to section off a room for what became "the Cincinnati seven"—photographs by Mapplethorpe that openly displayed the sadomasochistic side of gay culture—was arrested on obscenity charges, charges that were ultimately thrown out of court when the case was spot-lighted by the national media. This instance is a fitting example of how politically charged the art arena became in the 1980s; it is also an appropriate capstone to this particular artist's notorious career.

In 1988, Mapplethorpe gathered 111 of his photographs and, with NEA monies, staged a traveling exhibition of his most controversial work. His exhibition opened at the Whitney Museum of American Art in August, 1988, moved to the Institute of Contemporary Art in Philadelphia that December, the Art Institute in Chicago, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and finally ended up at the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, D.C. However, before the show arrived in Washington, Mapplethorpe died of AIDS, and the hysterical response to the show by conservatives, bent on shutting down the NEA, forced the Corcoran to cancel it. The Corcoran cancellation set the stage for the curator of the Cincinnati Museum of Fine Arts to accept the show, paving the way for his own legal entanglements and the glare of the national spotlight.

Mapplethorpe's work, though mainly completed from 1978 to 1980, was a fitting response to the conservative juggernaut that believed that art should entertain—and not teach. For instance, Mapplethorpe's *Self Portrait,* 1980, confronts the spectator with the artist's direct stare. However, upon close examination, this is not simply a photograph of the artist, sitting shirtless—make-up applied delicately to his eyes and mouth feminize his features, and his coiffed hair, styled as if by a curling wand, helps to further this androgyny, calling into question the masculine image of the artist. This new artist, embracing both the masculine and the feminine, celebrates the honest possibilities of portraiture. In his other photos of body parts: *Chest,* 1986; *Vibert,* 1984; and *Ken and Tyler,* 1985, the male body is objectified by being dissected and revealed in close-up body parts, thus commenting on the common practice of objectifying the female body.

These abstract photos of a chest, a back, and a pair of dancers' legs and buttocks, suggested that male beauty, transfigured by tropes of hypermasculinity, had been lost to contemporary society. The photographs blurred the gender lines between the masculine and the feminine to reveal the male body in its own beauty—delicate yet strong.

Mapplethorpe's other homoerotic photographs were more objectionable than his artsy gender-bending photos. Four photographs in particular captured the immediacy and drive of his assault on contemporary mores. *Self Portrait,* 1978, shows the artist leering from over his shoulder at the spectator; the artist stands with his chaps-clad, naked buttocks in the photo's center, a bullwhip inserted between his cheeks. The image was daring in a playful manner. Mapplethorpe openly questioned the gendering of sexual pleasure by showing a man at play with himself, inviting the spectator to join him in this daring venture.

In *Brian Ridley and Lyle Heeter,* 1979, the artist took on another photographic genre and photographed a homosexual couple as a new form of wedding photo. The couple are photographed in their middle-class home decked out in the leather accoutrements of their sexual predilection. The dominant, bearded figure wears a leather captain's hat and stands to the side of a wing chair beside an end table on which rest a tasteful lamp and clock; he holds a chain that entraps a beardless man who is sitting in the chair wearing a collar, handcuffs, and leg braces that bind him to the standing figure. This obvious take on family photos was another humorous riff on middle America, instructing us all that behind each suburban façade, sexual games takes place, be it between

men and women, men, or women. In this world, sexual roles are prevalent, yet part of the fun.

In *Elliot and Dominic,* 1978, one man stands shirtless, facing the camera, holding a cigarette in his right hand. His hand is by his fly, as if we have interrupted his undressing. In his left hand, he grasps the genitals of his partner, naked and bound upside-down, feet tied together with hemp, his arms bound in cuffs and tied to large hemp cords. A single chain runs from this man's neck to his genitals, disappearing behind the clutched hand of the standing figure. This image brought to the forefront a variety of gender roles, as neither man appears "feminine" as in the other photo—both exhibit rugged muscles and much body hair. However, the upside down man, trussed like an animal or dangling in an inverted crucifix, is rendered helpless, vulnerable because of his inversion. The steely grin on his face deflects any thoughts of danger—this is a pleasurable position for him. Instead of depicting patriarchal dominance, the photo reflects the joy of mutual gratification; like *Brian Ridley and Lyle Heeter, Elliot and Dominic* depicted a new way of thinking about relationships between men—an aesthetic that sharply questioned the normative heterosexist values of the dominant culture.

RICHARD SERRA

Sculptor Richard Serra (1939–) was born in San Francisco, where he spent much of his young life working in steel mills to support himself while attending college. It was in the San Francisco steel mills where Serra learned metalworking and welding, which he would later apply to his art. Serra studied painting and sculpture with some of the most famous artists of the 1940s and 1950s and his early works were in keeping with the mainstream art of the day. During his involvement in the New York art scene of the 1960s, however, Serra began to develop a different approach to sculpture, using nontraditional materials such as fiberglass and rubber. Serra is best known for his minimalist sculpture, utilizing only a few materials folded or constructed in such a way as to emphasize the qualities of the materials themselves. During the 1980s, his large, bold sculptures caught the eye of aficionados and critics alike, and Serra became a favorite of urban designers. Serra was asked to install his sculptures in galleries across the world, including in New York, London, and Nova Scotia. One of his most famous pieces, "Tilted Arc," was prominently displayed in the Federal Plaza of New York City. While Serra was best known as a minimalist sculptor, his influence is also present in the rise of "process art," wherein the construction process is as important as the finished work, bringing the active process of artistic creation to the forefront.

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MUSEUMS, ORGANIZATIONS, SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, AND USEFUL WEB SITES

The John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum. Columbia Point, Boston, MA, 02125. http://www.jfklibrary.org/.

The John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum is dedicated to the memory of the nation's 35th president. The purpose of the institution is to advance the study and understanding of President Kennedy's life and career and the times in which he lived. Located on a 10-acre park, overlooking the sea that President Kennedy loved and the city that launched him to greatness, the library stands as a vibrant tribute to his life and times.

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library and Museum. 2313 Red River St., Austin, TX, 78705. http://www.lbjlib.utexas.edu/.

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library and Museum is one of 12 presidential libraries administered by the National Archives and Records Administration. The library houses 45 million pages of historical documents, which include the papers from the entire public career of Lyndon Baines Johnson and also from those of close associates. These papers and the vast administrative files from the presidency are used primarily by scholars. The museum provides year-round public viewing of its permanent historical and cultural exhibits. Special activities and exhibits are sponsored by the LBJ Foundation.

Nixon Presidential Library and Museum. 18001 Yorba Linda Blvd., Yorba Linda, CA, 92886. http://www.nixonlibrary.gov.

For researchers, the Nixon Presidential Library offers a wealth of White House tapes and audiovisual materials. The largest portion of the collection is the 46 million pages of textual information. Visitors can tour the museum, situated on nine acres in southern California. In addition to exhibitions, the grounds include President Nixon's helicopter and birthplace. Visitors are also invited to see the special exhibit galleries, which show a variety of rotating exhibits related to the museum's mission as a national institution and local landmark.

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Museum. 40 Presidential Drive, Simi Valley, CA, 93065. http://www.reaganfoundation.org/.

The Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization that sustains the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Museum, the Center for Public Affairs, the Presidential Learning Center, and The Air Force One Pavilion. The library houses over 55 million pages of gubernatorial, presidential, and personal papers and over 100,000 gifts and artifacts chronicling the lives of Ronald and Nancy Reagan. It also serves as the final resting place of America's 40th president.

The Watergate Story. The Washington Post Web site. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/special/watergate/index.html. The Washington Post Company, 2008.

A Web site maintained by *The Washington Post* examines the Watergate scandal from the early investigatory work conducted by its reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein through the unmasking of Deep Throat in 2005. The site offers a wealth of information on the national crisis, including many audio and video clips, in addition to interviews with many of the key players.

VIDEOS/FILMS

Apocalypse Now: The Complete Dossier. Produced by Francis Coppola. 355 minutes. 2 DVDs. Distributed by Paramount Home Entertainment, 2006. Release of the original 1979 film with added features, including *Apocalypse Now Redux.* The powerful tale, inspired by Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness,* is the story of a United States Army officer/trained assassin, played by Martin Sheen, who is sent into the depths of a southeast Asian jungle to seek out a renegade colonel, played by Marlon Brando, during the Vietnam War.

Cold War. Produced by Jeremy Isaacs. 1,120 minutes. 8 VHS. Distributed by Warner Home Video and CNN Productions, 1998. The 24-part documentary series examines the Cold War and its influence on history, culture, technology, economics, and the modern psyche.

Dr. Strangelove or, How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb. Produced by Stanley Kubrick. 95 minutes. DVD. Distributed by Columbia TriStar Home Entertainment, 2004. The DVD release of the original 1964 dark comedy. Chaos erupts when a general orders an attack on the Russians, which will subsequently trigger the Russian "Doomsday Device." The president and his aides struggle to find a way to stop the impending doom. The film features a memorable scene with actor Slim Pickens riding a bomb as if it were a bucking bronco.

Fast Times at Ridgemont High. Produced by Irving Azoff and Art Linson. 90 minutes. VHS. Distributed by MCA Home Video, 1996. The VHS release of the original 1982 motion picture parodies the life of teens in San Fernando Valley of Los Angeles, the center of the Valley Girl lifestyle in the 1980s. The movie focuses on a group of teenagers (featuring Sean Penn in one of his first movie roles) as they deal with independence, success, sexuality, money, maturity, school, and particularly with just making it through the formative years.

Reagan. Produced by Adriana Bosch and Austin Hoyt. 263 minutes. 2 VHS. Distributed by Warner Home Video, 2000. Originally airing in 1998, the two-part documentary tells the story of Ronald Reagan's life, with comments by contemporaries and historians.

Valley Girl. Produced by Wayne Crawford and Andrew Lane. 99 minutes. VHS. Distributed by MGM Home Entertainment, 1983. The film chronicles 1980s teenage angst in the San Fernando Valley of Los Angeles when a Valley Girl, played by Deborah Foreman, falls for a Hollywood punk, played by Nicolas Cage. The movie ends with a quintessentially 1980s moment: a limo ride by the two main characters driving past the Sherman Oaks Galleria as the Modern English song "I Melt With You" plays.

Vietnam: A Television History. Produced by Judith Vecchione, Andrew Pearson, Martin Smith, et al. 780 minutes. 7 VHS. Distributed by Sony, 1987. The documentary depicts events in Vietnam from 1945 through 1975. The primary focus is on America's intervention in the Vietnam War.

When We Were Kings: The Untold Story of the Rumble in the Jungle. Produced by Keith Robinson and Vikram Jayanti. 94 minutes. DVD. Distributed by Universal, 2005. The 1997 Academy Award, Best Documentary Feature winning film focuses on the famous 1974 "Rumble in the Jungle" boxing match between Muhammad Ali and George Foreman in Zaire, Africa.

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American Pop

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Foreword: Popular Culture's Roots Run Deep

Ray B. Browne

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Although *American Pop* focuses on popular culture as it developed in the twentieth century, it is critical that readers understand that most of these topics did not spring to life without roots running deep into the nation's past. In today's fast-paced, computer-dominated society, it is easy to forget history and innovation because so much of American idealism is based on looking toward the bright future. We are a nation obsessed with the idea that better days are on the horizon.

What one discovers when examining the development of culture over the course of the twentieth century is that each innovation builds off a predecessor. America has always had a popular culture, although what that means might change with each new technological breakthrough, national craze, or demographic shift. And, while defining culture is not an easy task, it can be seen as a kind of living entity. Similar to a growing garden, culture is the gatherings of community beliefs and behaviors, which depends on its roots for sustenance. As the plants grow both individually and collectively, they develop and influence the surrounding societies.

People in Colonial America, for example, had their cultural roots deeply implanted from the cultures of the lands from which they emigrated, but every people or group of individuals must harmonize the old with the new in order to justify one's culture. The unifying themes that emerged from the development of a new national culture enabled people to make sense of the world and their relationship to it. American colonists, therefore, adjusted to the old-world cultures of the people who were already settling the nation, while at the same time creating a new popular culture based on their lives as members of the new country.

The harmonization of the new with the old might be called *folk-pop* or *pop-folk* because the result led to a new everyday culture. This evolution is a neverending process

in which the new is blended with the old and a new is born. Human nature demands cultural and individual cooperation for safety and advancement, which it achieves in various ways. Inventions and discoveries, for example, are not as helpful in shaping cultures as are innovation and dissemination of those inventions and discoveries. Culture must speak to its constituencies in their vernacular before it can be understood and fully appreciated. Cultures both lead and follow cultural politics, policies, and social movements.

The fields of entertainment from which the colonists could draw were rich: traveling acrobats, jugglers, circuses of various kinds, animal shows, "magic lantern" shows, group or individual singers, Black "Olios" (one-act specialties), drinking houses, card games, and other group activities.

In the conventional forms of culture development certain figures stand tall. Benjamin Franklin, after his move to Philadelphia, contributed in various ways through his writings in *Poor Richard's Almanac* (1732–1757) and others. He stated that his highest admiration was for "the people of this province . . . chiefly industrious farmers, artificers [skilled craftsmen] or men in trade [who] are fond of freedom." Inventor of the lightning rod and the Franklin Stove, and many more technological and cultural innovations, no one did more to advance popular culture in these early days than Franklin. In the twenty-first century, one finds similar figures who are much revered for their ability to create. Steve Jobs, Apple founder and executive, is a modern day Franklin in many respects, inventing products that transform popular culture, while at the same time, cementing his place in that history.

Less comprehensive but far more inflammatory were the political contributions of Thomas Paine (1737–1809). On January 10, 1776, he published *Common Sense* and sold it for a few cents so that everybody could own a copy. In a few months no fewer than 500,000 copies had been sold. Another of his great contributions was *The American Crisis,* which opens with the fiery words, "These are the times that try men's souls." Paine intuited and valued the power of the popular culture and wrote his works as if by a common citizen for other common citizens. Today's Thomas Paines may be the countless citizen journalists, primarily Internet-based, blogging, posting, and carrying out the kind of agenda Paine advocated. The writer turned to pamphlets as a method of keeping down price, just as today's bloggers use inexpensive tools to reach audiences nationwide.

Another powerful voice in popular culture was Harriet Beecher Stowe. Through *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) Stowe alerted the public to the evils of slavery (with the help of the Almighty, in her words). After the enormous success of the work, the author claimed that God had dictated the book, with her merely writing down His words. Regardless of these claims, for the next 50 years the work was performed on stages worldwide more frequently than any other play in English (with the possible exception of Shakespeare's collected works).

A little more than a century later, racism still plagued the nation, but instead of being represented by a novel, two charismatic leaders took center stage. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X stood at opposite poles in the fight for equality, King preaching nonviolence, while Malcolm advocated "by any means necessary." As powerful as these leaders were, however, they became icons after their assassinations. As a result, their images transcend who they were as leaders, attaining a kind of immortality as popular culture figures.

Colonists loved professional plays. The first such presentation in America was "Ye Beare and Ye Cubbin Accomac County" staged in Virginia in 1665. The first theater in

the Colonies was built in Williamsburg, Virginia, sometime between 1716 and 1718. *Romeo and Juliet* may have been presented in New York City in 1730 and *Richard III* in 1750, in addition to Williamsburg a year later. In 1752 the Charleston, South Carolina, theater presented 58 different offerings, including Shakespeare. Fourteen of Shakespeare's plays were staged 150 times in pre-Revolutionary Virginia, and from the 1850s to the Civil War Shakespeare was performed in all the major cities and several small ones.

For the second half of the nineteenth century one of the distributors of popular culture was widespread black-faced minstrelsy—thousands of such dramatics were presented on stage by whites with faces blackened by charcoal. No one can identify exactly when and why the first Negro minstrel show became so popular. Some authorities suggest that African Americans seem to be natural-born entertainers. Others are firm in their belief that the minstrel show flourished because blacks saw it as a means of social equality with whites who otherwise held them in slavery.

Minstrelsy was in its heyday from 1830 to 1870. So-called songsters, cheap songbooks running from 20 to some 50 pages and selling for 10–50 cents, were the main distributors of minstrel pieces, as well as songs from other sources. During the popularity of the minstrel show there were more than 100 shows running and some 2,000 songsters distributing at least 20,000 songs. Not all minstrel shows were black-on-white. Some were black-on-black, after black actors realized that white shows were exploiting them and they could in fact create their own shows. Minstrel shows were later eclipsed by vaudeville.

From these beginnings, one can trace the origins of Tin Pan Alley, which helped launch ragtime and jazz. In addition, the songsters and minstrel shows initiated a kind of crossover success that became the gold standard in the music business. "Crossing over," or scoring hit records in different genres, would come to define many of the industry's biggest stars from Elvis Presley and Johnny Cash to Chuck Berry and Little Richard.

The most enduring form of popular culture is the printed page, even though some observers feel that books, magazines, and newspapers are doomed in the Internet age. Books in particular, though, carry a special place in peoples' hearts, not only as tools for learning but as objects of affection. Many readers simply like to hold a book in their hands and feel the pages glide through their fingers. Even the most ardent techie does not get the same emotional lift from reading text on a screen, whether a laptop or handheld device.

The most influential literary form breaching the gap between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been the detective story. This form of literature has from its beginning satisfied deep interests of large groups. From the earliest times, people have wanted answers to the mysteries of life that keeps us continually looking back at history. Our fascination with the archaeological and anthropological past, for example, leads many to believe in monsters such as Big-Foot (Sasquatch) and the Loch Ness Monster. Many small towns and local villages have similar folktales of creatures frequenting dark mountains, forests, and deep lakes. Today, this love affair with fear and the unknown drives much of the current film and television industries. From the low budget sensation *The Blair Witch Project* to big budget movies filled with blood and gore, people thrive on their imaginations resulting from a collective indoctrination to fear.

These prehistoric beings supposedly living among us also help keep alive the mysteries and manifestations of the past, delivering some kind of answer in the form of explanations and comforting conclusions. Histories and mysteries need what scholar

Russel Nye called a "hook" to keep readers on the edge of their curiosity. But mysteries search more deeply into human existence and help explain us to ourselves. Einstein was certainly right when he said, "The most beautiful thing we can experience is the mysterious. It is the source of all true art and science." The enticement of the mysterious is a never fading light in the darkness of life's many anxieties.

Literary interest in horror developed in Europe in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) and pushed ahead vigorously in the *Memoirs* of Francois Eugene Vidocq, a reformed French thief who joined the police force and electrified Europe with publication of his underground activities in 1829. Edgar Allan Poe (1809–1849) caught the imagination of Americans beginning with *Murders in the Rue Morgue* (1841). Film scholars see Poe's writing inspiring the American film noir movement in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s.

The coals ignited by the interest in mystery and drama glowed especially in the publication of the adventures of Sherlock Holmes and Dr. Watson in 1887. Many Americans tried their pens at the art. Mark Twain published several works in the type, for instance, but found little success. But the door into the riches of mysteries had been opened to authors and readers of the twenty-first century. Mystery, having metamorphosed through the broadened titles of "Crime Fiction" and lately "Novels of Suspense," is the most popular form of fiction today, and is being used by historians for the true human emotions and actions contained in them. Historians a century or more from now may find themselves doing the same with the novels of Stephen King or James Patterson, novelists who sell millions of books, yet are taken less seriously by the cultural elite because they do so well.

One of the results of popular culture's interest in the make-believe and distortion of the minstrel show was the literary hoax, which flourished in such works as Poe's "Balloon Hoax," published in the *New York Sun* on April 13, 1844, an account of eight men crossing the Atlantic in a large balloon held up by coal gas. Others include Mark Twain's "The Petrified Man" (one of several by him), in which a character is discovered with his thumb on his nose in the timeless insulting gesture—the credulous public does not recognize the joke.

Other real-life hoaxes cropped up on every street corner. P. T. Barnum (1810–1891), famous for working under the philosophy that there's a sucker born every minute, opened his American Museum of Freaks in New York City, exhibiting all kinds of freaks and captivating the public especially with his Cardiff Giant, a plaster duplicate of the discovery on a farm outside Cardiff, New York. It was 10 feet long and weighed 3,000 pounds and had been proven a hoax, but still fascinated the public. The hoax, literary or physical, fed the American dreams of freedom and expansion and was an example of the American dream of personal fulfillment.

Another stalk growing from the same root included the works of the so-called Southwest humorists, who carried on in their stories and language the literature of the hoax. David Ross Locke (Petroleum V. Nasby), Henry Wheeler Show (Josh Billings), and George Washington and his Sut Lovingood stories created exaggerated physical and linguistic caricatures of their fellow citizens in a world they expected and hoped would be recognized as hoaxes. Instead of laughable hoaxes, however, they created a world of reality that is carried over in American popular culture today. The stereotype of the illiterate Southerner has a central role in the twenty-first century, particularly in television sit-coms and movies. The standup routines of Jeff Foxworthy and Larry the Cable Guy are built around the premise of the South being strangely (although often lovingly) different than the rest of the nation.

Another popular form of literature developed out of the idea of the hoax—graphic caricature and literature. Although the caricature had been common from the earliest days of America, the so-called common caricature known as the comic strip narrative, developed by the Swiss cartoonist Rodolphe Topfer in 1846, was probably introduced into America in the *San Francisco Examiner* on February 16, 1896, as "The Yellow Kid." Since then most newspapers have run their series of comic pages in the United States and abroad—especially in Japan, where they are read by all members of a family under the name *anime*. They are likewise pervasive in American (and world) culture, especially in animation, movies, and advertising, particularly when used to pitch products to children and young people.

Because of our growing knowledge of and interest in archaeology and anthropology, our interest in the 6,000 or so languages spoken worldwide, and the suspicion that humanity may be doomed to future space travel and colonization, more works are developing in comics and movies of the extreme past and the imaginative future. Such comic strips and books, now called graphic novels, to a certain extent feed on the hoax works of the nineteenth century and intellectually are not rocket science, as we freely admit.

Many of the ideas and artwork in today's comic books are useful in understanding modern popular culture and its influence. For example, graphic novels have been published for both political parties in the 2008 presidential campaigns. Furthermore, many of the ideas and artwork are highly suggestive to the genuine rocket scientist, and the art work is highly prized for its newness of ideas and execution of detail by comic book aficionados. One original picture of Mickey Mouse, for example, recently sold for $700,000. Many comic book fans live in a world of their own making, but to a certain extent in America's broad, rich, and complicated popular culture, each area is something of an island of culture all its own, justifying its existence.

Just as English poet William Wordsworth said that the child is father to the man, so a culture in one form and one power or another is always a product and variant of its predecessors. It grows and alters or breaks down the restrictions of its sometimes elite, sometimes popular predecessors as the force of the new development becomes overwhelming and suggestive. Sometimes the popular culture grows and sometimes fades, but, although it may diminish in use and memory, it seldom disappears. Popular culture is like animated wall murals and graffiti that permanently etches a record of the lifeblood of a culture of the moment.

The cornucopia of twentieth-century present and developing American popular culture has resulted from the free flow of opportunity provided by its predecessors. So it was up to the last century. The garden of popular culture seemed to the culture traditionalist a patch of weeds overwhelming the flowers. But a new culture in the process of finding and developing itself was not crowded. The new cultures were driven by the changing dynamic of a new people in a new land with opportunities for all men and women to live by and in the cultures they both desired and found satisfactory. Suggestions and opportunities will continue to be found and developed.

The power of the twentieth century continues to develop in the twenty-first as the richest and most energetic culture so far produced continues to flourish—sometimes to the bewilderment and consternation of the citizenry, but always irresistibly, Americans and non-Americans—as long as human nature insists that it wants or needs something new, improved, or just different and finds it in America. Popular culture is the voice of a worldwide, but especially American, growing insistence on democracy in all aspects of life, and the voices of the people—especially in America—will continue to flourish, be creative, and heard.

From the beginning, American popular culture, given a virgin land in which to grow, has developed fully and rapidly. Its influence has been especially forceful domestically and globally in the twentieth century as a result of its growth in the preceding century in the arts and extended cultures. American popular culture impacts the cultures of the world everyday, creating and resolving tensions that are labeled "Created and Made in America." In the popular cultural world in all its manifestations the most influential label on world life at the present is and in the future will be "Lived in America."

Preface

American Pop: Popular Culture Decade by Decade provides a survey of popular culture across America from 1900 to the present and presents the heart and soul of America, acting as a unifying bridge across time and bringing together generations of diverse backgrounds. Whether looking at the bright lights of the Jazz Age in the 1920s, the rock 'n' roll and lifestyle revolutions of the 1960s and 1970s, or the thriving social networking Web sites of today, each period in America's cultural history develops its own unique take on the qualities that define our lives. *American Pop* is a four-volume set that examines the trends and events across decades and eras by shedding light on the experiences of Americans young and old, rich and poor, along with the influences of arts, entertainment, sports, and other cultural forces.

Based partly on Greenwood's "American Popular Culture through History" series, this four-volume set is designed to give students and general readers a broad and interdisciplinary overview of the numerous aspects of popular culture. Each of the topical chapters stands alone as a testament to the individual decade, yet taken together, they offer an integrated history and allow readers to make connections among each of the decades. Of course, this organization also encourages readers to compare the sometimes striking differences among decades.

WHAT'S INCLUDED IN *AMERICAN POP*

The volumes in this set cover the following chronological periods.

- Volume 1, 1900–1929
- Volume 2, 1930–1959
- Volume 3, 1960–1989
- Volume 4, 1990–Present

Each volume, in turn, covers the popular culture of the decades through chapters focused on specific areas of popular culture, including:

- An Overview of the Decade
- Advertising
- Architecture
- Books, Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics
- Entertainment
- Fashion
- Food
- Music
- Sports and Leisure
- Travel
- Visual Arts

In addition, each group of chapters is preceded by a timeline of events for the decade, which gives extra oversight and context to the study of the period.

Sidebars and Other Features

Within many of the chapters, the text is supplemented by sidebars that feature the significant, fascinating, troubling, or just plain weird people, trends, books, movies, radio and television programs, advertisements, places, and events of the decade. In addition sidebars provide lists of new words and phrases for the decade; new foods introduced during the decade; and "How Others See Us," information on how people outside of the United States adopted, reacted to, or disdained American popular culture. The chapters are enhanced with photos and illustrations from the period. Each volume closes with a Resource Guide, providing selected books, articles, Web sites, and videos for further research.

The appendices feature "The Cost of Products"—which spans from 1900 to the present and shows the prices of selected items from food to clothing to furniture—and a list of potential classroom resources of activities and assignments for teachers to use in a school setting. A carefully selected general bibliography for the set, covering popular culture resources of a general or sizeable nature, rounds out the final volume. A comprehensive index offers access to the entire set.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

American Pop is an audacious project that pulls together more than one million words about popular culture in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. A series like this one owes a large debt to many wonderful authors, researchers, writers, and editors. First and foremost, my deepest gratitude goes out to Ray B. Browne, the series editor of the original "American Popular Culture through History" books. Like so many other popular culture scholars over the past several decades, I owe Ray more than I could ever hope to repay.

I would also like to thank all of the authors who poured their collective hearts into the series: David Blanke, Kathleen Drowne, Patrick Huber, William H. Young, Nancy K. Young, Robert Sickels, Edward J. Rielly, Kelly Boyer Sagert, Scott Stoddart, and Marc Oxoby. Their work provides the backbone of this collection. Several excellent writers contributed to the more than 300 sidebars that appear throughout this set: Mary Kay Linge, Ken Zachmann, Martha Whitt, Micah L. Issitt, Josef Benson, Cindy Williams, Joy Austin, Angelica Benjamin, Peter Lazazzaro, Jillian Mann, Vanessa Martinez, Jessica Schultz, Jessica Seriano, and Brie Tomaszewski.

Not even Superman could edit a collection like *American Pop* without a superstar team of editors. I have been lucky to benefit from the wisdom and leadership skills of

Kristi Ward and Anne Thompson throughout the project. *American Pop* would not exist without their enthusiasm, hard work, and dedication. Thanks also to Cindy Williams for her original editing of the project. She is wonderful.

My great honor in editing *American Pop* has been picking up where Ray left off. I have had the pleasure of writing three books in the series, so all told, I have spent more than five years of my life with this series. My sincere thanks go to my parents, Jon and Linda Bowen, and my brother Bill Coyle for their support. As always, my wife, Kathy, has lived this collection with me. I appreciate her sense of humor, sound advice, and thoughtfulness. My whole heart belongs to our daughter Kassie. Her smile, hugs, and kisses were always awesome diversions from writing and editing.

Bob Batchelor
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Introduction

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, American popular culture is omnipresent. In earlier eras, it appeared that one had some ability to wade in and out of the pop culture machine at will. More important, there were opportunities for turning off the clutter. Today, once in the matrix, there is no escape.

This fundamental transformation has far-reaching consequences because of its complete totality. Not only are people in today's world unable to stop the pop culture noise; increasingly they are taught to believe that an "always on" mindset is typical. Rather than criticize people who carry on a variety of simultaneous conversations and odd jobs at once, multitasking is applauded. Children barely able to reach the mouse are urged to learn computer skills. Preschoolers, for example, can go online at Nick Jr. and interact virtually with the characters they watch on television. For an example of how we strive to create budding computer whizzes and future purchasing machines just visit the Disney, Sprout, or Nickelodeon/Noggin Web sites.

The critical assumption is that one accepts the idea that popular culture is as pervasive as the air around us. Perhaps it is more akin to a mighty river, usually rolling along swiftly, with powerful currents just under the surface. At other times, pop culture spills over its banks, sweeping away everything in its path.

Popular culture comes alive at the juncture of the entwined forces of mass communications, technology, political systems, and the economy. The mass communications industries that developed to support and disseminate culture require a seemingly endless supply of fact, fiction, gossip, illusion, and misinformation. Add a dash of national tragedy or smidge of political or economic intrigue and the pot boils over. The media/culture machine shifts into high gear, whether that means the evening news team at ABC, millions of bloggers, or a citizen journalist posting a grainy video on YouTube. People are overwhelmed by the overload, but at the same time taught to think that it is all okay. The result of countless pop culture impressions over the course of a lifetime produces a permanently heightened sense of sensationalism, chased with healthy doses of societal angst.

The 2000s have provided years of explosions and upheavals influencing American life, including the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks and the ensuing wars in Iraq and Afghanistan; the nation's governmental response to natural and human-made phenomena, such as the devastation of Hurricane Katrina; and Wall Street's implosion at the hands of the real estate mess. These are serious issues that forced action, reaction, and interpretation, which then helped citizens comprehend the changes going on around them.

After September 11 the somber national mood led some experts to declare the end of popular culture based on irony and satire. Others wondered if future films and television shows would ever be able to feature exploding airplanes or buildings. Over time, however, popular culture played dual roles: first, helping the nation mentally transition through the aftermath of terrorism; and second, calling into question the rationale for war and the long-term occupation of foreign nations. Perhaps this ability to examine the actions of the government and other institutions of power is the most positive aspect of popular culture, although one could certainly argue that the fascination with pop culture diverts attention from important challenges the nation faces and serves as a kind of placebo, enabling people to feel good about the world around them without really confronting issues directly.

Many contend that popular culture is about individuals from across the celebrity spectrum, perhaps mainly because people interact with it from the standpoint of their favorite actor, band, or television shows. Others counter with the notion that culture is actually about the larger influences that drive society, such as technology, government, economic structures, and national ethos. For example, technology, economics, and innovation combine to produce culture-shifting products, such as the iPod and computers. These goods then set in motion a shift in popular culture as these products influence people far beyond their intended functions. In turn, users come to define themselves by them—the kinds of music they download, the movies they watch, and television shows they record via TiVo.

By examining popular culture within the following categories—leaders, money, innovation, and culture—an overview of the 1990–2008 period will emerge, which discusses the major issues driving everyday America during the era. Most instances of pop culture transformation, however, blur the lines between these topics. At what point, for instance, does the Internet move from an interesting communication medium to an online culture that completely alters the way people interact with one another and the world around them. Do we live in a Google world, as many pundits exclaim, or is Google just the latest version of the dozens of search engines that have captured users' imaginations?

At its essence, however, popular culture is about context. Studying the actions of political or corporate leaders provides the framework for understanding shifts in popular culture over time. It is impossible, for example, to quantify Bill Clinton's or George W. Bush's impact on the cultural developments of the 1990s and 2000s, but understanding them as leaders working within the mass communication structure enables one to grasp the broader meaning of culture during their time as president.

The ability to examine the actions of the government or a particular leader or group of leaders is arguably the most positive aspect of popular culture. Rooted in free speech, the rise of mass media enabled Americans to criticize their leaders and institutions, thus opening new opportunities for collective education and information. At the same time, free speech allows for humor. As a result, Jon Stewart can openly mock the president on *The Daily Show* and *Saturday Night Live*'s Darrell Hammond could impersonate Clinton weekly on the hit show without concern over his personal safety.

As millions of Americans interacted with mass media, whether watching the same movies or listening to radio programs, a common language developed that opened lines

of communication between disparate groups. The downside to this unintended focus on mass communications, some argued, was that a growing fascination with pop culture actually diverted attention from important challenges the nation faced, ultimately serving as a kind of placebo. Therefore, popular culture enabled people to feel good about the world around them without really forcing them to directly confront critical issues.

LEADERS

Arguably, no president in history blurred the line between the office and popular culture more than Bill Clinton. He served as a kind of walking symbol of how society changed over the last several decades. After Clinton, for example, any vestiges of regality or luster the office held virtually disappeared. However, he was an incredibly popular president, routinely receiving high approval ratings.

Clinton was still "Mr. President," but for most people and the media, he was "Bubba" or "Slick Willy," a down-home, good ol' country boy from Arkansas—the kind of guy you would want to drink a beer with, listen to him tell jokes and stories, but never leave alone with your sister—wink, wink. Clinton's homespun image emerged despite his ties to Washington, D.C., and education at Georgetown University, Yale Law School, and a Rhodes Scholarship to University College, Oxford. Acknowledged as a masterful politician, both critics and admirers wondered which was the real Clinton. In hindsight, however, Clinton seemed simply too complex to put in a tidy box. He embodied traits of both the down-home country boy and big-city politician and used them strategically to achieve his goals.

The leadership rollercoaster ride took on new meaning after the September 11 terrorist attacks. Immediately after, the nation turned more patriotic. Firefighters and police officials across the nation became heroic figures, lauded for their bravery and willingness to serve the nation. President George W. Bush, with the backing of Congress, launched a series of military and economic programs designed to eliminate terrorist cells worldwide, particularly against members of Al-Qaeda, the organization headed by Osama bin Laden. The efforts culminated in the October 2001 military invasion of Afghanistan and its Taliban government, known partners of the terrorists. Despite the success of the military operations and overthrow of the Taliban regime, however, the United States could not capture bin Laden.

The Bush administration also initiated a series of domestic security programs designed to ease the public's fear regarding future terrorism on American soil. The president authorized the creation of the Department of Homeland Security and named former Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge as its first leader. Next, the administration worked with leaders in Congress to pass the USA PATRIOT Act (2001), which gave the federal government far-reaching power to carry out surveillance activities to weed out potential terrorism threats.

Homeland Security officials began a national alert status indicating potential threats, ranging in colors from red (severe risk) to green (low risk). Early in the system, the nation often found itself in orange (high risk) or yellow (significant risk) status. The new federal regulatory agency also set out to make the nation's borders safer, including its ports. Critics immediately questioned the resources it would take to inspect the millions of cargo containers arriving and departing the country's waterways. No terrorist activities, however, have taken place in this area of potential weakness.

In response to the attacks, the nation rallied around President Bush, officials in New York, including Mayor Rudy Giuliani, and the families of victims there and in Washington. Both Bush and Giuliani made high-profile appearances at "Ground Zero" amid the

remains of the World Trade Center. Ground Zero transformed into a sacred area, with visitors later flocking to the site to pay their respects. And, "United We Stand" became a rallying cry for Americans, as well as a variety of peace symbols, including a "Support Our Troops" ribbon affixed to automobiles.

In the immediate years after September 11 the anniversary of the event dominated the airwaves. Television programming came to a standstill and refocused the viewing public on the tragic day. In 2002 CBS aired a documentary filmed inside the World Trade Center on September 11, watched by more than 39 million viewers. "All broadcast and many cable networks tossed out their normal programming schedules (and their advertising) on the anniversary," explained journalist James Poniewozik, "as if supersaturating the airwaves—turning September 11 into a virtual national holiday—could magically confine the terrible events to history, never to be repeated. There was mawkishness, anger, finger pointing, navel gazing, bathos, pathos—every possible response except forgetting."[1]

The hyperpatriotism did not last for long, however, and as the Iraq War dragged on it pulled Bush's approval ratings down with it. Critics started making analogies to Vietnam and wondered if the United States could ever leave the Middle East. One reason observers invoke Vietnam language is because the earlier war has also saturated popular culture. People understand that the word *Vietnam* is loaded with notions of America overstepping its bounds militarily and fighting a war that the indigenous population may not support.

MONEY

At one point in the recent past, observers held out hope that the Internet would serve as a democratizing force, allowing greater equality among users in a heated race toward greater information, education, civility, and wealth. The 2000s, however, have revealed a growing fracture in this idea—access issues actually contributed to a "digital divide" between those who could afford connectivity and those who could not.

The notion that popular culture is realized as a series of milestones in one's life is particularly vital in a world that can easily slip out of control or seem altogether frenetic. Still, popular culture holds remarkable power. The words, images, and communication vehicles that deliver this power have the potential to change the world. Bob Dylan's 1963 lyrics, imploring that "the times they are a-changin" remain significant, just as the artist himself is still important in a career spanning more than 45 years. Yet, when we look back at the hope and aspirations of those times, we see that the revolution failed. The "flower power" kids are now running the world. They morphed into their elders as they aged, replacing idealism with conservatism, and conducting a land-grab for all they could accumulate. Still, Dylan's words, and the dreams of a new and better day, live on.

The new millennium is a microcosm of the ways popular culture can be orchestrated to both impose order and initiate change. Discussing the aspirations of celebrity-obsessed online chatters, journalist David Samuels says, "A good number of readers seem to write in the openly delusional (yet not entirely impossible) belief that if their post is sincere or hateful enough, the walls separating their own lives from the lives of celebrities will dissolve, transporting them from the backlit world of their LCD screens to the super-pollinated atmosphere of the media daisy chain."[2]

The American Dream and popular culture are deeply knotted in the national psyche. Perhaps late in any decade, one senses that some cataclysmic change has either just taken place or is bound to occur in the near future. This feeling in itself is wholly American—

continually assessing the past for lessons and guideposts, while simultaneously peering into the future for glimpses of what may soon come. At this time, in this decade, the national mood is one of apprehension and menace.

The economic picture is cloudy and talk of recession mounts, despite the consolidated efforts of the Bush Administration, Congress, and various federal monetary agencies. Moreover, the United States is in the midst of a debilitating overseas war that seems to have no positive outcome. People long for good news from the real estate industry, but each new indicator leads to further concern. And, at the same time, the gap between wealthy individuals and the rest of the nation grows exponentially. All this leads to a volatility that, although not unprecedented, is far astray from what most people assume to be the American Dream.

So where is popular culture in this new era? My view is that popular culture is central not only to what Americans believe but how they interpret the world. The challenge is that many people use these forces to willingly allow themselves to be blinded to reality. If one is consumed by the latest films, television, or celebrity gossip, it is easier to put off thoughts of war, economic disparity, and melancholy. Thus, popular culture—literally the study of what influences people as they conduct their daily lives—can be a force for reinterpreting and changing the world. Or, it can mask reality in favor of a Hollywood version of life that emphasizes happy endings and rainbows. Wake up or tune out—the choice is yours.

INNOVATION

Welcome to Pop Culture 2.0!

In the new millennium, we are all members of "Generation eXposure," whether that means using social media Web sites, such as LinkedIn.com, to make business connections or keeping in touch with high school friends via Facebook. Every minute of every day, millions of people are using the Internet to connect. Today, regardless of a person's age, the explosion of Internet-based innovations essentially eliminates communications boundaries. Even for people who do not use social media sites on a personal basis, the fact that more and more corporations are using the channel to reach consumers is pulling them into the online conversation. A blue-haired grandma, for example, might receive coupons for products she buys via e-mail. At the same time, her tattooed granddaughter surfs MySpace searching for downloadable singles from the hottest emo band. Perhaps for the first time in human history, the old adage "it's a small world" is actually true.

The combination of technological innovation, economic factors, governmental forces, and cultural dynamics has created a new world—generation eXposure—in which nearly everyone manages a public image (the fastest growing segment of the population using MySpace, for example, consists of people over age 30). On a social network, like Facebook or MySpace, users create a persona that is both spectacle and truth in some odd amalgamation, which enables autonomy (if desired) and self-promotion simultaneously.

One of the most popular features on Facebook, for example, allows people to display what mood they currently exhibit, whether melancholy or looking forward to the weekend. When the user changes his or her mood, a new "Mini-Feed" alert is posted, so that "friends" (real or virtual) get nearly instant access to that new detail, spread by a news feed across the site. As a result, one's every impulse can be made public knowledge. Social media networks, whether designed for entertainment, business, or pleasure, provide users with a voice and a public persona that they can share across the street or around the world.

Scholars Stanley J. Baran and Dennis K. Davis explain the dramatic change taking place in the new millennium, saying, "We are in the midst of a revolution in communication technology that is transforming social orders and cultures around the world. Each new technological device expands the possible uses of the existing technology."[3] At the heart of this transformation is the American people, or as *Time* magazine dubbed its 2006 Person of the Year: You. "It's a story about community and collaboration on a scale never seen before," said journalist Lev Grossman, in outlining the magazine's rationale, "It's about the cosmic compendium of knowledge Wikipedia and the million-channel people's network YouTube and the online metropolis MySpace. It's about the many wresting power from the few and helping one another for nothing and how that will not only change the world, but also change the way the world changes."[4]

Every revolution inevitably contains a dark side and the spread of the Web is no exception. With the advent of social media and Web-based communications, many young people find that it is not enough to merely imitate Britney Spears or Paris Hilton. Following celebrity trends is done from the keyboard and a short trip to the nearest Target provides knockoffs that mimic designer brands. More important, technology gives everyone a platform to launch his or her own 15 minutes of fame. In the new millennium, Andy Warhol's famous maxim transformed the public yearning for fame into a spectator sport.

The negative aspect of this elusive search is that the fixation on self and celebrity acts as a diversion from more serious challenges the nation faces, including President Bush's "War on Terror" and a myriad of economic and socioeconomic problems that prevent millions of people from having any real share of the American Dream. Moreover, the same innovations that enable people to interact online also enable corporations to connect to consumers in a whole new way, extending their reach into people's wallets.

CULTURE

In the new millennium, popular culture is at the heart of most national debates. For example, the wars overseas sharply divided the country, after a period of unity in response to the September 11 terrorist attacks, which destroyed one of the world's most recognizable buildings. Our collective culture helped people process and interpret the world around them, from dramatic feature films to music and literature that addressed the national trauma head-on. Also, in the early years of the new century, the country watched as interest rates dropped to historic lows, but by late-decade "subprime" became one of the most searched terms on Google as the nation teetered on recession.

The low interest rates from that earlier era helped bring in an era focused on "big" like never before. Seemingly overnight, people across the country could buy or build their own McMansion—a giant-sized slice of the American pie. The fascination with the bigger the better had influence not only on supersized homes but also on gargantuan fast food meals, which became commonplace, new plasma and LCD televisions, which grew to epic sizes, and people themselves (or at least their waistlines), which seemed to grow bigger and bigger.

Whereas one part of pop culture centered on big, electronics and transportation advances proved that good things also came in increasingly smaller packages. Apple's iPod reinvented how people interacted with music and hybrid automobiles changed thoughts about fuel efficiency as a gallon of gas topped $4.00 and threatens to head much higher. And cell phone usage (many plans with "unlimited" minutes) ballooned in an "always on" society, while physically shrinking to the size of a deck of cards. Yes, Pop Culture 2.0, which pundits predicted would some day arrive, burst onto the scene:

always on—me-centric—and ultimately transforming the way we interact with one another and the world around us.

What is American popular culture? At the turn of the previous century, the answer seemed more straightforward. An awkward giant, the United States rode the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt to a position as world military and economic leader. The nation took these first aching steps toward global hegemony, however, still firmly rooted inward, a society dominated by its local outlook and nature. For most people, popular culture existed in a 10-mile radius from the place they were born or grew up.

During the twentieth century, the national outlook grew increasingly global. Overseas wars took Americans to the four corners of the world. Presidents and political leaders orchestrated a sea change in diplomacy, pushing the country into a role as the world's police force. Military supremacy prompted the expansion of cultural hegemony as the far reaches of the globe suddenly grew nearer.

In the midst of the new millennium, national and international borders are blurred, particularly as cultures blend and technology enables instant communications. Today, popular culture unites and intertwines technology, economics, and power relations—the epic forces shaping the modern world. The resulting tapestry enables people to situate themselves within society, among family, friends, neighbors, and communities.

As a result, despite being difficult to define because of its amorphous nature, popular culture is a type of unifying system. Using popular culture as a guidepost, people navigate among one another. We use its symbols, representations, and ideas to make sense of the world around us. The large-scale influences on people's lives are often difficult to understand or interpret, but popular culture provides a common language. The hottest television show or hit movie, for example, is a sort of guide or handbook that enables people to interact.

The power of popular culture today transcends discussions of low or high culture, which dominated interpretations of the topic for decades. As a fusing and interlacing force, popular culture allows for discussion that transverses barriers based on class, race, profession, wealth, or education. Of course, there are still societal breakdowns, especially in times of crisis. The aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, for example, reveals much about the fabric of society stitched together under the banner of popular culture. Under regular circumstances, however, popular culture seems to be a uniting influence. Perhaps it is during crises that the nation experiences the limitations of using popular culture as such a tool.

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1990s

Timeline

of Popular Culture Events, 1990s

1990

Iraq invades Kuwait.
Hubble telescope is launched.
AIDS activist Ryan White dies at the age of 18.
On TV: *Beverly Hills 90210, Seinfeld,* and *Twin Peaks* debut.
Henry and June becomes the first film released with the new NC-17 rating.
Luciano Pavarotti, Plácido Domingo, and José Carreras, as The Three Tenors, release the most successful classical recording in decades (reaches 43 on the pop music charts).
A Cincinnati museum director is brought up on obscenity charges for displaying work by photographer Robert Mapplethorpe.
The Clean Air Act passed.
2 Live Crew's *As Nasty as They Wanna Be* is ruled obscene by a federal judge in Florida.
By 1990, the U.S. government's ARPANET computer research network has been transferred to NSFNET, then connected to CSNET (the Computer Science Network) and then to EUnet (European research facilities) to form the very beginning of the Internet.
Tim Berners-Lee, working in Switzerland, who had proposed what he called the World Wide Web in 1989, develops his first web client and server.

1991

Persian Gulf War (Operation Desert Storm) air bombardment begins (January 16); Iraq accepts cease fire terms (February 28).
The Soviet Union regime collapses.
Nirvana's *Nevermind* is released.
First women's World Cup Soccer Tournament is held.
Earvin "Magic" Johnson announces that he is HIV-positive.
Street Fighter II arcade video game is introduced.
FDA approves ddl for AIDS treatment.
Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas is approved despite controversy over sexual harassment charges.
Coca-Cola advertising uses deceased stars resurrected through digital technology.

1992

Los Angeles race riots follow the acquittal of four police officers charged with the beating of Rodney King.
Bill Clinton is elected president.
Art Spiegelman's *Maus* becomes the first comic book to win a Pulitzer Prize.
America's largest shopping center, the Mall of America, opens in Minnesota.

Andrew becomes the most costly hurricane in U.S. history when it slams into Florida.
Boxer Mike Tyson is convicted of rape.
Johnny Carson retires from *The Tonight Show.*
Fubu (which stands for "For Us, By Us") line of hip hop clothing begins.
Image Comics begins publishing creator-owned comic books.
Superman dies and is reborn.
Id Software, creators of video games *Wolfenstein 3D* and *Doom,* begins business.
Rapper Ice T's heavy metal band sparks controversy with the song "Cop Killer."
Entertainment Weekly begins publication.
The Real World debuts on MTV.

1993

Ratification of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).
The ATF (U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms) and FBI conduct raids on the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas; more than 80 members of the church group die.
The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum opens in Washington, D.C.
Steven Spielberg's Academy Award-winning film *Schindler's List* is released.
Widespread public access to the World Wide Web is created when CERN (the European Laboratory for Particle Physics) releases for free the technology initially invented by Tim Berners-Lee, who worked at CERN.
Bombs detonate at World Trade Center.
The *X-Files* debuts on TV.
The series finale of *Cheers* airs.
Chicago Bulls basketball player Michael Jordan announces his retirement, but returns to the sport the next year.
Stereograms come to the United States with the publication *Magic Eye.*
A series of floods cripple the rural Midwest.
Barnes and Noble booksellers forge an agreement to serve Starbucks coffee in their stores.
The Luxor, the world's third largest hotel, opens in Las Vegas.
The first 32-bit video game console, 3DO Interactive Multiplayer, is introduced by Panasonic.

1994

"The Republican Revolution" occurs; Republicans gain control of Congress.
Investigation of the Whitewater scandal within the Clinton administration begins.
Kurt Cobain of Nirvana commits suicide.
O. J. Simpson is arrested on two counts of first degree murder.
Congress abandons efforts to reform health care.
Friends debuts on TV.
Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis dies.
A massive 6.7 magnitude earthquake hits Los Angeles, causing $12.5 billion in damage. The quake and its aftermath kills 72 people and injures more than 12,000.
Dr. Bernard A. Harris becomes the first African American astronaut to walk in space.
Quentin Tarantino's *Pulp Fiction* is released in theaters.
The Netscape Navigator browser, a commercial upgrade of the NCSA Mosaic browser of 1992, is released.
Major league baseball players go on strike.
Olympic ice skater Nancy Kerrigan is attacked as part of a conspiracy involving rival Tonya Harding.
NHL hockey players are locked out following a labor dispute.

1995

Oklahoma City bombing takes place.
Amazon.com online book retailer begins operations.
Cal Ripken breaks Lou Gehrig's record for most consecutive games played in Major League Baseball.
The U.S. Government shuts down due to disputes between Congress and the President over the federal budget.
The O. J. Simpson trial ends with a verdict of not guilty for both murders for which Simpson was charged.
ESPN creates the *Extreme Games* (later called the *X Games*).
Toy Story, the first fully computer animated feature film, is released.
eBay online auction house is founded.

The San Francisco 49ers becomes the first football team to win five Super Bowls.

1996

The U.S. Government shuts down a second time as a result of budgetary disputes.
A welfare reform bill is passed.
Bill Clinton is reelected to the presidency.
Ted Kaczynski, the Unabomber, is arrested.
Oprah Winfrey begins an on-air book club.
The NAMES Project Foundation's AIDS Quilt is exhibited in its entirety for the final time in Washington D.C.'s National Mall.
Marvel Comics files for bankruptcy.
Tickle Me Elmo is introduced.
McDonald's restaurants and Walt Disney forge a 10-year licensing agreement.
Heavy-weight boxer Mike Tyson bites off part of Evander Holyfield's ear in the ring.
The Daily Show premieres, with Craig Kilborn as host.

1997

An antitrust suit is brought against Microsoft.
Maxim men's magazine debuts in the United States.
Dolly the sheep is cloned.
Tiger Woods wins the Masters Golf Tournament.
Fashion designer Gianni Versace is murdered.
Camel cigarettes retires its mascot, Joe Camel, in response to increasing public and political pressure.
Construction on Frank Gehry's Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain is completed.
The Volkswagen Beetle is reintroduced.
The Getty Center for art opens in Los Angeles.
Heaven's Gate cult commits mass suicide (38 people die) on the event of the passage of the Hale-Bopp comet.
Child beauty queen JonBenet Ramsey is found murdered.
California bans affirmative action.
Mars Pathfinder lands on Mars's surface.
World chess champion Gary Kasparov is defeated by IBM's computer opponent, Deep Blue.

1998

Newt Gingrich resigns as House speaker.
The scandal involving Bill Clinton's affair with intern Monica Lewinsky erupts.
School shootings take place in Jonesboro, Arkansas (March), and Springfield, Ohio (May).
U.S. Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania are bombed.
J. K. Rowling's *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone* is published in the United States.
Iraq is bombed by U.S. forces.
Bill Clinton is impeached by the U.S. House of Representatives, but later found not guilty of charges in the U.S. Senate in 1999.
Senator and former astronaut John Glenn, at 77, becomes the oldest man in space.
Seinfeld series finale is watched by 76.3 million viewers.
Titanic becomes the most successful motion picture ever made.
Viagra sexual stimulant is marketed.
Mark McGwire breaks Roger Maris's home run record.
The Furby toy is introduced.
America Online buys out Netscape.
A new Internet search engine company is formed, called Google, started by Larry Page and Sergey Brin, two Stanford graduate students.

1999

A massacre and suicide occurs at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado by two students who kill 12 students and one teacher and then kill themselves.
The women's U.S. soccer team wins the World Cup.
John F. Kennedy Jr. dies in a plane crash.
"Sensation" show at the Brooklyn Museum of Art opens to controversy.
Ricky Martin's "Livin' La Vida Loca" becomes the most successful single by a Latino artist.
Star Wars: Episode I: The Phantom Menace is released in theaters.
The Blair Witch Project, filmed on a budget of $35,000, becomes a box office smash hit.
Woodstock '99 music festival is marred by violence.
George W. Bush announces his presidential candidacy.

Overview of the 1990s

The Information Age
The Clinton Era

NICKNAMES FOR THE DECADE, 1990–1999

The United States was a distinctly different place by the end of the 1990s from what it was at the dawn of the decade. Politically, it had been a volatile era, and cynicism reached a new peak. Likewise, the technological innovations of the decade changed the world and how people viewed the world.

DEMOGRAPHICS

The age of the American populace began to receive an increased amount of attention in the 1990s. The birth rate in the United States declined in the 1970s, and remained low through most of the eighties and nineties, resulting in a significant increase in the average American's age. By the end of the 1990s, about 20 percent of the populace was over the age of 65, an increase from 8 percent in 1970.[1] The federal Medicare system and private medical care saw increases in costs, as did insurance companies. The changing age demographics of the country led many to worry that Social Security would not be able to provide what it promised, that the system could go bankrupt.

The loosening of immigration restrictions in the 1970s and 1980s contributed to a growing number of immigrant Americans in the 1990s. California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas saw jumps in the number of Latin American immigrants, and these populations became increasingly potent in shaping those states politically. But an even larger segment of the incoming immigrant population moved from Asia. Constituting more than 40 percent of new immigrants, people from China, Japan, Vietnam, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, the Philippines, Korea, and India swelled the number of Asian Americans to more than 10 million, about 3.6 percent of the total U.S. population in 2000.[2]

The African American middle class also grew during the 1990s. Civil rights legislation that had started in the 1950s and 1960s contributed to growing opportunities for African Americans, and while race disparities in the professional world had not vanished, they were less pronounced. A larger portion of the African American populace attended college, and many made significant inroads in medicine, law, and education, as well as in other fields that had once been racially prohibitive. As a result, many black families moved into traditionally white neighborhoods, contributing to the growing trend of affluent African American neighbors.

There was also a large black underclass. Almost one-third of the nation's black populace lived below the poverty line, mostly in decaying urban neighborhoods. As middle class African Americans left these neighborhoods, the areas became increasingly impoverished. The remaining denizens grew

increasingly desperate. Education and family life among inner city blacks were among the worst in the nation. Gangs, drugs, and violence became a way of life for much of the black underclass. Affirmative action programs largely focused on race as opposed to class, so many poor blacks were overlooked in favor of those of the middle class. Other social programs seemed just as futile to the poor black community.

This growing frustration and feeling of being trapped in poverty manifested itself in numerous ways. At its best, such anger was expressed through creative outlets such as rap music. At its worst, however, the negativity manifested itself in the form of senseless violence.

In April 1992, the anger of those living in poverty in Los Angeles exploded onto the streets. The year before, a black motorist named Rodney King had been stopped by police after leading them on a chase. A bystander with a video camera filmed the officers beating King with nightsticks. While some argued that King posed a direct threat to the officers, to most Americans, the beating appeared excessive, as King lay prone, unarmed, and outnumbered. Charges were brought against the officers, but they were acquitted in the initial trial by an all-white jury. The anger of poor blacks found its outlet in what would become the largest racial disturbance of the twentieth century. The riots, which fanned out from South Central Los Angeles's ghettos, left more than 50 dead and resulted in tremendous property damage from looting and arson.

ECONOMICS

Despite the rough early years, when a recession forced an increase in bankruptcy filings and mass layoffs in many industries, the 1990s will likely be remembered as an age of economic prosperity, although the economic gap between labor and management increased considerably. A study released in August 2000 showed that corporate executive salaries increased an average of 535 percent; during this same period, the average pay for workers increased a mere 27.5 percent, just over the inflation rate.[3]

Although the poverty rate was decidedly less that of the late 1980s, by the end of the 1990s, about 12.5 percent of the American population still lived below the poverty line. More than 6.6 million families and nearly 33.9 million individuals lived in poverty according to the 2000 Census Bureau.

Several developments fundamentally changed the economy of the nation, and, indeed, that of the world. One of the most important of these was the force of globalization, the linking of the American economy with the economies of other nations. From 1970 to 1994, the dollar amount of exported goods went from about $43 billion to $513 billion, and imports rose from $40 billion to $663 billion.[4] As industries lost a share of the market to foreign companies, and as numerous American corporations built factories in foreign countries with low wage labor, particularly Mexico and certain Asian countries, many American workers found their jobs threatened. However, many also saw globalization as a boom for the country. Certainly, increased importation created a wider selection of goods available to American consumers, which tended to keep prices low.

Many political leaders worked to stimulate global economic exchange by weakening trade barriers. In particular, two major trade agreements championed by the Clinton administration were passed by Congress in the 1990s. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was passed in 1993, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was passed in 1994. Both were topics of fierce debate.

Certainly, the rapid advancement of computer technology contributed to major changes in the way business was conducted, and also in how personal finances were managed. Banking came to be almost entirely computer assisted, with most Americans engaging in some kind of computerized banking by the end of the decade. Computerized record keeping took over in all areas, from businesses and schools to government agencies. Libraries replaced card catalogues in favor of more efficient and user-friendly computer catalogues. Cash registers were widely replaced by new models that integrated computer processors and monitors with cash drawers. Also, increasingly, purchases were made with credit cards. Many stores instituted systems which allowed customers to swipe their own credit or debit cards

into the computer. Even industrial manufacturing heavily utilized advanced computer technology, with computerized product design and robotic factory labor.

POLITICS

Politically, the U.S. populace was probably as evenly divided in the 1990s as it ever had been, but a growing number of Americans looked to politics with increased suspicion. Americans seemed increasingly tired of what they saw as governmental gridlock. George H. W. Bush, elected president in 1988, had difficulty with the Democratic Congress, especially when it came to domestic issues. Bush had inherited a dangerous economic condition, an enormous debt and deficit, which played a part in creating an economic recession in the late 1980s. Stumping in his bid for president, Bush promised "no new taxes," which resulted in frequent conflict with Congress over the implementation of any domestic programs that required increases in federal spending. And, in 1990, Bush approved a program to reduce the deficit, a program that required a considerable tax increase.

Despite this change of tone, as well as the fights with Congress over other issues, including a 1991 civil rights bill, Bush was a popular president for most of his term in office. Part of his popularity came from his involvement in several global conflicts that emphasized the United States' status as the only remaining superpower, a result of the Soviet Union weakening and then collapsing from 1987 to 1991.

The Gulf War 1991

The United States had great success with the ousting of Panama's leader Manuel Noriega, who was eventually convicted of drug trafficking. In 1991, the United States, along with an international military coalition, took action against Iraq, which had invaded Kuwait in an attempt to annex the oil-rich country. The United Nations demanded Iraq's withdrawal, even as the coalition gathered some 690,000 troops along the Saudi Arabia-Kuwait border. Iraq's leader, Saddam Hussein, failed to withdraw by the given deadline of January 15, 1991, and the next day, the U.S.-led coalition began a bombing campaign that lasted for six weeks, followed by a ground campaign. Ultimately, Iraqi forces were driven from Kuwait with relative ease. Coalition soldiers met little resistance on the ground, suffering a light casualty count of 141 fatalities. An apparent victory came when Saddam Hussein agreed to allied cease-fire terms on February 28, 1991, although the Iraqi regime remained intact.

Bush's popularity was at its highest point after the war, but economic woes hurt his approval ratings. The recession worsened and the public perceived that the administration was doing little to combat the downturn. The aristocratic, government insider Bush seemed out of touch to working class Americans who saw their paychecks spread thin. The mounting anger, combined a relentless barrage from Democratic challenger Bill Clinton led to Bush's defeat in the 1992 presidential election

The Election of Bill Clinton

Bill Clinton won a decisive victory in 1992, partly because George H. W. Bush had troubles trying to cater to the political right without alienating the left. But even more important, Bill Clinton's public persona played a major role in his victory. Clinton came across as affable and optimistic, a guy that the average person would want to hang out with at the local tavern. Clinton was also regarded as one of the finest public speakers that the U.S. presidency had ever seen. Clinton used his rhetorical skills to attack Bush on economic issues. He and his closest advisors, including political strategist James Carville, boiled their campaign motto down to one simple phrase, "It's the economy, stupid."

However, another election year development also revealed a great deal about the American public's view of politics. Texas billionaire Ross Perot entered the race as an independent candidate and, at times, appeared to be leading both Bush and Clinton in the polls. Although Perot was far richer than the vast majority of the populace, he came across as being outside of the establishment, not as tied down by the petty power politics of the major parties. His folksy style gave many Americans the sense that he was one of



A destroyed Iraqi tank rests near a series of oil well fires in northern Kuwait during the Gulf War in this March 9, 1991, file photo. AP Photo.

the common people, like themselves, and that he would represent the people, rather than any party line or corporate interests. Perot withdrew from the race in July in the face of media scrutiny and then reentered in October to much-diminished support. Nonetheless, he garnered 19 percent of the popular vote but failed to win any electoral votes. In truth, Perot offered few concrete ideas in his campaign, but the fact that he gained more support than any third-party candidate in 80 years demonstrated that much of the country was tired of partisan bickering and governmental bureaucracy.

The partisan struggles of the Bush administration paled in comparison to those experienced by Bill Clinton. Coming into office with a fairly liberal agenda, Clinton quickly found himself on the defensive. His efforts to eliminate the ban on gays in the military was countered so strongly by conservatives and military leaders that the result was a largely impotent "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy toward gay men and women serving in the armed forces. The congressional approval process on political appointments made by Clinton early in his administration was grew so contentious that he often had to withdraw the appointment. Clinton's efforts to dramatically reform national health care, so that every American had guaranteed affordable medical care, met with ferocious resistance. The attempts at medical care reform died in late 1994.

Clinton had his share of political victories—in part aided by his ideological move from the left to the center—including a new budget, which included significant new taxation of wealthy Americans. The conflicts of the government were seen by many Americans as nothing but party politics, Republicans fighting Democrats, and vice versa. This partisan combat became much more volatile with the elections of 1994, when Republicans took the majority in both houses of Congress.

The fights that ensued between Congress and the presidency in the years that followed reached their worst when the government shut down in November 1995 and again in January 1996 because of the two sides being unable to agree on a federal budget. To many, this case smacked more of election year posturing than true legislative debate, resulting in antipathy toward the federal government rising. The Republicans felt greater heat because their leaders refused to pass a "continuing resolution" that would have prevented the government from shutting down during Congressional debates.

This set the stage for Clinton's 1996 win of a second term over Republican Senator Bob Dole. The months before the election saw a major flurry of cooperation as Congress and the president grew concerned about how little legislation had been passed in the preceding two years. The legislation was largely economic, appealing to working class Americans. For the first time in over a decade, minimum wage increased. Congress also passed legislation that further protected workers from insurance companies, and it passed a major welfare reform bill, which reduced the amount of money available through welfare, and also turned much of the power to distribute those funds over to the states.

TIME MAGAZINE'S MAN OF THE YEAR*

1990 George H. W. Bush

1991 Ted Turner (Founder of CNN)

1992 Bill Clinton

1993 The Peacemakers: Nelson Mandela (anti-apartheid activist), F. W. de Klerk (President of South Africa), Yasser Arafat (PLO leader), and Yitzhak Rabin (Israeli prime minister)

1994 Pope John Paul II

1995 Newt Gingrich (Speaker of the House)

1996 Dr. David Ho (AIDS researcher)

1997 Andrew Grove (CEO of Intel)

1998 Bill Clinton and Kenneth Starr (Independent Counsel)

1999 Jeff Bezos (Founder and CEO, Amazon.com)

*Changed to "Person of the Year" in 1999

SCANDAL AND THE PRESIDENCY

In 1997, Bill Clinton proved that he could negotiate with the Republican Congress on a new budgetary plan. Subsequently, Clinton's popularity received a considerable boost. But the greatest challenge to his presidency was yet to come. From the start of his administration, rumors of scandal plagued Clinton, from alleged banking and real estate malfeasance (the Whitewater Scandal) to charges of corruption in his cabinet. Clinton even faced a sexual harassment suit filed against him by Paula Jones, who had worked for him when he was governor. Kenneth Starr, a former official in the Justice Department during Ronald Reagan's presidency, was appointed as an independent counsel for the Whitewater case, which had netted several convictions, but found no conclusive evidence of wrongdoing on the part of Clinton or his wife, Hillary. Starr was again appointed to investigate allegations that had arisen during inquiries into Paula Jones's accusations: that Clinton had been sexually involved with a White House intern, Monica Lewinsky. Moreover, it was claimed that, during his Paula Jones case deposition, Clinton had lied about the relationship and had encouraged Lewinsky and others to lie.

The Lewinsky affair cast a shadow over Clinton. He continued to vehemently deny the relationship. Many people regarded Clinton as an embattled victim and Starr as a vindictive villain seeking to derail a political opponent. During this time, Clinton's approval rating never dropped below 60 percent, reaching a record 79 percent at its peak. Then, Lewinsky struck a deal with Starr, testifying about the relationship; This chain of events forced Clinton to admit it happened. The report finally submitted by Starr created a media sensation, largely due to its graphic sexual details. It was published in full in many newspapers across the country and television newscasters recounted details. Americans seemed simultaneously fascinated and repulsed by the details of the case.

Many were distressed by the president's actions, but others were disturbed by what they saw as a clear-cut invasion of privacy. This latter impulse



President Bill Clinton, in a 1995 photo with White House intern Monica Lewinsky. AP Photo.

helped Clinton maintain a strong approval rating, even after the revelations. His ratings also stayed strong as Congressional Republicans called for his impeachment. On December 19, 1998, in a vote that largely fell along party lines, Clinton became the second U.S. president to be impeached. The president would eventually be acquitted by the Senate, but the whole affair had left an indelible mark on the country, and it disgusted many Americans.

The case was notable in that it seemed to do away with the line between private and public life, a line that many Americans held sacred. It was also important in how it brought scandal to the forefront of American politics. Many blamed the media for its almost morbid attention to detail, but in truth, the case fit in perfectly with the country's growing celebrity fixation. Getting a glimpse into the president's personal life served as a kind of reality television episode for the media and public, no new lurid detail seemed off limits.

CRIME

Despite the number of high-profile crimes that occurred in the 1990s, the decade actually saw a decline in the crime rate, reaching a 20-year low. The reasons for this decline were hotly debated. Some claimed that the decrease resulted from better crime fighting techniques, which allowed law enforcement to deter more crime, while others claimed that it was the result of an improving economy, wherein a greater number of people were financially stable. Some also claimed that tougher penalties led to fewer crimes. Certainly, the rapidly growing population in the United States' prisons suggested that more criminals faced incarceration and many served longer sentences than they might have a generation before. The growing prison population, however, was problematic. By the end of the 1990s, nearly two million Americans were in prison. Many new prisons were constructed, but they could not outpace the increased number of incarcerations, and prison crowding became an increasing challenge.

Central to the federal government's actions against crime of all sorts was the War on Drugs, a program that spent $16 billion annually to eradicate illegal drug use in the United States. The largest dollar amount of this war went to the Bureau of Prisons, a Justice Department agency that oversaw the operation of 90 prisons nationwide. State and local governments spent another $5 billion a year on drug user and dealer incarceration.

By the end of the decade, however, many questioned the efficacy of the War of Drugs. Use of illegal drugs did not diminish during the 1990s. Actually, the federal government's efforts to stifle the drug trade led, not to fewer drugs on the street, but rather to higher prices for those drugs, thereby making the drug dealing business even more lucrative. The War on Drugs also triggered an increase in violence, more so than had the drugs themselves. The crackdowns on drug solicitation prompted many dealers to arm themselves with more high power weaponry.

Certain crimes gained widespread media attention during the decade, creating a sense that the country was more dangerous than it ever had been. The murder trial of O. J. Simpson, a series of high school shootings, and a growing number of acts of domestic terrorism also caught the media's attention.

DOMESTIC TERRORISM AND THE MILITIA MOVEMENT

Ted Kaczynski, dubbed the Unabomber by the FBI, mailed a series of bombs from May 1978 to April 1995, killing several people and injuring many others. The Unabomber's identity remained a mystery for most of this time

period, but in 1993 the otherwise silent Kaczynski began to write letters to the press and sometimes to his targets. In 1995, the *New York Times* published a 35,000-word essay by Kaczynski, which ultimately led to his arrest when a family member recognized his writing style. The essay published by the *New York Times* was a long political manifesto detailing Kaczynski's beliefs that American society was corrupt and rationalizing his desire to rebel against it. Most Americans who followed the story were convinced that he was mentally unstable, especially after a court-appointed psychologist deemed him a probable paranoid schizophrenic. In 1998, Kaczynski was sentenced to life in prison without parole.

Other acts of terrorism were less easily explained. The most striking of these was the bombing of a federal building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995. The bombing, which killed 168 people, including many children, was the worse act of terrorism in the 1990s. Initial speculation was that it was executed by Middle Eastern terrorists, but many Americans were shocked to find that it had been perpetrated by Timothy McVeigh, an American with ties to a militia group. The Oklahoma bombing was in part a response to a clash with a similar group, a well-armed religious cult calling itself the Branch Davidians, exactly two years earlier. The standoff with the Branch Davidians ended when the group's Waco, Texas, compound caught fire, killing most of the group. Many people agreed with federal officials that someone from within the compound ignited the deadly fire. But others, including McVeigh, believed that federal law enforcement officials deserved responsibility for the blaze.

Members in the country's growing militia movement viewed the tragedy at Waco as a sign that the federal government had overstepped its bounds. Centered mostly in rural areas, and composed largely of disaffected citizens, militias saw the federal government as a fascist institution, one that sought to trade in the rights of the common man in exchange for international power (though the concept of the "common man" was sometimes a narrow one given that some militia



Search and rescue workers gather at the scene of the Oklahoma City bombing, April 19, 1995. FEMA News Photo.

groups also exhibited strong white-supremacist tendencies). These notions bore some similarities to those presented in the Unabomber's manifesto, but here they were being extolled, not by a single man, easily dismissed as insane, but by a growing number of working-class Americans. Ultimately, the percentage of Americans involved in militia movements was quite small, but those militias made a name for themselves with acts like the Oklahoma City bombing.

MEDIA EVENTS AND O. J.

The political events that rocked the nation grabbed most of the populace's attention not merely for their inherent importance, but also for their significance as television dramas, nearly as compelling as programming network producers could come up with on their own. Certainly, the scandal that led to Bill Clinton's impeachment, with its salacious details, became a favorite story for television reporters. Likewise, the dynamic pictures from the front lines of the American invasion of Iraq kept viewers glued to their televisions. As important as these events were, as the media covered the stories, the manner of coverage itself became a major story.

The blurring of the line between journalism and entertainment grew even fuzzier in the case of former football great and actor, O. J. "The Juice" Simpson. Simpson's wife, Nicole Brown Simpson, and her friend Ronald Goldman had been found brutally murdered on June 12, 1994, outside of her Brentwood townhouse in Los Angeles. The murders immediately garnered considerable media attention, based on the location in Hollywood, the brutality of the slayings, and the celebrity connection to Simpson. However, the early attention soon seemed minute in comparison to the bizarre, almost surreal, events that followed.

Five days after the killings, Los Angeles police charged Simpson with two counts of first degree murder. Simpson's lawyer negotiated a time for his surrender at police headquarters, but when Simpson did show up, he became a wanted fugitive. That evening, Simpson was spotted, and then began the strange scene of Simpson riding in his white Ford Bronco, driven by his friend A. C. Cowlings, on Los Angeles freeways, followed by a parade of police cruisers. News helicopters covered the chase from the air. In fact, the whole convoy was traveling at well under the speed limit, resembling a ceremonial procession more than a high-speed chase. The television coverage was striking. Regularly scheduled programs were interrupted by newscasters presenting live video footage from the scene. Locals crowded the side of the freeway to watch, and even to cheer for Simpson, in some cases holding signs that read "Go, Juice, Go!" and the like. The cameras followed the chase along the freeways until the Bronco finally pulled into the driveway of Simpson's multimillion-dollar estate. The cameras stayed on the parked Bronco as Simpson spoke to police through a cell phone, with cameras still rolling after the sunset. Eventually, Simpson surrendered, but the "chase" interrupted hours of television programming.

The ensuing Simpson trial lasted for months, and ended in Simpson's acquittal, though he was later found guilty in a civil suit filed by Goldman's family. The trial became a sounding board about the justice system, media, celebrity, and domestic violence. The Simpson case brought commentators out in droves and became a major theme of discussion in all media.

Other crimes fell under public scrutiny in the 1990s, from the Menendez brothers' killing of their wealthy parents, to the high school shootings of the decade. The worse case of school violence came on April 20, 1999, when Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold conducted an assault on their Littleton, Colorado, high school. The boys were heavily armed, carrying a semiautomatic handgun, a semiautomatic rifle, two shotguns, and more than 50 bombs. By the time the rampage ended, with the two taking their own lives, they had killed 12 students, one teacher, and injured many others. Across the country, viewers watched television footage of students fleeing the school and law enforcement officials moving in. They saw footage of a bloodied student desperately escaping the school from a second story window.

In short, the media brought the shooting graphically into the homes of America, leaving the country in shock. No specific rationale was ever discovered for Harris and Klebold's actions, though they had been victims of hazing from certain

classmates who were on the football team. As a consequence, many painted the shooting spree as a kind of war between cliques, though friends of the shooters pointed out that the cliques were not as strong as the media made them out to be. The shooters acted as individuals, not as members of a certain group.

The Gulf War also became a television spectacle. CNN's coverage played a significant role in boosting the station's influence and popularity. CNN led the way with its video footage of the initial U.S. air invasion of Iraq, enchanting television audiences with its video-game-like appearance.

These high profile events were newsworthy, but also packaged by the media to heighten the sensationalist aspects, particularly on television. Rather than simply relating the details of a given event, the media increasingly compartmentalized information. Many news stories went well beyond being mere reports, instead becoming "events," with television networks putting as much thought into their presentation as into the content of such presentations.

As hard news increasingly appeared as entertainment, many shows began blurring the line between reality and fiction. Shows like *A Current Affair* (1986–1996) and *Hard Copy* (1989–1999) presented themselves as news shows, yet even a casual viewer of these programs could tell that they were much different from the traditional network news broadcasts. Although the programs dealt with select important news items, their coverage focused on sensationalism. For instance, the details of Bill Clinton's sexual misconduct were a popular subject for these shows, while the rather dry details of impeachment proceedings garnered less attention. In short, the entertaining aspects of a story were emphasized more than the aspects that might prove educational.

THE AIDS EPIDEMIC

The 1980s saw a rapid spread of AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome), both in the United States and overseas, but many Americans still considered it a virus that only affected the homosexuals and intravenous drug users. However, as the number of AIDS-related deaths increased in the 1990s, and as a growing number of high-profile figures, from sports stars to actors, contracted HIV (human immunodeficiency virus), the virus that led to AIDS, a different attitude developed. It became increasingly hard to dismiss AIDS as something that only affected promiscuous homosexuals and intravenous drug users. AIDS soon became one of the leading causes of death among Americans between the ages of 35 and 44. In 1997, the Centers for Disease Control estimated the number of Americans infected with HIV as being as high as 900,000. Moreover, they estimated that only about half of those infected were aware of their condition.[5] Worldwide, the number of HIV-infected individuals reached a staggering 22 million in 1997. Global concern about the epidemic increased accordingly. One problem with such estimates was that AIDS, despite growing education, was still considered by many to be a syndrome that should be hidden. In the 1990s, however, AIDS patients were less likely to be left untreated due to fears of contracting the disease, and generally, they were not as ostracized as they had been before.

The change in opinion about the disease took place as the public face of AIDS altered. In 1990, Ryan White presented a real problem to those who preferred to regard AIDS as a fringe disease. White, a teenager with all-American looks, had contracted the virus via a blood transfusion. In his short life, White became an important AIDS activist, showing that the disease's reach was far longer than some thought. In 1990, former president Ronald Reagan issued an apology for his administration's neglect of the AIDS crisis, signaling a change in official concern over the issue.

As the decade progressed, other well-known figures fell to AIDS, including actor Robert Reed, tennis pro Arthur Ashe, dancer Rudolf Nureyev, and rapper Easy-E. Perhaps the figure who most contributed to a change in the popular perception of AIDS was basketball great Earvin "Magic" Johnson, who announced in 1991 that he had contracted HIV. He retired from basketball and became a rallying figure for those who wished to show that AIDS could be contracted by anyone. Possibly the greatest change in perspective on the disease occurred when Johnson returned to professional basketball. The thought of an infected

player on the court would likely have been scoffed at a decade earlier when most Americans had a lesser understanding of HIV, but now Johnson's return was celebrated, and his popularity remained undiminished.

COMPUTERS AND THE INTERNET

Undoubtedly, the most important technological innovations of the decade had to do with computers. Intel's introduction of the microprocessor in 1971 opened the door to increasingly compact and powerful computer systems. In the late 1970s, Apple Computer introduced the first mass-market personal computer (PC). In the 1990s, the proliferation of the personal computer accelerated to a new and astounding level. Computers changed the way the country operated. Few aspects of American life were untouched.

Throughout the decade, Microsoft served as the most powerful company in the computer industry. The company had devised the operating system MS-DOS for IBM's first personal computer. Microsoft's Windows operating system dominated the computer industry, and the company also produced highly popular software, turning itself into a giant corporation. As a result, CEO Bill Gates became one of the country's richest executives. Several smaller companies accused the corporation of unfair business practices. In 1997, the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) filed a number of antitrust suits against Microsoft, arguing that Microsoft's Windows '98 operating system worked so well with Microsoft programs, including its Internet Explorer, that it effectively stifled the market for other software products. After years of court proceedings and negotiations, the DOJ and Microsoft settled the case in late 2001. The agreement required the company to share some of its programming with outside companies, but most commentators felt the settlement equated to a slap on the wrist.

The Internet had existed in some form or another since the creation of the Arpanet for the government's Advanced Research Projects Agency in 1963. Expansion from that point had been gradual, but starting in the late 1980s, the Internet grew quickly. In 1984, there were fewer than a thousand computers hosting sites networked together, but by the mid-1990s, there were more than six million host computers, each servicing many individual personal computers, and an enormous number of individual users.

There were several reasons for acceleration in Internet use. The general proliferation of personal computers contributed considerably, as did the development of the World Wide Web (WWW), proposed by Tim Berners-Lee in 1989 in a lab in Switzerland. The WWW, frequently referred to simply as "the Web," allowed individual personal computer users an unprecedented opportunity to create their own sites online, and generally brought a greater sense of order, both for dissemination and retrieval of information. Most users accessed the Internet via phone lines, though with the growing amount of data on any given Web

THE GOOGLE EFFECT

Perhaps the seminal Web site of the 1990s, and possibly the history of the Internet, was (and still is) Google. Indeed, it is hard to fathom a world where one cannot log onto the Internet and Google a recipe for hummus, or the winner of the Kentucky derby in 1934, or the name of that funny painting where the androgynous woman looks like she just experienced a ménage à trois. Like "Kleenex" and "Coke," Google has become a universal word in the English lexicon meaning to look something up. "Just Google it" is a common response to anything that one does not know or is curious about. Merely by typing the keyword or phrase in the familiar rectangular space, one is instantly connected to a plethora of sites containing information about the subject. Google has taken the place of the old *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Rather than spend the time accessing heavy, thick bound encyclopedias, users can Google images, dictionaries, and, best of all, oneself. "In the afternoons, I enjoy googling myself" is already a stale joke. Certainly, those who have had the experience will never forget the moment they were googleable through an achievement, a publication, or even a blog. The Internet has made published writers and narcissists of many people.

site, many turned to fiber optics or other systems of information transference.

E-mail (or electronic mail) also contributed to the growth of the Internet by allowing individuals to communicate with ease and at little expense with other users across the globe. By the mid-1990s, observers estimated that the rate of e-mail use had overtaken that of the telephone and traditional mail. By decade's end, many phone companies offered Internet service. Media outlets particularly exploited the Internet. In 1998, there were more than 3,250 newspapers and 1,280 television stations with Web sites.

Commercial Internet service providers contributed the greatest boost to the Internet among users. America Online (AOL), CompuServe, and other companies provided customers with a user-friendly interface to the Internet, and helped the user search for and organize information more easily. AOL began as a self-contained online system. Users could send and receive e-mail from virtually any Internet user. They also accessed a greater number of features contained in America Online's host systems, but they were unable to browse the Web. AOL, however, quickly added Internet browsing software to later versions of their service. This helped make AOL the largest Internet provider in the world, as did its reputation as a "safe" way to access the Internet. AOL marketed itself as the most family oriented of the service providers, offering strong juvenile protections from potentially objectionable online content. By 1998, AOL reported that it had 14 million users.

COMMUNICATIONS

Besides e-mail, cellular phones, introduced publicly in the 1980s, became pervasive as their capacity grew and their size shrank. In 1994, there were about 16 million people in the United States using cell phones, but by 2001, there were 110 million users, according to the U.S. General Accounting Office. The increase was due to many factors, including the fact the phones became smaller. Likewise, as the phones became more popular, retailers like Motorola, Nokia, Verizon, and Erikson reduced prices both on the phones and service.

Early in the decade, having a cell phone was a distinct status symbol, but as the number of users increased, cell phones became less of a status symbol and more of a necessity. It became so pervasive that cell phone companies advertised not only to adults, but also teenagers. As the phone itself was no longer a means of self expression, the design of phones, now available in a multitude of colors, took over as a way for users to personalize the newfound accessory. The ring of a cell phone also became a means of self-expression. Early traditional digital tones were replaced by musical passages, at first a singular one and then by an electronically stored menu of selectable tunes. At decade's end, some cell phones could download musical ring tones from the Internet. The most advanced models offered e-mail capacity, direct Internet access, and even video games, becoming portable computers as well as telephones.

Advertising

of the 1990s

THE ADVERTISING BUSINESS

In the 1990s, the business of advertising became increasingly complex. The number of possible outlets for advertising increased dramatically, but so too did the fragmentation of potential audiences. Thus, advertisers had to explore many different avenues—television, radio, magazines, the burgeoning Internet, and others—in order to find the broadest possible audience. Nearly every venue for advertising seemed to flourish in the 1990s, with the possible exception of the billboard industry, which had to compete against a growing interest in highway beautification.

The sheer volume of advertising, as well as that of the money involved, was staggering. Advertising became so ubiquitous that some worried about the psychological effect it might have on the population at large. Advertising accounted for more than 60 percent of magazine revenue, some $30 billion a year, and the $40 billion generated by electronic media accounted for almost all of its revenues.[1] A 1991 estimate placed the number of ads targeted at the average American at a daily rate of 3,000.[2]

In general, the volume of spending on advertising by major corporations grew significantly each year. In part, advertising outlets charged more for space and airtime, but the larger companies also spread the word about their products with greater intensity. In addition, television commercials became, in essence, short movies peddling products. It was not uncommon for the actual production costs of a TV advertising spot to rival that of the television program during which it aired.

Certain big ticket broadcast events, like the Super Bowl or the Academy Awards, naturally made for prime advertising time. These events drew larger-than-normal audiences and, consequently, drew top dollar advertising. An ad for the Academy Awards, for instance, would typically cost more than $1 million for 30 seconds of airtime. Of course, these events also developed a reputation for the quality of their commercials because viewers knew that companies would be investing a great deal of money to make these commercials the best. It was not unusual to hear nearly as much about the commercials the next day in the media and in conversation than about the Super Bowl game itself.

American companies also marketed to other countries much more intensely in the 1990s. Particularly, Eastern Europe, after the widespread fall of Communism, provided fruitful advertising ground for companies like Procter & Gamble, Phillip Morris, and Coca-Cola.

GENERAL TRENDS

Several general trends accelerated in the 1990s. Many ads used the rugged outdoors to sell products.

Automobiles, especially trucks and sports utility vehicles, were frequently depicted tearing through the most hostile of environments. The 1996 Nissan Pathfinder, for instance, employed a campaign that took the vehicle on an African safari, while emphasizing the interior luxury and comfort that the would-be adventurer enjoyed. But other products also used the outdoors as a focal point in their ads. Food, clothing, telephone service, and virtually any other product could be sold by depicting individuals in the wilderness. Besides appealing to individuality, these ads to some degree endorsed the growing environmental concerns of consumers. These commercials and advertisements also provided an appealing setting for individuals who felt trapped by urban life.

Advertisers also exploited nostalgia. In general, American culture seemed to have a renewed interest in the recent past, as evidenced by a rise in "retro" fashions. Consequently, many ads sought to capture the look of the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, or even, near the end of the decade, the 1980s. These eras were almost universally idealized in the ads, though the 1950s were often emphasized as kitschy rather than cool.

As young people of Generation X (generally considered to be those born between 1965 and 1980) and of the following generation developed their own sources of disposable income, advertisers targeted them by appealing to their specific interests. These young people had often been seen as defining themselves in opposition to mainstream society. As a result, the advertising directed at them exploited this concept, expounding on the idea that older individuals were somehow out of touch, and implying that the products under scrutiny were somehow rebellious. Extreme sports, like skateboarding and snowboarding, were frequent visuals used in these ads, even if they had little to do with the product being sold.

ADVERTISING SLOGANS OF THE 1990s

"Generation Next," Pepsi-Cola, 1997

"Got Milk?" California Milk Processor Board, 1993*

"Always Coca-Cola," Coca-Cola, 1993*

"Think Different," Apple Computer, 1997

"Life is a journey. Enjoy the ride." Nissan, 1996

"Be like Mike" [Michael Jordan], Gatorade, 1991

"Can't beat the real thing," Coca-Cola, 1990

"Like a Rock," Chevrolet, 1991

"Beef: It's What's For Dinner," National Cattlemen's Beef Association, 1992

"Crave the Wave," Ocean Spray Cranberries, 1993

"Easy, breezy, beautiful Cover Girl," Cover Girl cosmetics, 1997

"Life is short. Play hard," Reebok, 1991

"Drivers wanted," Volkswagen, 1995

"You've got questions. We've got answers." Radio Shack, 1994

"Priceless," MasterCard, 1997

"The snack that smiles back," Goldfish crackers, 1997

"Moving at the speed of business," UPS, 1995

*Among *Advertising Age's* 100 Best Ads of 20th Century. http://adage.com/century/

INNOVATION IN ADVERTISING

The common themes aside, advertising in the 1990s saw much experimentation. Many advertisers believed that startling, unusual ads would catch consumer attention far better than traditional approaches. A print ad for the Porsche 911 Turbo, for instance, downplayed the technical features and even the status of the car. Instead, it featured a photograph of the car with the slogan "Kills bugs fast."

One of the strongest advertising campaigns of the 1990s was for milk, which had never been considered a high-profile product. The California Fluid Milk Processor's Advisory Board (CFMPA), in seeking to improve the rather lackluster image of milk, created two wildly popular campaigns. The television campaign was kicked off by a commercial in which a young man sat eating a sandwich in a library filled with memorabilia related to Aaron Burr's shooting of Alexander Hamilton. He received a phone call from a radio station which offered him a chance to win $50,000 if he could answer a trivia question. The question was "Who shot Alexander Hamilton?" The man, with

his mouth full of sandwich and his milk carton empty, was unable to answer. The spot ended with the words, "Got milk?" More commercials followed with similar situations.

The print campaign was as simple as it was popular. The ads depicted various celebrities wearing milk moustaches, accompanied by brief descriptive copy. Celebrities clamored to be a part of the campaign, and soon actors, sports stars, musicians, and other celebrities sported the famous moustache.

TELEMARKETING AND INFOMERCIALS

There was considerable growth of telemarketing in the 1990s, a trend which also contributed to the growth in phone call screening devices and services. Calls from marketers selling phone service plans, magazines, credit cards, and other products and services gave telemarketing a reputation as one of the most infuriating forms of advertising. Additionally, consumer anger ultimately did little to reduce the sheer number of telemarketing calls. In fact, the industry grew during the 1990s, largely because it continued to be profitable. Telemarketing itself was an extremely inexpensive form of marketing, and therefore, returns did not have to be as high as for television and print ads. Annual sales for telemarketers reached $650 billion by 1999.[3]

Due to limited deregulation of commercial time restraints in the mid-1980s, the late 1980s and 1990s saw the rise of the infomercial, a television commercial expanded to 30 minutes or an hour. Infomercials for Soloflex, an exercise device, dominated late night broadcasts in the 1980s. Its success led to a flood of exercise equipment infomercials. Exercise books and videos proved popular subjects for these long advertisements. Exercise guru Billy Blanks made a name for himself and his Tae Bo exercise program through infomercials. Many other products were promoted as well. Over the course of 1991, juicers went from a $10 million industry to one that raked in $380 million a year. The key to the infomercial was that it tried, to some extent, to hide its ultimate purpose of selling a product. Certainly, the programs frequently showed an 800 number to call to order the product at alleged fantastic savings. But it also frequently exhibited a parade of celebrities chatting about the wonders of the product or conducting themselves like television talk show hosts. In short, the infomercial sought to entertain as well as sell because keeping the audience entertained for 30 to 60 minutes might well translate into a sale, or at least the imprinting of a brand name in the viewer's mind.[4]

CELEBRITIES

With the growth of advertising, there came an increased need to stand out from the crowd. The average American was exposed to advertisements so frequently that it was easy for ads to go all but unnoticed. In fact, a 1994 poll suggested that up to 74 percent of Americans switched channels during commercials, and that 50 percent occasionally muted the sound. Advertisers used celebrity spokespersons in an attempt to generate interest in products and services. One of the most commercially fruitful celebrity/advertiser relationships existed between Nike and basketball star Michael Jordan. Jordan was estimated to have been worth $5.2 billion to Nike, including the Air Jordan brand. During the time he appeared in Nike ads, the company went from earning 18 percent of the total retail sales market for sneakers to 43 percent.[5]

Naturally, celebrity advertising had a limited effect if viewers were not familiar with the personality in question. An ad featuring Denver Bronco John Elway, for instance, would carry little weight with a viewer uninterested in professional football. As a result, where and when celebrity-driven ads appeared was important. Ads with sports figures were used in greater volume in sports and men's magazines, while women's magazines typically featured more attractive television and movie stars. Likewise, television ads during sports programming were dominated by sports-related advertising and celebrities. An episode of *Seinfeld* might feature a credit card commercial featuring one of the show's stars. There were, however, celebrities who could successfully appear virtually anywhere, including Michael Jordan and Tiger Woods, who came to be recognized nationwide, even by those who did not follow professional golf.



Michael Jordan, right, a member of the U.S. Olympic basketball team and Sergej Bubka, a member of the CIS track and field team are all smiles during a news conference for Nike in Barcelona, July, 1992. AP Photo.

Celebrity endorsements didn't always work as well as planned. Madonna and Mike Tyson were both tapped to pitch for Pepsi, but the controversies that followed them forced Pepsi to discontinue their ad campaigns. Michael Jackson was a controversial figure, even before Pepsi sponsored his 1993 tour, but the soft drink company distanced itself from the singer after Jackson cancelled the tour due to dehydration.

PRODUCT PLACEMENT

A subtle form of advertising, that of product placement, infiltrated television shows and movies. Product placement involved the exclusive use of certain products in a show. For example, all of the characters in a given show might drink the same brand of soda. The products were not openly advertised, but it was assumed that these brand names would imprint themselves on viewers' minds, thereby increasing the likelihood that consumers would select that product. Linda K. Fuller cited 48 product placements in the 1990 Tom Cruise film *Days of Thunder*.[6] The practice gave rise to placement companies, who received scripts in advance of filming and could determine the best way to slip products into the scenes. The TV drama *Seven Days* featured a clearly placed can of Coca-Cola and a Wells Fargo Bank billboard. What made this particular case a standout over the ubiquitous product placement in the entertainment industry was that these images were actually digitally placed into the scene and were not there when it was first filmed.[7]

In 1991, advertisers utilized the same digital technology to exhume likenesses of dead stars to sell goods. A Coca-Cola ad seamlessly used old movie footage to compile a party scene featuring Louis Armstrong, Humphrey Bogart, James Cagney, Cary Grant, and Groucho Marx. The reanimated celebrities were depicted drinking diet Coke and having a wild and wonderful time. The

commercial itself was a technological masterpiece, but many observers found the use of deceased personalities distasteful, and the technique was not widely embraced by advertisers.

CHILDREN AND ADVERTISING

There was considerable controversy about how ads for certain adult goods were geared toward children and young adults. Advertisements for alcohol, particularly beer, portrayed a life of parties, women, and rock 'n' roll. These ads typically featured people in their twenties, but certainly also celebrated a lifestyle that appealed to those in their teens. According to critics, such commercials were a thinly veiled invitation to underage drinking. Cigarettes were also attacked on these grounds. Many attributed the disturbing upward trend of teenage smoking to successful cigarette marketing. One advertising figure was attacked with particular vehemence. In its print and poster ads, Camel cigarettes employed a cartoon character named Joe Camel. Joe, an anthropomorphized camel, was the ultimate smooth character, dressed in a sharp suit, eyes hidden behind sunglasses. Ads depicted the cartoon character surrounded by beautiful women and fast cars, inevitably the center of attention. The fantasy of Joe Camel's life certainly appealed to a broad (if mostly male) demographic, but the fact that he was a funny animal cartoon character stoked fears that he also appealed to children. In fact, a 1991 study found that Joe Camel was as familiar to American six year olds as Mickey Mouse.[8] Camel staunchly denied that they were selling to minors, but in 1997, after much criticism from political leaders, advocacy groups, and the public, the company retired its mascot.

Some attacked the advertising industry for its methods of advertising to children in general. Advertisers often hired psychologists to exploit the mental state of children in their ads. They emphasized the coolness of their products, understanding that children could be extremely persistent in their demands to their parents. Children also possessed more disposable income in the 1990s than ever before. Estimates place the amount of money spent by children and teens between the ages of 4 and 19 at $66 billion in 1992 alone, with



Billboard of Joe Camel smoking a cigarette. St Paul, Minnesota. Courtesy of Steve Skjold/Alamy.

$36 billion of that being parents' money.[9] Furthermore, advertisers understood the value in creating a desire on the part of children for certain events and activities, such as dining at fast-food restaurants.

A disturbing trend was the introduction of advertising into forums that had previously not allowed such efforts. Many school districts struggled in the 1990s, facing financial shortfalls and growing student bodies. Classes were getting larger and teachers were underpaid. In addition, with wealthier schools acquiring computers and other high-tech facilities, the financially strapped districts felt woefully inept. For some, advertising seemed the ideal means to improving conditions. In 1993, a Colorado Springs school district became the first to allow ads in hallways and on the sides of school buses. The initial ads for Burger King ended up making the district a disappointing $37,500 a year. However, in 1996, the district hired a marketing expert who negotiated a 10-year contract between the school and Coca-Cola for approximately $11 million.

The success of the Colorado Springs district enticed many other districts to follow suit. One school negotiated a deal with Dr Pepper to place an ad on the school's roof in order to market to overhead planes from the nearby airport.[10] The school district of Derby, Kansas, accepted $1 million from Pepsi, and in exchange, they agreed to

serve only Pepsi products and name its elementary school resource center the GenerationNext Center, echoing the company ad slogan. Another school district in Texas was sponsored by the Dr. Pepper Bottling Company of Texas, and included this information on its administrative answering machine and elsewhere.[11] A Georgia school implemented an official "Coke in Education Day" after signing a deal with the Coca-Cola Company. At one point, the 1,200 students of the school, dressed in red and white, formed human letters spelling out the word "Coke." Their picture was taken by a photographer held overhead by crane, but one student revealed a Pepsi T-shirt just as it was shot. The student was suspended one day, amidst nationwide publicity and controversy, but the incident was a dramatic demonstration of the influence advertising could have on a school's administration.[12]

Advertising even found its way into textbooks. Math books, for instance, might include word problems designed around saving money to buy a certain name-brand product, or the number of trademarked food items able to fit into a package.[13] The 1990s also saw the widespread introduction of Channel One, a satellite-TV service ostensibly designed to bring students news and other features, but also riddled with advertising. Channel One typically charged as much as $200,000 for a 30-second spot, which gave advertisers access to its large, captive audience. At the end of the decade, a company called ZapMe! Corporation offered full computer labs, complete with Internet servers and teacher training, with the condition that the computers would contain "brand imaging spots" and marketing research software. In effect, the computers would conduct marketing focus groups in the schools. Around 6,000 schools signed up for the service by 2002.[14]

THE ANTI-DRUG CAMPAIGN

In 1998, Bill Clinton and a bipartisan Congress allocated $195 million a year for a five-year, anti-drug campaign, a large percentage going to advertising. One of the major forces behind the move was the Partnership for a Drug-Free America, which had earlier created a number of television advertisements in which a spokesperson held up an egg with the words, "This is your brain." The pan-fried egg represented "Your brain on drugs." As a part of the new campaign, a new variation appeared in which a young girl smashed the egg with the pan as a representation of "Your brain after snorting heroin." This was followed by a vigorous smashing of everything else in the kitchen as the girl swung her pan with fury and yelled, "This is what your family goes through! And your friends! And your job! And your self-respect! And your future!" At the end, she stared directly into the camera, making the same inquiry seen in those earlier ads: "Any questions?" These were probably the two highest profile ads of the more than 500 anti-drug ads produced by the Partnership for a Drug-Free America from 1989 to 1998. Other ads, however, were attacked for conveying misleading information about drugs and distorting the truth, particularly in their consideration of all drugs as equally harmful. Moreover, many questioned the ultimate effectiveness of scare tactics in advertising and pointed out that such advertising probably had more of an effect on parents than on the intended teen audience, and therefore, did little to reduce the demand for drugs.[15]

POLITICAL ADS

During the decade, there was increased concern about how corporations and individuals financed political candidates and campaigns. Questions increased about how campaign finance money was spent. Political advertising became a hot topic as politicians spent more on ads than ever before. A 1998 study conducted by the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Southern California revealed that, in the three months leading to the gubernatorial election, major TV stations devoted an average of one half of one percent of their news broadcasting to the race. With so little time being granted them in the news, candidates naturally turned to paid advertising for publicity. Another 1998 survey found that the result was that viewers were four times more likely to see a political commercial than they were to see a political story aired on their local news.[16]

During the 1994 presidential election campaign, nearly $1 billion was spent on advertising for the candidates alone, most of it on television

commercials and mailing circulars. That election also came to be seen as one of the sleaziest. Fewer ads argued the merits of the candidate and, rather, lambasted their opponent. Sensing the distaste felt by the American public toward such ads, the 1998 campaign's negativity was initially more tempered, but as the election neared, the advertising became increasingly negative.

NICHE MARKETING

Advertisers placed greater emphasis on niche markets in the 1990s to increase revenues by marketing to marginalized groups. Estimates at the end of the decade were that ethnic minorities would soon be making 30 percent of all consumer purchases.[17] African American-controlled media grew considerably in the decade, as did media directed toward black audiences. Television networks found tremendous success with sitcoms featuring blacks, as did the advertisers who bought commercial time during these shows. Likewise, an increasing number of magazines produced by African Americans and with large black audiences also provided to be excellent advertising territory. Advertisers diversified the types of people who appeared in their ads on the premise that the depiction of a multicultural world not only drew in an ethnic audience, but also made all consumers feel a little better about the world and, consequently, better about the product being pitched.

Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, Hispanics, Arab Americans, and other ethnic groups, however, constituted smaller segments of the consumer market and had few unique outlets, but many advertisers nonetheless sought to reach those demographics. Spanish language television provided an opportunity for advertisers to reach the Hispanic community, and though some English language ads were dubbed, more were created in Spanish specifically for this outlet.

Advertisers also targeted the gay community as a valuable consumer demographic. Gay media in general grew during the 1990s, as did the number of gays depicted sympathetically in print and television entertainment, perhaps indicating the nation's understanding of the AIDS challenge. A 1998 campaign for Hartford Financial Services Group was created with the gay media in mind, but the growing visibility of gay media allowed it to cross over to the mainstream with relative ease. In 1997, American Express spent $250,000 researching the gay and lesbian market, and came to the conclusion that this was indeed a strong market.[18] Of course, the depiction of gays in advertising, as well as the depiction of ethnic minorities, was intended to accomplish one goal: sell products and services. If these weren't substantial consumer groups, it's unlikely that advertisers would pursue them so vigorously, but these ads did increase the visibility of gays and ethnic minorities, and they may have contributed to a more diversified perception of Americans.

ONLINE ADVERTISING

The rise of the Internet was a huge development in the world of advertising. For the first time since the birth of television, here was an altogether new advertising medium. The innovation of the Internet required advertisers to come up with new ways to market their wares. The great challenge of the Internet was that it was so thoroughly under the control of the user. Companies needed to draw consumers to their particular Web site. Many consumers went online specifically in order to seek out certain goods, but companies also wanted to grab the attention of consumers who were not looking for the specific product or service being sold. Several ways of marketing to this kind of surfing consumer developed.

Association proved to be the most popular of these. The best association a company could make was with one of the major Internet providers. For instance, if a company struck a deal with America Online, then AOL users might be exposed immediately to an advertisement for that company's goods when they signed on. Additionally, search engines might favor a site with which they had an agreement, so that a search for shoes, for example, would list their corporate associates first in their list of Web site hits.

Advertisers could also buy ads on sites that were related to the product they were selling. For example, someone browsing a Web site for a specific car model might see advertisements for the company that manufactured the car, for part

suppliers, for books about the vehicle, for company memorabilia, and other related products and services. Small sites provided particularly fruitful ground for advertisers because they provided relatively inexpensive advertising rates and small but extremely focused interest groups. As it was likely that those online had some interest in computers, computer-related advertisements dominated the Web.

Nine of the top 10 online advertisers marketed computer products, including Microsoft, IBM, Digital Equipment, and Excite at the top of the list. Interestingly, many of the top advertisers were also among the top publishers of ads. Excite, for instance, advertised on other Web sites in order to bring surfers to their site, where Excite would, in turn, expose them to numerous other advertisements. In the first half of 1998, Excite spent nearly $5 million dollars on advertising, but brought in more than $47 million in revenues from publishing the ads of others. Yahoo, the top ad publisher, spent more than $3 million dollars on ads, but brought in $54 million.[19]

The Internet provided an unprecedented opportunity for companies to learn about their target audience. Typically, an advertiser could target a potential customer according to the region from which they accessed the Internet. In addition, Web sites could be used to keep track of how customers progressed though a site, thereby gauging what topics and displays had the most positive effect on an individual or specific groups. A number of Web sites and online surveys gave surfers questionnaires that frequently focused on public opinion. A survey might ask about politics or other issues in the news, or about entertainment and sports events. The surveys provided amusement for surfers who could compare their opinions and predictions to the online community at large. They also provided information to Internet service providers and other companies about the attitudes and demographics of their audience. Those companies then subsequently designed ads to appeal to those demographics. A 1998 government study discovered that out of the Web sites aimed at children, 89 percent asked for personal information in order to market to the demographic. This fact led directly to the April 2000 passage of the Children's Online Privacy Protection Act.

Ultimately, despite the trials that came with exploiting this new media, online advertising became as much a part of life to many Americans as the commercials on network television. Online advertising began in earnest about 1994, but by 1999, it had grown into a $1.8 billion industry.[20]

Architecture

of the 1990s

Architecture has always experienced the conflict between art and commerce. At first glance, it might appear that, in the 1990s, commerce clearly won out over art, particularly with the rapid development of urban landscapes, not only on the fringes of large cities, but also in rural communities. Small communities expanded as national corporations came to realize the significant untapped markets in such areas, and, while shopping malls remained a force, superstores (most notably, Wal-Mart) entered new markets, changing landscapes enormously. The continued growth of the suburbs led to increased urban sprawl.

TECHNOLOGY AND ARCHITECTURE

For more traditional architects, the 1990s was a particularly challenging decade. The economic recession of the late 1980s and early 1990s made an already competitive employment market considerably worse, especially for new graduates. Many of those who found jobs were employed in the often creatively stifling world of corporate projects. The general dissatisfaction with such projects seems to have manifested itself in the 1999 American Institute of Architects Honor Awards, which only recognized two corporate buildings (the K. J. McNitt Building in Oklahoma City, designed by Elliott Associates Architects, and the FILA Corporate Headquarters in Maryland, whose award-winning interiors were designed by Shelton, Mindel & Associates), much in contrast to the 1980s, when such corporate works were the high-profile, high-prestige projects.[1]

Given the difficulties facing young architects, in a business climate that limited creative opportunities for all but the most established of architects, many turned to other avenues of self-expression. The entertainment world, especially the movie and electronic game industries, provided a new venue for some architects. As computer game environments became more sophisticated, thousands of new architecture graduates pursued careers in computer technology. Architects were allowed freedom not limited by corporate or fiscal concerns, and cyber-structures could flout conventional rules of structural soundness as well. Of course, one of the greatest draws was money. At the end of the century, the average pay for a newly graduated architecture firm intern was less than $40,000 a year. The architects working in the gaming field typically made $50,000. Moreover, as the movie industry came to use more and more computer graphics in film, the call from Hollywood for architects grew even more alluring, with greater pay opportunities.[2]

One reason that so many young architects proved so adept in computer graphic design was

that computers had become as vital a tool for real-world architecture as for the virtual worlds. Architectural software became central to design of all sorts, including city planning and building construction. More than simply a tool for illustrating plans, computers allowed architects and city planners to gauge structural integrity and manage space. Traffic flow, for instance, could be modeled in virtual cities before the expensive work of constructing roads actually began. And even as computers came to prominence in architectural design, architects also found themselves in a position where they had to accommodate the growing technological functions of buildings. Such developments required designers, particularly those working on business buildings, to think about new configurations for computer work spaces, the reduced amount of space needed for filing systems, and the wiring of a structure for inter-office computerized communications.

FRANK GEHRY

For all the utilitarianism of 1990s architecture, there was room for structures that pushed the boundaries and redefined how Americans thought about buildings. One of the general trends, started in earlier decades but further emphasized in the 1990s, was toward a rather industrial, even incomplete look. Many newer buildings seemed to leave the nature of their construction apparent. Glass work, for instance, allowed one to see through the walls to the supports of a structure. Other buildings emphasized the steel and concrete instead of covering them, exposing the structural skeleton, as well as the duct systems. There was also a continuing move away from symmetry, toward a more fluid and chaotic look, as in the work of Frank Gehry (1929–).

The recipient of many international awards and honors over the course of the decade, Gehry stood as one of the 1990s most renowned



The Frederick R. Weisman Art Museum, by architect Frank Gehry, on the University of Minnesota Campus. Courtesy of Steve Skjold/Alamy.

architects. He won the Pritzker Prize for architecture in 1989, marking a turning point in his career. Critics claimed his work was structurally impractical and unrealistic, but Gehry continued to push the envelope with striking, expressionistic buildings that were still structurally sound. By the end of the 1990s, Gehry had earned the respect of his peers and much of the general public. In 1998, he was awarded the National Medal of the Arts, and in 1999, he was named a Gold Medalist by the American Institute of Architects, taking his place among such previous recipients as Thomas Jefferson and Frank Lloyd Wright.

More important, Gehry earned several high profile jobs. The Frederick R. Weisman Art Museum (1993) on the campus of the University of Minnesota, almost defied description, with a look that was simultaneously industrial and organic, constructed of stainless steel and orange brick, and exhibiting various structural angles that seem to follow no form. Perhaps Gehry's greatest structure was the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain, begun in 1991, completed in 1997, and exhibiting the same kind of expressionistic freedom of design demonstrated by the Weisman Museum. Gehry also designed significant portions of the Paris, France, Disneyland in the late 1980s and early 1990s, which led to his commission to design the Disney Concert Hall (1989–2001) to house the Los Angeles Philharmonic.

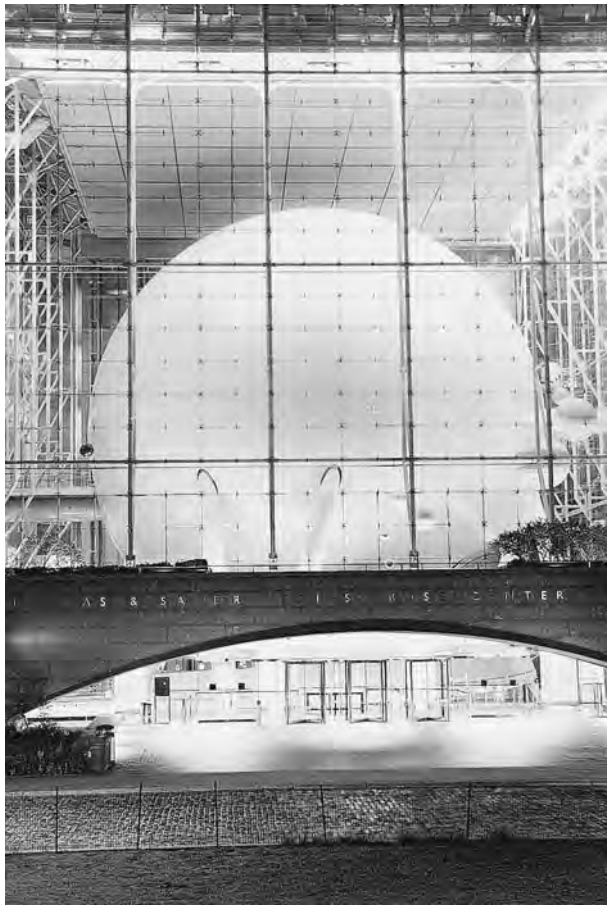
I. M. PEI

The renowned architect I. M. (Ieoh Ming) Pei (1917–) was less widely visible in the 1990s than he was in the 1980s and in earlier years, but his firm of Pei Cobb Freed & Partners made a significant contribution to the American cultural landscape with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. The museum, completed in 1993, presented a considerable challenge. How could a mere building measure up to the historical importance, to the human tragedy of the Nazi concentration camps? Ultimately, a building could not, so the architects instead attempted to capture select elements of the Holocaust experience. The museum was a modular design, with different sections of the building hinting at different aspects of the concentration camp experience. The towers suggested the watchtowers of the camps, and the gantry-bridges suggested the Warsaw ghetto. High walls and narrow hallways with sinister doorways gave one the impression of a prison walkway, made all the more claustrophobic by the photographs of victims of the Holocaust covering every vertical surface.[3] The Holocaust Memorial Museum also included a stark and haunting central "Hall of Witness" lit by an overhead skylight. Although principally overseen by partner James Ingo Freed, Pei's interest in order and geometrical shapes was clearly noticeable in the museum's design, particularly in the pyramidal towers and the glass work of the Hall of Witness skylight.

Glass Architecture

Pei's work with glass provided a model for architects across the world. *Smithsonian* magazine, in fact, noting the large number of major glass buildings in the works, proclaimed a new age of glass construction. New technologies and building methods improved glass's standing considerably. For example, Design Alliance Architects designed the Alcoa Corporate Center, which opened in 1998 in Pittsburgh. The building appeared almost to be principally made of glass, with but a thin latticework of steel encasing it. The building was even more striking for its location, just alongside the Allegheny River. During the day, it catches the sunlight reflected off the water and sparkles. During the night, it reflects its own otherworldly glow off the surface of the river.

Even more striking was the work begun on the Rose Center for Earth and Space at the American Museum of Natural History in Manhattan. The Rose Center, designed by the firm of Polshek Partnership Architects, appeared as a 95-foot high glass cube encasing an aluminum sphere, which itself encases the Hayden Planetarium. The building was itself a marvel of scientific engineering and, like the Alcoa center, showed that glass could be used with at least as much freedom, if not more, than steel and masonry, as well as be structurally sound and energy efficient. Another of the many glass-heavy structures, the Sandra Day O'Connor U.S. Courthouse in Phoenix, Arizona, designed by Richard Meier, was notable not



The Rose Center for Earth and Space at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. Courtesy of Richard Cummins/Alamy.

only for the complex use of steel and glass in its 120-foot-high structure, but also for its energy efficiency.

GREEN ARCHITECTURE

Green architecture developed as an area of specialization in the 1990s. These efforts sought not only to conserve resources, but to make structures coexist organically with the environment, so as not to appear like an environmental intrusion. At one end of the spectrum was architect Obie Bowman, who designed numerous buildings, like the Spring Lake Park Visitors Center in Sonoma County, California, which blended harmoniously with the landscape. The 2,000-square-foot building was constructed in something of a pyramid shape, looking like a small hill rising from the surrounding forest. Solar collectors provided warmth and suction ducts drew cool air inside during the summer months.[4]

Concerns about energy, the environment, and the physical and psychological well-being of citizens led some cities to commission environmentally conscious architects for urban projects. For environmentalist architects, the negotiation between nature and the costs of technology became paramount. Construction and building, regardless of the precautions taken, would necessarily involve some kind of cost to the environment.

One of the most notable ecologically conscious buildings erected in the 1990s was the Southern Progress Building in Birmingham, Alabama, designed by Jova/Daniels/Busby Inc., with the assistance of landscape architect Robert E. Marvin. The Southern Progress Corporation, a book and magazine publisher, long held to the idea of "responsible and enlightened use of the land," and the building to house the company was designed with this in mind. Built in 1991, within a 27-acre suburban forest setting, the architects and designers took care in its placement and design so that few trees were cut and little smoothing of the hillside site was necessary. In fact, the site was cleared by hand, rather than by heavy equipment, in order to spare the environment as much as possible. The five-story Southern Progress Building was expanded in 1994, but it remained so integrated with the environment as to be practically undetectable from the nearby highway.[5]

MUSEUMS

In the 1990s, museums seemed to become the new showcase for imaginative architects. In addition to Gehry's Guggenheim and Weisman museums, many other high-profile museums and exhibition halls were built. The buildings themselves became showpieces. Among these was the Getty Center, one of influential architect Richard Meier's most ambitious projects. Begun in 1984, the Getty Center opened in Los Angeles in 1997. More than simply a museum, the Getty Center was an art complex, almost a small city in itself. The center was perched upon a hill, an exclusive futuristic railway strung between it and the city. With its multiple massive buildings, including the J. Paul Getty Museum, and carefully landscaped

and water-lined grounds, the Getty was touted as the first billion-dollar construction project in the country. Indeed, compared to the city below, the Getty Center did seem somewhat otherworldly, if not malevolent, and some accused it of being simply inappropriate for the locale, as if Meier had designed it without considering the environment, both urban and natural.

Other significant museums of the 1990s include the Seattle Art Museum (1991) and the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art (1994). The Seattle Museum, designed by Venturi Scott Brown and Associates and located between Seattle's business district and the waterfront, stretched to a height of five stories, made all the more striking by a series of vertical lines running the length of the building. Architect Mario Botta's San Francisco Museum of Modern Art was notable for its striking geometry, especially the enormous circular skylight, angled at 45 degrees, looking much like a gigantic eye peering skyward.

OTHER SIGNIFICANT BUILDINGS

In 2002, *USAWeekend* took the ambitious step of naming the five most important buildings of the twenty-first century, all of which were begun, and some finished, in the 1990s. The list included both the Rose Center and the O'Connor Courthouse. Also included was the Quadracci Pavilion of the Milwaukee Art Museum, which increased gallery space from 90,000 to 117,000 feet, but also proved to be a draw in and of itself with its 250-foot-long suspension bridge and flapping sunscreen. 3Com Midwest Headquarters, located in Rolling Meadows, Illinois, opened in 1999, also made the list. This structure bore some resemblance to a conventional office space, but it took those conventions and literally tilted them. Walls tilted at varying angles flouted the boxiness of most office designs, lending considerable charm to the 3Com Headquarters. This list was rounded out by the Westside Light Rail corridor in Portland, Oregon, which, upon its opening in 1998, offered the deepest transit station in North America, reaching 260 feet below ground. The winner of the White House Presidential Award for Design Excellence, much care was put into making the corridor environmentally and aesthetically friendly. The careful combination of glass, stone, and organic materials made the corridor an inviting and comfortable environment for travellers.[6]

One of the decade's largest architectural projects was the Denver International Airport Terminal Building, designed by Fentress Bradburn Architects, and erected in 1995. This massive terminal stretches 900 feet long and 240 feet wide, but more striking than its size was its external appearance. The roofing of the Terminal Building consisted of Teflon-coated fiberglass layers draped over steel masts placed 150 feet apart. The result was what appeared to be a series of white tents representing snow-covered mountain peaks.

URBAN SPRAWL AND SUBURBANIZATION

The beginning of urban sprawl and, indeed, of the suburbs, is generally thought to have been after World War II, as GIs, financed by government grants, moved away from the cities and into the newly developed suburbs. They typically sought to escape the older and, in many cases, declining areas, driven by the desire to have a fresh start and to improve their social status. The older areas came to be increasingly inhabited by the lower class and largely ignored by policy makers.

The decade saw the rise of a new kind of suburb. Earlier suburbs were largely designed as affordable housing, easily available to middle class families. But the newer suburbs were frequently of a different sort, both architecturally and demographically. The houses were larger than previous models, with 3,000 square feet or more not being unusual. The single story or small bi-level dwellings of prior generations were transformed to multi-storied mini-mansions. Such houses, sometimes referred to by detractors as *McMansions,* in reference to the McDonalds' fast-food chain, were frequently prefab, or modular, with parts largely built off-site and fitted together at the desired location. A study released by the Department of Housing and Urban Development reported that the number of prefab houses shipped in 1996 reached 363,000, more than double the number reported in a 1991 study.[7] While conformity had always been an aspect of the traditional suburbs, this seemed even more the case with the

new version. An older suburban neighborhood might have houses that all conformed to the same basic floor plan and the same sized plot of land, but it did not exhibit the same monochromatic nature of the new suburbs, wherein no house, either on account of structure or color, would stand out. Suburban housing developments frequently would be divided into clusters of houses at different costs. A particular development, for instance, could have a cluster of houses all selling for $350,000, and a second cluster with $200,000 houses, and so on.

This separation helped contribute to a segregation of the populace on the basis of wealth. Thus, the new suburbs, especially the more affluent segments, came to be marketed not only for location and quality of construction, but also on exclusivity.[8] At the extreme, this exclusivity manifested itself in the form of gated communities, where residents needed special pass codes to enter the neighborhood. A 1997 survey placed the number of gated communities in the United States at approximately 20,000.[9] Among the general populace, the idea of gated communities, designed to keep out all but an elite few, met with considerable disapproval. Yet the new affluent suburbs were virtually as exclusive and protected from the masses by prohibitive housing costs and distance from urban areas. The class distinction between those who could afford the new suburbs and those left to the old suburbs and inner cities was marked. Most families in the new suburbs tended to be middle class families using credit to purchase a house. The ownership of such a house placed families somehow above those forced to live in cities or in the old suburbs that had once offered the top-notch homes.

When this previous generation of suburbia had first sprung up in the postwar years, there had been concern about how they drew money out of the cities, and this was also a challenge in the 1990s. Many businesses left the cities to relocate nearer the growing suburban areas, as well as the increased disposable income possessed by those living there. Likewise, government money that might be used in the cities shifted to construct and maintain suburban infrastructure, from sewers and plumbing to communication wiring and roads. Vitally important was the establishment of roads from the suburbs to the cities, where many of the suburban inhabitants worked. New highways were constructed to connect the urban centers with the suburban fringes. In areas that already had highway access, the increased commuter traffic necessitated roadway development, particularly involving the widening of roads.

URBAN RENEWAL

The 1990s saw a renewed fight against urban decay, as many cities attempted to revitalize downtowns and other urban areas that had come to be plagued by structural decay, poverty, and crime.

New York provides a good example. Although certain areas had experienced some significant revitalization, there were still areas that remained in relative ruin. The problem lies in the fact that the decay of urban buildings was part of a larger problem. Aggressive city planning and architectural repair needed to be supported by social services designed to combat poverty and crime. It was believed that the physical revitalization of an area—the refurbishing of buildings, and the substitution of irreparably dilapidated structures with new ones—would draw wealth, both in the form of consumers and businesses. This often led, however, to a mere relocating of the negative social elements of urban decay to neighborhoods still in a state of disrepair. In New York, the revitalization appeared to have helped the rich and middle class more than those living below the poverty line, about one-quarter of the city's population. Still, the city saw some truly desperate neighborhoods brought back to life. In 1997, President Clinton visited the South Bronx to celebrate its improvement. The South Bronx had once been renowned for its state of decay and disarray, but in the 1990s, significant portions were rebuilt, with buildings that had once been abandoned, or burned, or otherwise damaged, now reconstructed.[10] Likewise, other areas of New York, including downtown, were brought out of their state of disrepair. Other cities experienced similar patterns.

Of vital importance to revitalization was the drawing of big business to urban areas. But major corporations not only brought new wealth to urban areas, but effected an architectural change in developing communities as well, bringing a

growing homogeneity across America's landscape. Smaller shops, like a Starbucks coffee shop or a McDonald's restaurant, could move into a community without overtly altering its look, but this was not the case for larger stores. Wal-Mart stores, for instance, could not fit easily into a pre-established strip mall. Utilitarian in their design, the superstores frequently gave the impression that a giant cube with few architectural frills and a vast spread of parking spaces had been dropped into the middle of a community. Moreover, Wal-Mart was accused of contributing to urban sprawl and urban blight because the stores were frequently constructed on the previously unbroken ground at the edges of developing cities. In addition, by having so many cheap goods under one roof, such stores took customers away from small businesses, including those located in downtown areas. With less incentive to go downtown, patrons of such stores dwindled, and small businesses vacated buildings, leaving them subject to eventual dilapidation, and, in some cities, the eventual need for more urban revitalization. As a result, in some communities, active efforts were made to keep stores like Wal-Marts out.[11]

Wal-Mart was not the only cause of the changing landscape of American cities. The 1990s saw the spread of a multitude of similar new buildings, including not only other department stores like Target and Super Kmart, but also specialty superstores like Barnes and Noble for books, Gart Sports for sporting equipment, and others.

With growing homogeneity and growing reliance on pre-fab buildings, the decade was somewhat difficult and creatively stifling for architects. The 1990s were an exciting, if difficult, period for the art of architecture, however. A March 2000 article in *Architectural Record* asked the question, "Is there a place for architecture?" The answer provided by the article was a resounding "yes," but it pointed out that the place for architects had changed and that architects would need to get involved in urban and suburban issues, well beyond the design and construction of single buildings.

Cities grew in the 1990s largely without the influence of architects; growth was instead handled primarily by city planners, developers, and political leaders. Firms became involved in the planning and design of communities, in considering the forces of the natural environment, traffic patterns, and surrounding urban areas. Other firms specialized in the renovation and revitalization of older buildings and neighborhoods.

Books

Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics of the 1990s

Perhaps more significant than the actual literary production of the 1990s were the tremendous changes occurring in the way literature was distributed. The book business experienced an unprecedented and unexpected boom.[1] This has largely been attributed to three factors. The first involved the changing image of the bookstore, particularly with the development of book superstores, led by Borders and Barnes & Noble. Second, the Internet stimulated the growth of the book industry as online bookstores, spearheaded by Amazon.com, provided the option of purchasing books from home. The third factor was an increased attention to literature in the mass media, best exemplified by Oprah Winfrey's televised reading group.

SUPERSTORES

Given the large scale of their operations, both as individually large stores and as part of large corporations, superstores gained several advantages in the marketplace. Their purchasing power with book distributors allowed superstores to offer discounts that smaller stores could not match. Moreover, the volume of sales, along with their large stock, allowed these stores to carry prestige items. The philosophy section of a Barnes & Noble superstore, for instance, might provide little revenue, but the presence of a well-stocked philosophy section added to the intellectual image of the store. Smaller stores needed to reserve their display space for items likely to sell well. Superstores also offered spaciousness and comfort. Liberally scattered chairs and sofas, along with low-pressure salesmanship, created a comfortable shopping (and browsing) environment that encouraged the idea of reading. Some stores offered videos, software, and music as well. Most offered cafés where patrons could purchase coffee concoctions, as well as pastries and light lunch foods. Barnes & Noble, for instance, formed a partnership with Starbucks coffee. These cafés, originally intended as just a supplement to the bookstores, quickly became a significant draw in and of themselves. Some stores even offered regular singles nights at their cafés.

Of course, with the rise of these superstores, smaller booksellers suffered. The struggle to keep up with the superstores' competitive prices and large selections eventually forced many bookstores to close. Those independent booksellers that survived generally filled a niche, such as focusing on mysteries or regional books.

ONLINE BOOK BUYING

Even as Barnes & Noble and Borders laid claim to a large segment of book buyers via their physical

sites, a new avenue of sales debuted in cyberspace. In July 1995, Jeffrey P. Bezos launched an Internet site called Amazon.com with the stated mission: "to use the Internet to transform book buying into the fastest, easiest, and most enjoyable shopping experience possible."[2] The service proved an immediate success. Retail bookstores felt the crunch as consumers took advantage of Amazon's convenience. The online company's stock skyrocketed in the first few years of the company's existence, but Amazon itself was struggling, its expenses virtually eliminating its profits.

Despite its early difficulties, however, Amazon continued to experience astonishing growth. In 1999, for instance, the site's net sales were a full 169 percent higher than they had been for 1998. Moreover, in 1999, Amazon.com shipped some $16 million worth of merchandise in a single day, more than that for the entire year of 1996. Generally, Amazon managed to gain a degree of financial stability due to this growth, as well as its extension into music, software, video cassettes and DVDs, toys and games, and more. In addition, the company also offered access to auctions and other distributors of out-of-print and rare books, thereby providing a service not available from most book retailers. The site forged partnerships with several other non-book Internet companies, including pets.com, HomeGrocer.com, drugstore.com, and Gear.com (specializing in sporting goods).

The success of Amazon led other book retailers to exploit the Internet. Barnes & Noble launched its own Web-based business in March of 1997, which became the second largest online book distributor. Like Amazon.com, barnesandnoble.com did not limit itself to books. It also featured live online author chats and an archive of interviews with writers.

ONLINE PUBLISHING

The 1990s saw tentative forays into online publishing. Online journals and Web zines flourished as the Internet provided a new and inexpensive way for publishers, editors, and writers to reach wider audiences. Major publishers, however, only took minor steps into the field. Obstacles included the cost of digitizing existing texts, developing new technologies for e-book distribution, and the as-yet-undetermined method of handling e-book pricing and rights. In addition, the sheer mass of material on the Web made it difficult for a "small-press" online magazine to stand out. Some online publishers charged access fees, but publishers were limited by the amount most readers were willing to pay. These factors, combined with the fact that many of these publications were geared toward a rather select audience, largely limited Web publishing to a hobby or academic resource.

THE OPRAH EFFECT

As electronic publishing heated up, physical books nonetheless flourished in new ways. Television, long regarded as the greatest threat to literacy, sent hoards of shoppers into bookstores. Of all the television personalities recommending books, none came close to the influence of Oprah Winfrey. *The Oprah Winfrey Show* had long featured guests publicizing their books, but prior to 1996, these were generally nonfiction titles, frequently with a spiritual bent, like Sarah Ban Breathnach's *Simple Abundance* and Gary Zukov's *Seat of the Soul.* It became clear to booksellers and to producers of the show that sales on such titles experienced a notable, even phenomenal, growth. In some cases, distributors' supplies of a title were exhausted, and the publisher quickly went back to the presses.

In July 1993, Winfrey hosted a week's worth of shows featuring fiction writers she admired (or, as she phrased it, writers she would like to have dinner with). Included were Deepak Chopra, Maya Angelou, M. Scott Peck, Elie Weisel, and Andrew Vachss. While the authors did garner increased sales, the show itself sunk in the ratings, probably because viewers were not necessarily familiar with the work of the writers in question, and had little interest in the interviews. The solution came in September 1996 when Winfrey started her on-the-air fiction book club with *The Deep End of the Ocean,* Jacquelyn Mitchard's debut novel. In this new format, Winfrey began announcing the title of a novel far enough in advance so that viewers could acquire and read it before the broadcast of the discussion, commonly held over a dinner attended by lucky viewers (invited on the basis of

their letters to Oprah regarding the book), the author, and the host.[3]

The ratings for the book club discussions proved to be steady, even improving as the club gained exposure and momentum. However, the real repercussions of Oprah's Book Club were felt in the literary marketplace. It soon became clear that such an endorsement would not only improve a book's sales figures considerably, but would invariably guarantee it a spot, usually the top spot, on the best seller lists. *The Deep End of the Ocean* achieved the top spot on the *New York Times* best-seller list almost immediately after being mentioned on Winfrey's show. Many of the books promoted by the club were new novels by first-time writers, like *White Oleander* by Janet Fitch and *Mother of Pearl* by Melinda Haynes, both of which were among the bestselling novels of 1999. The club also breathed new life into old books. Toni Morrison's 1977 novel, *Song of Solomon,* climbed up the paperback best-seller list when it was selected for the club in 1997, achieving sales numbers that dwarfed any the author had previously gotten, even after she was awarded the Pulitzer (for *Beloved*) in 1988 or the Nobel Prize for literature in 1993.

Of course, Oprah's Book Club generated critics. Winfrey clearly favored female authors, for instance, and while she made efforts to include more male writers, she kept in mind her largely female audience. Also, viewers complained that her selections tended to be too depressing. Winfrey responded that life itself was difficult, but that the way the protagonists of these novels dealt with such hardships was, in fact, uplifting. Both of these criticisms were ameliorated somewhat by the selection of Wally Lamb's *She's Come Undone,* as her club selection in January 1997. The book, a coming-of-age novel about a young



Nobel Prize-winning author Toni Morrison holds an orchid during "An Evening with Toni Morrison and Her Friends" at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York, 1994. AP Photo/Kathy Willens.

NOTABLE BOOKS

Harry Potter series, J. K. Rowling (U.S.: 1998–2007)

Goosebumps series, R. L. Stine (1992–)

Jurassic Park, Michael Crichton (1990)

The Sum of All Fears, Tom Clancy (1991)

The Firm, John Grisham (1991)

A Thousand Acres, Jane Smiley (1991)

Loves Music, Loves to Dance, Mary Higgins Clark (1991)

Waiting to Exhale, Terry McMillan (1992)

The Bridges of Madison County, Robert James Waller (1992)

Men Are from Mars, Women Are from Venus, John Gray (1992)

Like Water for Chocolate, Laura Esquivel (1992)

Chicken Soup for the Soul, Richard Canfield (1993)

The Shipping News, E. Annie Proulx (1993)

Snow Falling on Cedars¸ David Guterson (1994)

The Celestine Prophecy, James Redfield (1994)

Angela's Ashes, Frank McCourt (1996)

The Horse Whisperer, Nicholas Evans (1995)

Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil, John Berendt (1994)

Primary Colors, Anonymous (Joe Klein) (1996)

Tuesdays with Morrie, Mitch Albom (1997)

Cold Mountain, Charles Frazier (1997)

The Perfect Storm, Sebastian Junger (1997)

Holes, Louis Sachar (1998)

The Bad Beginning (Book 1 in A Series of Unfortunate Events), Lemony Snicket (1999)

woman, was such a popular choice that when Lamb published his second novel, *I Know This Much is True* (1998), Winfrey choose it as a book club selection. Perhaps a more serious criticism of the club came from book-sellers and publishers, who were regularly overrun immediately after the announcement of the latest books. Copies quickly sold out, and irate customers regularly had to place special orders, which were themselves delayed as publishers worked frantically to reprint the books. *Song of Solomon* publisher Plume, for instance, went back to press with that novel more than 10 times after its announcement on *Oprah.* To counter these problems, Oprah Winfrey made arrangements with publishers and booksellers to give them early notice on forthcoming selections.[4]

Despite these criticisms, Oprah's Book Club not only gave the book industry a shot in the arm, but also increased the market for literary fiction. Moreover, the club deserved praise for its infectious emphasis on the joys of reading, which likely brought previous non-readers to bookstores. *The Oprah Winfrey Show* also contributed to the increase of literary discussion groups throughout the decade, though the rise of the superstores had some effect as well. Oprah Winfrey was not the only celebrity to endorse books in the 1990s. Even politicians got into the act, such as Newt Gingrich spurring sales on such titles as *The Federalist Papers* and *Democracy in America.*

VETERAN BEST-SELLING AUTHORS

The greatest selling point for books is name recognition, and while some new writers made inroads during the 1990s, the old literary stalwarts—Stephen King, Mary Higgins Clark, Tom Clancy, Danielle Steel, Anne Rice, Sidney Sheldon, and others—continued to reign. The 1993 list of the top 10 longest-running best sellers, for instance, featured three novels by John Grisham and four by Michael Crichton.[5]

Stephen King had such clout in the publishing industry that he persuaded his publisher to experiment with format. One of King's novels, *The Green Mile,* was published in a series of six short mass-market (pocket book) paperbacks, once a month in 1996. Although the cost of six paperbacks was as much as the price of most of King's hardcover novels, *The Green Mile* was a tremendous success, inspiring other less successful attempts at the same format by others. Although King initially claimed that *The Green Mile* would not be published as a single volume, the decision was reversed, and the novel enjoyed a new life as a single item (bolstered further by the Academy Award–nominated film adaptation). Another King experiment involved the simultaneous publication in 1997 of two novels, *The Regulators* and *Desperation,* written under his early pen name Richard Bachman and under his own name, respectively. While each stood as a self-contained narrative, each also served as a kind of twisted mirror image of the other. Moreover, as the 1990s reached its end, plans were made to release a Stephen King novella, *Riding the Bullet,* exclusively over the Internet.

Most other best-selling authors largely stayed with the material that had won them their acclaim. Tom Clancy, for instance, continued to write the kind of political military techno thriller, which may have seemed more appropriate to the Cold War era, but continued to find a strong audience in the 1990s, with titles such as *The Sum of All Fears* (1991), *Without Remorse* (1993), *Debt of Honor* (1994), *Executive Orders* (1996), and *Rainbow Six* (1998).

FILM, TELEVISION, AND LITERATURE

Also important to the shaping of the best-seller lists were ties with other media. Naturally, many books were boosted in sales by the release of cinematic adaptations. In some cases, such as with *The Green Mile,* books adapted to the screen were already successful. Films, however, enhanced the sales of Patricia Highsmith's *The Talented Mr. Ripley,* John Irving's *The Cider House Rules,* and Susanna Kaysen's *Girl, Interrupted.* The enormous popularity of the James Cameron-directed movie *Titanic* not only spurred sales of official movie books and merchandise, but of virtually any books related to the sinking of the ocean liner. Walter Lord's account of the Titanic, *A Night to Remember,* climbed back onto the best-seller list some 40 years after its original publication.

The media probably had the largest impact on science fiction and fantasy. For many science fiction fans, the event of the decade was the release of a new *Star Wars* movie. But the literary fervor started earlier, with Bantam's release of Timothy Zahn's *Heir to the Empire,* the first in a trilogy, and the first new *Star Wars* novel since 1983. Each of Zahn's novels rode the best-seller lists for weeks. Ultimately, the *Star Wars* publishing franchise became a force on the scale of the ever-popular *Star Trek* franchise. Both franchises increased in popularity during the 1990s, and books from both series made the best-seller lists. Other movies and television shows also found success on the science fiction shelves, including *Stargate, Babylon Five,* and *The X-Files.* Publishers now realized that these movie and TV tie-ins had a serious audience that would pay hardcover prices for materials that it was previously believed could only be sold successfully as mass market paperbacks.

SCIENCE FICTION AND FANTASY

The gaming industry also gave a big boost to the science fiction genre. For instance, TSR, the company best known for creating the Dungeons & Dragons role-playing game, started several lines of fantasy novels. Though related to their role-playing games, TSR novels also stood on their own, accessible to readers with no gaming experience. The novels featured a variety of stories occurring in several shared fantasy universes, the most successful of which were the *Forgotten Realms* and *Dragonlance* series. What may have once been considered disposable, escapist literature now experienced an extraordinary shelf life; all books in these two series remained in print throughout the decade. Although initially published in paperback, their success led TSR to release a growing number of hardcover editions, including *Dragons of Summer Flame,* a *Dragonlance* novel with an impressive 200,000–copy first printing.

There was also growth in computer-game-based literature, including books based on *The Dig, The 7th Guest,* and several titles based on two popular CD-ROM games, *Doom* and *Myst.* Bantam also published a series of novels based on the *Star Wars: X-wing* computer game.[6]

Of course, the science fiction and fantasy market was not all about licensed universes and offered unprecedented opportunities for new writers. Science fiction publisher Tor, for instance, published approximately one first novel per month in 1996. Other publishers followed suit, and many authors enjoyed a level of promotion from their publishers that would have been far less likely for earlier generations of first-time science fiction and fantasy novelists. The 1990s also proved beneficial to established writers, with particular success for Kim Stanley Robinson's *Mars* trilogy, Terry Pratchett's *Discworld* series, and Marion Zimmer-Bradley's *Darkover* series. One of the most successful fantasy series of the



Like so many best-selling books of the twentieth century, *Jurassic Park,* by Michael Crichton (published in 1990), was made into an even more popular movie. The film, released in 1993 and directed by Steven Spielberg, featured spectacular scenes and well-crafted dinosaurs, including the terrifying velociraptor. Courtesy of Photofest.

decade was Robert Jordan's *Wheel of Time* series. Begun in 1990, the projected 10-volume series of high fantasy novels struck a chord with readers who eagerly awaited each new book.

As the genre broadened, publishers marketed books in a way that downplayed the traditional ideas about fantasy and science fiction. Cover art moved away from the typical images of spaceships and dragons toward a more sophisticated look. Certainly, works of science fiction and fantasy had proven to be potential best seller material. Michael Crichton's *Jurassic Park,* a novel about the genetic recreation of Cretaceous dinosaurs in the modern world, was science fiction, but written by an author known for less fantastic works of fiction, and it was clearly marketed as mainstream fiction. Its success as a novel and as a series of films, suggested that there was a large audience for such stories. Understandably, then, many publishers marketed fantasy and science fiction as simply "fiction." Longtime science fiction publisher DAW launched such a line in 1996 with *Killjoy* by Elizabeth Forrest, and then the first in a four-book series (*Otherland*) by its most popular author Tad Williams, under this imprint as well.[7]

MYSTERY AND CRIME FICTION

In the 1990s, the debate about what actually constituted a mystery novel intensified, with many readers, critics, and publishers claiming a distinct difference between the traditional Victorian tales of crime investigation and what might be called procedurals and hard-boiled crime fiction.

Perhaps most notable of these related genres is the legal thriller. Two authors in particular propelled the genre to new heights: Scott Turow and John Grisham. Both authors, trained lawyers, began their writing careers in the late 1980s and quickly became major players on the best-seller lists. Turow published numerous novels, the first, *Presumed Innocent* in 1987, followed by *Burden of Proof* (1990), *Pleading Guilty* (1993), and *The Laws of Our Fathers* (1996). The moral character of the protagonists of these novels varied, from devious and manipulative to decent and dedicated to justice. But Turow always emphasized the psychological elements of their individual strengths and weaknesses over the actual details of any mystery.

John Grisham's first novel, *A Time to Kill,* was published, after numerous rejections from publishers, in 1989 with a first run of 5,000 copies. His second novel, *The Firm* (1991), landed him at the top of best-seller lists. In fact, every Grisham book published thereafter—nine in the 1990s alone—enjoyed long runs on the best-seller lists. Moreover, Grisham's books made for easy cinematic adaptation, resulting in the filming of several of his books: *The Pelican Brief* (1992), *The Firm* (1993), *The Client* (1993), and *A Time to Kill* (1996). *The Rainmaker* (1995) was actually billed as *John Grisham's The Rainmaker,* confirming his place as a literary superstar. Detractors, however, claimed that Grisham's books were formulaic, with a young idealistic lawyer fighting against corruption in giant corporations, government, and the legal profession. The success of Grisham and Turow inspired the publication of legal thrillers by Richard North Patterson, Philip Friedman, Jay Brandon, Steve Martini, and others.

Women writers were well represented in the mystery genre during the 1990s. They had long dominated the subgenre of cozy mysteries, perhaps best represented by Agatha Christie's Miss Marple mysteries. Related to this subgenre was the culinary mystery that also experienced considerable popularity during the decade, with titles like Lou Jane Temple's *Death by Rhubarb* (1996) and Diane Mott Davidson's *The Main Corpse* (1997). These mysteries used a domestic setting and mixed usable recipes into the crime solving. Likewise, animal mysteries continued in popularity. The cat was an especially popular sleuth, including novels by Carole Nelson Douglas, Lydia Adamson, and Lilian Jackson Braun's long-running *The Cat Who…* (e.g., *The Cat Who Said Cheese, The Cat Who Blew the Whistle,* etc.) series.

Female writers also made inroads into the darker side of the field. Patricia Cornwell had repeated best seller success with sometimes gruesome novels, including *The Body Farm* (1994) and *Cause of Death* (1996), about a fictional medical examiner. Sara Paretsky had continued success with her hard-boiled detective, V. I. Warshawski. Sue Grafton's alphabetic series about a tough, bitter private investigator named Kinsey

Millhone began in 1984 with *A is for Alibi,* with an expected conclusion around 2015 with *Z is for Zero.* The 1990s saw the publication of *G is for Gumshoe* through *O is for Outlaw* with each new volume appearing on the best-seller lists. *N is for Noose* broke the one million first print mark for Grafton.[8]

Another novel that was more of a clear-cut mystery (as opposed to crime fiction or a thriller) was David Guterson's first novel, *Snow Falling on Cedars* (1995). The novel involved the trial of a Japanese American man for the murder of a fellow fisherman near Puget Sound in 1954, and the investigation surrounding the death. Despite this rather classical murder-mystery set up, there was much more to the book, including an interracial romance, lush treatments of the landscape, and, perhaps most importantly, significant historical detail involving the defendant's time spent in an American internment camp during World War II. *Snow Falling on Cedars* managed to draw a considerable audience among mystery readers and readers of historical fiction. It also drew a sizable mainstream audience, especially after it won the PEN/Faulkner award. The hardcover sold quite well, but the paperback edition surpassed the 2.5 million sales mark by the end of the decade.[9]

ROMANCE

The romance genre also saw the steady continued success of traditional styles—from demure period pieces to steamy contemporary works—even as the bounds of what could be published changed. As a result, the lines between romance and what has typically been called women's fiction by publishers and retailers began to blur. Authors like the always-popular Danielle Steel and Eileen Goudge could be considered either romance or mainstream, and bookstores might shelve them in either section. Even in those books whose labels might be less disputable, changes took place.[10]

For a 1990s audience, the stereotypical virginal romance protagonist who swoons into the arms of her lover proved problematic. Many modern women found the naiveté of these characters cloying and unrealistic. Consequently, many authors pushed what had generally been fairly strict categorical boundaries. Catherine Coulter, for instance, developed protagonists who were smart and independent of a male hero. Likewise, Diana Gabaldon developed a large and fanatical following with her *Outlander* series. Gabaldon's lead character was a strong, tough-minded woman who was not above playing the part of the seducer of the young virginal man. Moreover, Gabaldon's books—*Outlander* (1991), *Dragonfly in Amber* (1992), *Voyager* (1994), and *Drums of Autumn* (1997)—introduced a level of fantasy largely unknown to the genre prior to the *Outlander* series. The protagonist of Gabaldon's novels began in the series during World War II, but time-traveled to eighteenth century Scotland. Her successes inspired romance writers to incorporate adventure into their books or to use devices traditionally found in science fiction or horror novels, such as time travel, magic, or ghosts.

Other romance writers, such as Sandra Brown, Jayne Ann Krentz, Johanna Lindsey, and Fern Michaels also found crossover audiences. Also reaching the best-seller lists was the 1992 novel, *Scarlett,* a sequel to *Gone with the Wind,* which had more in common with author Alexandra Ripley's roots in the romance genre than with Margaret Mitchell's original novel.

Romance publishers began to broaden their scope to include African American and Hispanic audiences, and to provide modern issues in a romantic context. This broadening successfully drew in new readers to the point that, at the end of the 1990s, an estimated 45 to 50 percent of mass market paperbacks were romances.

At least one best seller, however, walked the line between romance and mainstream. Robert James Waller's 1992 novel, *The Bridges of Madison County,* was a romance in which an Idaho farmer's wife met and fell in love with a *National Geographic* photographer sent to document the title landmarks. Part of the appeal of the book, written in a mixture of spare and purple prose, was that the romance involved an older couple (played by the Meryl Streep and Clint Eastwood in the movie version directed by Eastwood in 1995). The novel sold more than four million copies in a year and claimed a spot on the best-seller list for a year and a half. Waller's second novel, *Slow Waltz at Cedar Bend,* made him the first author to hold both the first and second slots on

the hardcover best-seller lists simultaneously. Waller also opened the door to a new popularity for mainstream romances, which covered similar ground as traditional genre romances, but were shelved with general fiction instead, such as Nicholas Sparks's *Message in a Bottle* (1998) and Nicholas Evans's *The Horse Whisperer* (1995).[11]

LITERARY FICTION

Several established literary authors also made the best-seller lists in the 1990s, including Don DeLillo's *Underworld* (1997), Edward Rutherford's *London* (1997), Salman Rushdie's *The Moor's Last Sigh* (1995), and Thomas Pynchon's long-awaited *Mason & Dixon* (1997). Certainly, name recognition made for stronger sales than for similar fiction by relative unknowns (the name Pynchon, for instance, drew a large chunk of the audience for such challenging literature).

Some new writers did create a stir. Leaving behind the gimmicky, hip tones associated with 1980s authors like Bret Easton Ellis, Jay McInerney, and Douglas Coupland, a new breed of young writers created considerable critical stir. *The Secret History* (1992), Donna Tartt's debut novel, took many of the ideas of her predecessors about identity and morality, and infused them with extensive allusions to classical literature. The plot dealt with a group of classics students who reenact a Greek Bacchanal, and, under the influence of drugs and alleged Dionysian frenzy, murder a farmer. The fairly straightforward story of crime and secrets is conveyed with almost overwhelming classicisms. Other writers reinvented the postmodernism of earlier generations. David Foster Wallace, often compared to Pynchon, published a 1,000-page novel *Infinite Jest* (1996), a chronicle of drug abuse and tennis. Likewise, Rick Moody published three novels in the 1990s—*Garden State* (1992), *The Ice Storm* (1994), and *Purple America* (1997)—that demonstrated skillful experimentation with narrative forms and points of view.

POETRY AND MEMOIR

By 1990, poetry had become something of a marginal art form. Cowboy poetry, both live and in print, garnered some attention, though such attention was usually regional. Likewise, poetry slams, a kind of high-energy recitation contest, proliferated, although this was generally confined to college campuses and clubs catering to artistic patrons. The most successful book of poetry of the 1990s was not by an established poet, but by singer-songwriter Jewel Kilcher. In 1995, PBS broadcast *The Language of Life with Bill Moyers,* an eight-episode series featuring 18 poets. The program was critically praised and well-received by those who saw it, but it remains the only one of its kind to be produced in the 1990s. Yet despite this, more poetry books were being published than ever before, suggesting that, small as the audience might be, it was a committed one. Notably, publication of poetry by traditionally marginalized groups—African Americans, Latinos, homosexuals, and so forth—increased, bolstered by small presses devoted to such groups.[12]

Many poets also delved into other genres to express themselves, a strategy that often opened them up to larger audiences. Memoir writing proved to be the genre most inviting to many poets, including Mary Karr whose memoir, *The Liar's Club,* was widely read and well-received. Several memoir titles were among the bestselling nonfiction books of the decade. Two of the most successful were Mitch Albom's *Tuesdays with Morrie* (1998), detailing the author's interaction with an elderly man who served as a kind of life advisor, which sold about a million copies in its first year, and Frank McCourt's *Angela's Ashes* (1996), about the author's childhood in a Irish ghetto, which spent more than 100 weeks on the best-seller list.

SELF-HELP

Self-help books enjoyed continued popularity during the decade. Aside from the Oprah-assisted *Simple Abundance,* a number of self-help books made it to the best-seller lists. Most were of the relationship subgenre, and the most popular of these was John Gray's *Men Are From Mars, Women Are From Venus,* which argued that men and women had very different psychological make-ups, and that the genders needed to accept this difference in order to make their relationships work. The book claimed a spot on

the nonfiction lists for more than 200 weeks. Gray came out with numerous variations and elaborations of his blockbuster, such as *Mars and Venus in the Bedroom* (1995) and *Mars and Venus Starting Over* (1998).

Then Richard Canfield's successful series began with the volume *Chicken Soup for the Soul.* These collections of inspiring stories were geared to virtually every possible audience: *Chicken Soup for the Woman's Soul, Chicken Soup for the Teenager's Soul, Chicken Soup for the Pet Lover's Soul, Chicken Soup for the Veteran's Soul,* and so on. A similar, though more limited, series was spawned from William Bennett's *The Book of Virtues* (1993), followed by *The Moral Compass* (1995), and *The Book of Virtue for Kids* (1995).

Begun as a series of books to assist individuals with the varying aspects of computer technology, the…*for Dummies* series soon expanded beyond its initial confines. Even as books like *Windows 98 for Dummies* continued to dominate the computer book market, publisher IDG successfully introduced titles like *Success for Dummies* (1997) by Zig Ziglar. Macmillan/QUE publishers followed suit with their *The Complete Idiot's Guide to*…series, and between them and IDG, an astonishing number of topics were covered, from *Diabetes for Dummies* to *The Complete Idiot's Guide to Hypnosis.*

RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

The 1990s saw a resurgence in books on religion and spirituality. Some titles were assisted by mentions on Oprah Winfrey's show, such as Gary Zukov's *Seat of the Soul* (1998) and Neale Donald Walsch's *Conversations with God* and its sequels. Deepak Chopra's books, which expounded the ideas of "mind-body medicine," included best sellers *Ageless Body, Timeless Mind* (1994) and *The Seven Spiritual Laws of Success* (1996), just two out of more than a dozen books published by the author starting in 1987.

Also experiencing tremendous growth in the decade was the market for books about angels, ranging from art books to inspirational story collections and canonical guides to angels in religion. A 1993 report estimated that since 1990, some 200 books about angels had been published.[13]

A series of religious novels by Jerry B. Jenkins and Tim LaHaye, begun with *Left Behind* (1995), competed with mainstream literature on the best-seller lists. The books detailed the coming of the end times, beginning with the rapture, in which those in God's good graces are taken away. Thereafter, some of those left behind form a "tribulation force" (the title of the second novel, published in 1996) to battle the devil. Aside from espousing a religious philosophy, the novels also provided exciting supernatural adventure stories, which garnered them readership not only among the devoutly religious, but through a much larger segment of the American Christian population.

CHILDREN'S BOOKS

In the 1990s, sales of children's books stayed consistent, but they did not achieve the growth of other areas of the book industry. Part of the slump may have been due to natural market slowing as the children's book market settled and matured. Children's books were also hurt as the computer, as well as electronic gaming systems like Playstation, rose to greater prominence. Book tie-ins did help maintain stability in the market. Tie-ins to Disney films remained popular, with books published for every reading level, from every one of its feature films. Likewise, books featuring television and video game characters, as well as characters from the *Pokémon* collectible card game, had a strong reception, even if books from entirely original concepts struggled.

Despite the slowdown, however, the children's market did have successes. In the first half of the 1990s, one of the greatest of these was R. L. Stine and his *Goosebumps* series. This series of horror novels aimed at young readers started in 1989 and continued steadily into the 1990s. The series became an immediate success with readers, largely due to a deft combination of safe scares and humor. The series continued to grow in popularity until 1996 when it experienced a marked decline in sales, contributing largely to an overall 25 percent sales slump for publisher Scholastic.[14] Still, the success of the series cannot be denied, as more than 160 million copies of *Goosebumps* books were printed, with more than 100 different novels printed. Stine also made a successful foray

into young adult literature with his Fear Street line, which inspired numerous imitators. Stine's first adult novel, *Superstitious* (1995), was a critical and commercial flop.

Series books, especially young reader series, proved popular during the decade, particularly *The Baby-Sitters Club* and *American Girls* series, geared toward a female audience. The *American Girls* series was, in fact, several series, each following a particular young, female protagonist, living in a particular time period and region of America. Another successful series—and the series that would help lift Scholastic up after the *Goosebumps* decline—was K. A. Applegate's *Animorphs,* which told the story of a group of youths who could transform into various animals. The power was given to them by an alien who hoped to recruit them to stave off the invasion of Earth by another hostile alien race. The series appealed to a number of interests: thriller, science fiction, and animals.

Of course, no discussion of children's books in the 1990s would be complete without mention of J. K. Rowling's Harry Potter books, about a boy who discovers that he is heir to a family of sorcerers. The first volume, *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone,* was released in the United States (it was originally published in Rowling's native England as *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*) in September 1998. It became a quick success and enchanted many readers with its richly drawn fantasy. Book two in the seven-book series, *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets,* was published in the United States in June 1999, and the third volume, *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban,* later that same year. At decade's end, the first three *Harry Potter* books occupied three spots on the best seller lists simultaneously. In 2000, prior to the publication of the fourth novel, the *New York Times* began a separate best seller list for children's books, thereby freeing four slots in the fiction list for adult works.

MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

The magazine market grew significantly in the 1990s, despite fears that online magazines might stifle the demand for the print variety. In a few cases, this was true. Online news cut into newspaper profits, forcing many independent publishers to close their doors or to sell out to media conglomerates. By 1995, eight companies, Gannett, Knight-Ridder, Advance Publications, Times Mirror, Tribune Company, Cox Newspapers, Hearst, and the Washington Post Company owned more than 185 daily newspapers. In 1995, these eight conglomerates formed a national network of online newspapers.[15]

Some men's magazines suffered as a result of the Internet's growth. *Penthouse* and other adult periodicals found that the easy accessibility of pornography online undercut their sales considerably. *Playboy,* which did not rely strictly on nudity for its content, fared considerably better, and so too did a new breed of men's magazine. *Maxim,* originally published in Britain, made its U.S. debut in 1997 to immediate success. The magazine bridged the gap between *Playboy* and magazines like *GQ* and *Esquire* with its mix of fashion, news, sports, entertainment, and, especially, scantily clad women.

NEW MAGAZINES

Entertainment Weekly, 1990
Martha Stewart Living, 1990
Allure, 1991
FamilyFun, 1991
SmartMoney, 1992
Wired, 1993
Vibe, 1993
In Style, 1994
Marie Claire, 1994
George, 1995
Time for Kids World Report, 1995
Newsweek en Espanol, 1996
People en Espanol, 1997
Jane, 1997
Maxim, 1997
ESPN–The Magazine, 1998
Stuff, 1998
CosmoGIRL!, 1999
National Geographic Adventure, 1999

WORDS AND PHRASES

air quotes

babelicious

bedhead

Benjamins (meaning cash, for the face of Benjamin Franklin on the $100 bill)

blamestorming

blended family

bling

blog, blogging, blogger

bootylicious

celebutante

cookie (in computing)

cyberpet

da bomb (excellent)

down-low

e-commerce

e-learning

fashionista

going postal (term for mass murder in the workplace)

google (as a verb, to research on an Internet search engine)

grrrl

metrosexual

mini-me

mixy-matchy and matchy-matchy

muggle

netcast

peeps (hip-hop slang for people)

phat

props (thanks or congratulations)

shout-out (as a noun)

spam (as a verb)

stalkerazzi

Webzine

Wi-Fi

Y2K

Because the women were less risqué than other men's magazines, *Maxim* could be carried in a wider number of locations, even in supermarkets. Moreover, famous actresses and models unwilling to pose nude for other magazines would pose for *Maxim,* which gave the magazine a further boost in sales. The formula was repeated by numerous other magazines, including *Stuff, Bikini,* and the most successful after *Maxim, FHM* (*For Him Magazine*).

Like newspapers, many magazines coupled their paper content with online publications. Advances in desktop publishing also made it easier than ever for individuals to create hard-copy publications, and magazines seemed to cover every possible niche: parents, Christians, hip-hop enthusiasts, rock collectors, and so on. A few new titles deserve mention. In 1992, Time Warner began publishing *Entertainment Weekly,* an entertainment/celebrity magazine. A new major beauty and fashion magazine, *Allure,* first published in 1991, attempted to set itself by emphasizing a nontraditional approach to beauty. One of the most popular periodicals to begin publication during the decade was *Martha Stewart's Living.* Launched in 1991, the magazine's focus on house and home, cooking and entertaining, and crafts, propelled Martha Stewart, already widely known for her books, to even greater fame.

COMICS

The 1990s were a volatile decade for the comic book world. The first years of the decade saw the rise of several new and unprecedented successful independent comic book publishers, as well as some of the greatest sales that the top two publishers, Marvel and DC, had ever seen. In addition, comic books became more respectable, with perhaps the high point being the 1992 awarding of a Pulitzer Prize for Art Spiegelman's graphic novel of the Holocaust, *Maus: A Survivor's Tale* (serialized and published in two volumes from 1980 to 1991). The late 1980s and early 1990s also saw a continued rise in the number of speculative comic book buyers and comic book specialty stores. But by the mid-1990s, partly due to the surplus of product (Marvel at one point was releasing over 150 titles a month), partly due to unsuccessful

HOW OTHERS SEE US

Peanuts

By the time creator Charles Schulz died in 2000, his daily comic strip "Peanuts" was featured in a record 2,500 newspapers around the world. In the five decades since its debut, the strip and its cast of characters, including Charlie Brown and his dog Snoopy, had made its way into public consciousness in 26 different languages. Schulz, declared Italian semiotician and novelist Umberto Eco, was a "modern poet" whose subject was "all the neuroses of a modern citizen of the industrial civilization."

He was also a marketing genius who licensed his characters to the tune of millions of dollars a year. Asia was an especially fertile ground for "Peanuts" merchandising. Products featuring Snoopy were introduced to Japan in 1966, two years before the strip itself appeared there, and the imaginative beagle would prove to be equally popular in South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong, and the Philippines.

A new Snoopy-related marketing opportunity arises every 12 years, when the Year of the Dog is celebrated in Asia. Japanese author Masuhiko Hirobuchi took advantage of the occasion in 1993 to publish the book *Snoopiology,* which explored "Peanuts" as a tool that Asians could use to understand American culture. The strip, Hirobuchi said, gives such a clear picture of U.S. culture that a solid grounding in its sensibility would help Asian politicians and businesspeople communicate smoothly and clearly with Americans.

Hirobuchi's message resonated with some Asians, but it seemed that just as many people appreciated the strip's "unassuming nature," the clean lines of Schulz's art, and Snoopy's cute cuddliness. In 1998, "Snoopy-mania" ensued when tens of thousands of people in Hong Kong lined up at McDonald's outlets to buy Snoopy figurines dressed in kimonos and other Asian garb, and that same year, the first "Snoopy Place" restaurant opened in Singapore, becoming an instant tourist destination.

speculators, many new publishers and comic shops closed. It has been estimated that from 1993 to 1998, comic book profits dropped some 60 percent, from $800 million to $325 million.[16] Even the major publishers were not immune, with Marvel filing for bankruptcy in 1996. Most comic book distributors ceased business, leaving Diamond Comics Distributors as the only one left by 1997, and comics no longer found their way into non-specialty stores—supermarkets, convenience stores, and mom-and-pop shops.

In 1990, Marvel went public, and the company's stock, as detailed in their first annual report, cleverly disguised as a comic book, quickly skyrocketed. However, a part of this rapid inflation of stock value was the result of an artificially inflated market. In 1991, financier Ron Perelman bought a controlling share of the Marvel stock, which eventually led to financial and corporate wrangling about ownership and control of the company. Meanwhile, the early 1990s saw Marvel launching numerous new comic series, several which garnered record-breaking sales and contributed to a significant change in the look of superhero comics. In 1990, Marvel released a new *SpiderMan* title, written and drawn by fan favorite Todd McFarlane. This was followed in 1991 by Rob Liefeld's *X-Force* and a new *X-Men* title illustrated by Jim Lee, the first issue of which was released in five editions with variant cover art and sold 8 million copies, making it the best-selling comic book of the twentieth century.[17]

These three artists, though of different style and quality, helped to usher in a new look in comics. Their dynamic art tended toward high detail, or in some cases, the impression of high detail. Even more significantly, these artists also tended to use much larger panels, thereby giving the average comic book fewer (though frequently more complex) individual pictures per page and per comic book. Although larger panels had been used on occasion by artists before, the enormous popularity of Lee, Liefeld, McFarlane, and others made this technique, along with the over-rendered line, almost a standard in mainstream comics.

The popularity of these artists also led to industry shake-ups. Dissatisfied with the comics publishers' work-for-hire system, which denied creators ownership rights to their creations, Lee, Liefeld, and McFarlane, along with other favorite

artists, Eric Larsen, Marc Silvestri, and Jim Valentino, left Marvel en masse. In 1992, they began publishing their own creator-owned books under the banner of Image Comics. The venture was a commercial success and proved the draw of individual artists. Image quickly became a worthy competitor to the two major publishers, DC and Marvel, with huge sales on books like Liefeld's *Youngblood,* McFarlane's *Spawn,* Lee's *WildC.A.T.s,* Valentino's *Shadowhawk,* Larsen's *Savage Dragon,* and Silvestri's *CyberForce*. *Youngblood* #1 sold about 1 million copies and *Spawn* #1 sold almost 2 million, well beyond the sales of most comics, even those published by the majors.[18]

While some argued that these books were derivative of Marvel superhero comics, they delivered exactly what fans desired. The successes of Image, however, were somewhat offset by early difficulties. Frequently late shipment of comics and generally poor management strategies chafed with fans, retailers, and distributors. In addition, internal conflicts would eventually lead to the departure of many key members of the Image team. Several artists set up their own production companies, and Liefeld established a separate company, Maximum Press, to publish his own work. In time, Image settled into a pattern of consistent sales, taking its place as a major independent publisher, although it no longer posed a threat to DC or Marvel.

The 1990s saw the birth of many new publishing imprints, a number of which were formed by former Marvel and DC creators encouraged by Image's success story. The most popular of these was Valiant, which, in addition to developing new superhero characters, resurrected heroes from the Gold Key comics line published from the 1950s to the 1980s. Despite considerable early critical and commercial praise, however, Valiant would not survive the decade due in part to a drop off in the quality of Valiant titles, as well as the loss of solid artists like Barry Windsor-Smith and Bob Layton, but Valiant's demise must also be credited to the drying up of the comics market in the latter half of the 1990s.

There were independent publishers that survived the 1990s. Companies such as Drawn & Quarterly, Slave Labor Graphics, Fantagraphics, and Dark Horse Comics catered to a smaller niche market with experimental and alternative titles. Even Dark Horse, which found considerable mainstream success with its movie-licensed titles featuring the likes of the Terminator, Aliens, and Predator, maintained their commitment to alternative comics. Alternative publishers also managed to make considerable inroads in terms of comics' respectability, with their books gaining notable attention in the popular and book trade press and finding their ways into chain bookstores like Barnes & Noble and Borders. Dan Clowes grabbed attention with stories like *Ghost World* (1993–1997), about two teens, recently graduated from high school and trying to find their place in the world, which was made into a movie in 2001.

The success of many alternative titles led DC to create its Vertigo imprint, which specialized in comics geared toward an older, more sophisticated audience. Central to this line was *The Sandman* and related books, in which writer Neil Gaiman created a metaphysically complex universe with the assistance of popular artists like Dave McKean, Kent Williams, and Sam Keith. Additionally, a number of DC's older properties, like *Swamp Thing* and *Doom Patrol* were reborn into the Vertigo line as new spins on traditional horror or superhero comics. The Vertigo line was a success, though sales were somewhat limited because the core comic book market still consisted of younger adolescents. Other imprints started by DC failed, like Helix, their science fiction line, and Milestone, an attempt to cater to African American youths with a line of black superheroes.

Of course, DC stuck with the properties that had put the company into the top tier of comic book publishers, with several comic book events garnering the company nationwide publicity. In 1992, Superman died at the hands of the aptly named villain Doomsday (Superman later came back to life), and in 1993, Batman was temporarily crippled, his back broken by the bad guy Bane. Superman's death, particularly, started a media coup. DC published the issue featuring the hero's death in two editions: a collectors' edition, specially bagged with a black armband, and a standard newsstand edition. The event brought many people into comic shops for the first time, many of them who hadn't read a comic book since their childhood. Some six million issues were sold of these first editions, and they were followed by three additional printings.

Entertainment

of the 1990s

TELEVISION

Spurred by the continued success of the Fox network, two major studios, Warner Brothers and Paramount, started their own networks in 1995. WB and Paramount (UPN) networks each started rather slowly before finding its niche. The WB network found large markets for its teen-oriented dramas and its African American sitcoms. The Paramount network, spearheaded by its successful *Star Trek* properties, also found success with these genres and became a major outlet for TV science fiction.

Dramas retained their position as the prestige broadcasts of the networks, leading to a great variety of critically acclaimed shows. Many of them, especially police and medical dramas, cultivated a gritty realism. There were also dramas that were decidedly unrealistic, like filmmaker David Lynch's bizarre *Twin Peaks* (1990–1991), which often baffled its audiences. Science fiction and teen dramas saw unprecedented success, and among all this, there was still room for David Hasselhoff's lifeguard drama, *Baywatch* (1989–2001). The show, whose main draw was attractive people in bathing suits, developed into an international phenomenon, highlighting the importance of the overseas market for American television programming.

The 1990s are also notable for the number of filmmakers, including Lynch, Oliver Stone, Steven Spielberg, Barry Levinson, and George Lucas, who ventured into network television. The decade also saw the continued growth of the news magazine show and the rise of reality TV.

SCIENCE FICTION TV

Science fiction television experienced a renaissance in the 1990s. There was always at least one *Star Trek* series on the air. *Star Trek: The Next Generation* (1987–1994) completed its television voyages, and moved to the big screen. *Star Trek: Deep Space Nine* (1993–1999) set the crew, led by African American Avery Brooks, aboard a space station. *Deep Space Nine* involved considerably more political intrigue than prior *Star Trek* series, but never had as large a viewership as *The Next Generation.* By the series' last season, some critics were calling this the best and most ambitious of the *Star Trek* series. *Star Trek: Voyager* (1995–2001) featured a starship flung by a spatial anomaly to a galaxy far from its own. The crew attempts to return to their home galaxy, impeded by technical crises and hostile alien races. Like all *Star Trek* shows, *Voyager* presented a multicultural crew, featuring an Asian, a Latina, and a Native American, as well as a black Vulcan.

HOW OTHERS SEE US

Jerry Springer and "Reality" TV

The Jerry Springer Show premiered in the United States in 1991 and quickly became a pop-cultural phenomenon there. Regarded by many critics as the harbinger of reality television, the hour-long syndicated talk program featured sensational real-life stories of ordinary people caught up in affairs, drug use, violence, and kinkiness of every description. It was, in the host's own words, a "freak show" that reveled in Americans at their worst, willing to expose themselves for a few minutes of notoriety.

The freak show also proved equally fascinating to audiences outside the United States as TV networks around the world picked it up. At its height, *The Jerry Springer Show* could be seen by viewers in 200 countries, giving them, they were convinced, a look at the way Americans really lived. In 2003, Australian-born writer DBC Pierre claimed that he based the dialogue in his Booker Prize-winning novel *Vernon God Little* on his viewings of *The Jerry Springer Show*. It was the only way, he said, to capture the "American trailer-trash vernacular" of his Texas-based characters. That same year, *Jerry Springer: The Opera* opened in London's West End and caused a furor over its profanity (a rumored, and probably impossible, 8,000 unprintable words were spoken or sung in the show) and religious irreverence.

Religious authorities and intellectual elites excoriated *The Jerry Springer Show* wherever it aired. As an editorialist in a London daily put it, "To Europeans and higher-minded Americans, the people on 'The Jerry Springer Show' look like an American nightmare . . . His programme is a pure democracy of confession, where freedom of speech is extended to its logical conclusion, and every possible lifestyle has equal value." His show, said that same daily, was an "American folly," but nevertheless "changed the way people speak and think."

The show also starred the first female lead in the *Star Trek* franchise, Captain Kathryn Janeway, played by Kate Mulgrew. There were also numerous imitations of *Star Trek,* particularly *Babylon 5* (1994–1995), which quickly garnered a cult following, *SeaQuest DSV* (1993–1995), and *Earth: Final Conflict* (1997–2002), created by Star Trek creator Gene Roddenberry.

The X-Files (1993–2002), produced by Chris Carter, quickly became one of the Fox network's cornerstone shows. The show focused on two FBI agents, Fox Mulder (David Duchovny) and Dana Scully (Gillian Anderson), investigators of the supernatural. Scully, a generally skeptical medical examiner, served as a foil to Mulder's quick intuitive leaps to the most outlandish of conclusions, which often proved to be true. Yet, despite the inherent antagonism between the pair, the series also showcased a growing friendship, which ultimately proved as central to the series as the investigations into reports of vampires, werewolves, aliens, and killer insects. While the moody cinematography, clever writing, and skillful performances garnered the show praise, some attributed its success to how it tapped into a general state of paranoid malaise. A running storyline suggested that elements within the government not only knew about the existence of extraterrestrials but were also running alien genetic experiments on humans. Mulder and Scully's investigations into extraterrestrial activities would consequently bring them into conflict with the authorities they served. Thus, while the two were clearly the good guys, the agency they worked for was shadowy and menacing, reflecting an attitude toward the government held by a sizable segment of the American population. The catchphrases "Trust no one" and "The truth is out there" thereby found a warm reception from viewers. The success of *The X-Files* inspired considerable imitation, like *Dark Skies* (1996–1997) and another Carter show, *Harsh Realm* (1999–2000).

The success of the science fiction genre also encouraged the development of the fantasy genre, which had long been retired from the small screen. The earliest of these was *Hercules: The Legendary Journeys* (1995–1999). This series starred Kevin Sorbo as Hercules and featured elaborate



The X-Files. David Duchovny (as Agent Fox Mulder), Gillian Anderson (as Agent Dana Scully). Courtesy of Photofest.

fight sequences and special effect-laden action reminiscent of the old Hercules and Sinbad. The series swung from melodrama to slapstick, capturing some of the spirit of the B-horror movies of the series' producer Sam Raimi. Xena was introduced early in the show and soon had her own series: *Xena, Warrior Princess* (1995–2001), which would become the most successful series ever produced in the genre. Xena (Lucy Lawless) was a character torn between her violent, mercenary upbringing and her desire to do good, cultivated by her young companion, Gabriel (Renée O'Connor). *Xena* demonstrated a skillful blend of melodrama, action, humor, and revealing costumes, as well as a playful twist on world history and mythology. The closeness of the relationship between the two women soon lent itself to lesbian readings of the series, which was embraced by gay and straight viewerships alike. The producers of *Xena* played up the angle, alluding to, but never confirming nor denying, the exact relationship between Xena and Gabriel. These shows were followed by imitators such as *Conan* (1998), *The Epic Adventures of Tarzan* (1996), *Beastmaster* (1999–2002), and *The New Adventures of Robin Hood* (1997–1999). By the time *Xena* bowed out in 2001, few other examples of the genre still aired.

NOTABLE TV SHOWS

Beverly Hills, 90210
Buffy the Vampire Slayer
Cheers
ER
Everybody Loves Raymond
Frasier
Friends
Home Improvement
L. A. Law
Law & Order
Murphy Brown
NYPD Blue
Seinfeld
Sex and the City
The Simpsons
The Sopranos

RELIGION IN TV DRAMA

The 1990s saw a number of new series featuring a religious angle. Foremost among these was *Touched by an Angel* (1994–2003), starring Roma Downey and Della Reese as angels. Each week, Downey's character would come down to Earth to help people and inspire faith. Although the show was criticized for its pat solutions to social troubles, from alcoholism to racism, and for its sentimental portrayal of angels, it won a sizable viewership by virtue of its wholesome, uplifting storylines.

On a more earthly front, *7th Heaven* (1996–2007) detailed the day-to-day life character Eric Camden (Stephen Collins), a minister in the heart of the Bible Belt, and his family. While the show and its conservative values were highly praised by some, others criticized its lack of realism and

general didacticism. Nonetheless, its success suggests that there was a definite audience for family-oriented shows with uncomplicated morals.

POLICE AND MEDICAL DRAMA

The police drama continued to be a staple of television production. The bulk of the police shows of the 1990s owed much to their greatest predecessor, *Hill Street Blues* (1981–1987), but there was also innovation. Of the many such dramas to air during the 1990s, three particularly stood above the rest, both critically and commercially.

Produced by Steven Bochco, David Milch, and David Mills, among others, *NYPD Blue* (1993–2005) garnered much early attention on ABC, mostly because it pushed the boundaries of what a network could show on television. Profanity and brief partial nudity were both common. In fact, actors' contracts often included a clause stating that they would disrobe for the camera if necessary. Responding to the violence, language, and nudity, nearly one-quarter of the network's 225 affiliates refused to carry the first episode, and ABC instituted a "viewer discretion advised" warning before each episode. *NYPD Blue* soon proved to be much more than skin and swearing, however. The show cast a harsh light on the lives of detectives in the New York City police department depicting men and women who, while following their noble vocations, were themselves flawed human beings.

The show saw numerous cast changes, including a rotation of leading men—David Caruso, Jimmy Smits, and Rick Schroder—but one of the show's stalwarts, Dennis Franz, a *Hill Street Blues* alumnus, became one of the most fascinating characters ever to appear on the small screen. Franz's Andy Sipowicz began the show as a violent, brutish, and mean cop. He frequently peppered his profanity-laden speech with racism, homophobia, and sexism. But as the character's life and relationships with his fellow detectives developed, he made an effort to change, controlling his temper and his intolerance, and even becoming a loving family man. Such transformations had been seen on television before, but never had they unfolded so gradually and so realistically. Franz won four Emmys, and the show received numerous awards and recognitions, including Emmys for actors Gordon Clapp and Kim Delaney, as well as Outstanding Dramatic Series.

NBC's *Homicide: Life on the Streets* (1993–1999) was another important contributor to the police drama genre. The show was created by Paul Attanasio and was based on David Simon's book detailing a year in the life of the Baltimore police department. It was produced by Tom Fontana and noted filmmaker Barry Levinson, a Baltimore native who frequently set his films there. The show featured a top-notch cast, including Yaphet Kotto, Ned Beatty, Daniel Baldwin, and Andre Braugher. *Homicide* quickly became a critical success, although it struggled in the ratings. The show continues to be hailed for realistically depicting the lives of homicide detectives and concentrating on the cerebral and emotional pressures of the job far more than on gunfire and sensationalism. It also paid close attention to the victims of violent crime, with the survivors sometimes taking center stage as much as the regular cast. Praised for its stylish verité cinematography and sharp writing, *Homicide* also earned acclaim for its portrait of minorities. At times, nearly half the cast was African American, rare for a television drama, though quite representative of urban Baltimore.

Homicide: Life on the Streets enjoyed several crossover episodes with NBC's *Law & Order,* the third of the major police dramas of the 1990s. *Law & Order* (1990–) functioned in two parts, the first half hour dealing with New York City police detectives investigating a crime, and the latter half following the district attorney's office prosecuting the crime. Thus, *Law & Order* allowed the viewer to see the ultimate results (or lack thereof) of police work in a way less often seen in other police dramas. The show regularly resorted to twist endings, and frequently advertised its storylines as ripped from the headlines. Although *Law & Order* focused less on the private lives of its characters, they nonetheless were subject to emotional turmoil, personal problems, injury, and death. *Law & Order* saw constant cast changes; no actor was on the show for the entire run. While the show starred many highly acclaimed actors, including Jerry Orbach, Sam Waterston, Jill Hennessy, and Paul Sorvino, its success was based on consistently solid storytelling. It had two spin-offs: *Law &*

Order: Special Victims Unit (1999–) and *Law & Order: Criminal Intent* (2001–). No legal thriller came close to matching *Law & Order's* success until ABC's *The Practice* (1997–2004). This David Kelly law firm drama shot to prominence when, in its first year, it won a number of major Emmys, including Outstanding Drama Series.

WELCOME TO COUNTY GENERAL . . .

One of the highest-rated dramas in television history, *ER* is an Emmy Award-winning series created by bestselling novelist Michael Crichton and producer John Wells. The show premiered on NBC September 19, 1994, and is set in the fictional emergency room of County General Hospital in Chicago.

Throughout the years, the series has served as a building block or jumping off point for a number of actors, notably George Clooney, who is now considered one of the biggest film stars in the world. Other original cast members included Noah Wyle, Julianna Margulies, Eriq La Salle, Anthony Edwards, and Sherry Stringfield. The 2008 cast includes Maura Tierney, Mekhi Phifer, John Stamos, and Goran Visnjic. Several *ER* guest stars used their appearances to bolster (or in some cases revive) their careers, including Sally Field, Ray Liotta, Don Cheadle, Bob Newhart, Alan Alda, and Forest Whitaker. Each of these guest performances won Emmy nominations, while Liotta and Field won Emmys, the latter for her portrayal of Dr. Abby Lockhart's schizophrenic mother, and the former for his portrayal of a dying alcoholic.

ER has earned 22 Emmy Awards and received 123 nominations—making it the most Emmy-nominated drama in history. In early 2008, NBC announced that *ER* will end after its 15th season in 2009. The show already enjoys widespread syndication. The enduring popularity of ER has had a significant influence on how the public views emergency room settings and their interactions with doctors and nurses. The dramatic elements of ER portray life in all its gritty, sometimes evil, elements but also in all its moments of joy, awe, and miracles.

The medical drama also proved popular, with two shows, both debuting in 1994, rising to considerable heights: *ER* and *Chicago Hope*. *ER* (1994–) focused on the emergency room operations of County General, a fictitious Chicago hospital. Created by novelist Michael Crichton, the show was unflinching in its camera work, making it one of the bloodiest shows on television. As the series progressed, however, the emphasis gradually turned away from emergency room procedures and focused more on interpersonal relationships. The persistently well-rated series helped propel a number of actors to stardom, including Eric LaSalle, Julianna Margulies, Anthony Edwards, and George Clooney, who became a top film star after his departure from *ER*. *Chicago Hope* (1994–2000) starring, among others, Mandy Patinkin and Hector Elonzo, was a darker show, with a less realistic portrayal of hospital life. The show seemed to bask in the unusual and employed a much greater degree of gallows humor.

YOUTH DRAMA

Fox's *Beverly Hills 90210* (1990–2000) and *Melrose Place* (1992–1999), both produced by Aaron Spelling, enjoyed tremendous popularity. *Beverly Hills 90210* began as a high school-based soap opera, and had immediate appeal to young viewers. *Melrose Place's* stories of betrayal, seduction, and infidelity were aimed at an older audience. Although many of the actors in *Beverly Hills 90210* were in their 20s at the show's start, Jason Priestley, Shannen Doherty, Luke Perry, and others gained renown as the most famous "teenagers" of their time.

The late 1990s also saw the rise of a new kind of teen drama, perhaps best exemplified by *Dawson's Creek* (1998–2003), *Party of Five* (1994–2000), and *Felicity* (1998–2002). These three staples of the WB network's lineup featured realistic teenage characters from middle class backgrounds played by talented teen actors, rather than adults. While these shows were criticized for their alleged depiction of teen promiscuity and the whiny self-importance of the characters, the troubles faced by the young protagonists often echoed the issues facing the young audience.

A new spin on the teen drama was introduced with *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (WB, 1997–2003), in which Sarah Michelle Geller played the title character, defending her town of Sunnydale from vampires and other forces of darkness. The series, created by Joss Whedon, was based on a minor movie of the same name.

The series was a twist on the traditional horror film, in which the young blonde girl was menaced by some horror. In *Buffy,* the young blonde was more than able to take care of herself. The show skillfully mingled teen drama, horror movie thrills, and considerable humor with clever writing and often stunning cinematography. And while the show was largely ignored for major awards, most likely because of its genre, it regularly landed on critics' lists of best TV shows, and became the WB network's top series. Similar genre-mixing experiments were undertaken, including *Roswell* (WB 1999–2001, UPN 2001–2002), featuring teen extraterrestrials; *Charmed* (WB, 1998–2006), about young witches; and the *Buffy* spin-off, *Angel* (WB, 1999–2004), about a moral vampire who fights evil.

OTHER DRAMAS

Not all of the TV dramas of the 1990s were derivatives of traditional genres. *Twin Peaks* set a precedent for bizarre television in its blending of small-town strangeness with murder-mystery and supernatural occurrences. The show's critical praise and cult following inspired other producers to push the bounds with shows such as *Picket Fences* (CBS, 1992–1996), centered on the sheriff of an off-kilter small town. Another popular series was *Northern Exposure* (CBS, 1990–1995), which told the story of a physician, played by Rob Morrow, sent to an Alaskan town filled with endearingly odd characters.

The end of the decade also saw important developments in cable broadcasting with a number of made-for-cable movies and cable TV series. The most notable of these were HBO's *Sex and the City,* (1998–2004), which detailed the daily lives of a number of young urban professional women, and HBO's *The Sopranos* (1999–2007), which focused principally on the family and professional life of a mobster, Tony Soprano, played by James Gandolfini. Unrestricted by network censors, *The Sopranos* employed violence and coarse language, which offended some, but most took as appropriate to the show's subject matter. *The Sopranos* also became the first cable broadcast to win an Emmy for Best Drama Series.

TELEVISION COMEDY

While the typical domestic and workplace situation comedy continued to thrive, there were important steps forward in the genre. Two shows in particular dominated the world of TV comedy in the 1990s. The first of these, *The Simpsons* (Fox, 1989–) was the first successful prime-time animated series since the *Flintstones* (ABC, 1960–1966). Like that show, its creators modeled *The Simpsons* on the traditional family sitcom. The series, developed by cartoonist Matt Groening, featured Homer Simpson, the dull-witted father, Marge, the straight-laced mother with tall blue hair, Lisa, the super-intelligent daughter, Bart, the mischievous son, and the perennially silent baby, Maggie. The show began by focusing mostly on Bart, but Homer gradually became the prime vehicle through which it mocked ignorance and mob mentality.

The Simpsons turned into one of the wittiest satires on television, taking swipes at conservative and liberal values alike. The world of the series, the town of Springfield, was populated with numerous other characters, including the incompetent police chief, the apathetic reverend, and the town drunk, who added to the variety of issues available for satire. Moreover, in exposing the foibles of these various characters, the show ultimately made the dysfunctional title family the moral center of the series. Remarkably then, while the series displayed a scathing wit, viewers nonetheless sympathized with the characters, even as those same viewers might be the target of the show's satire. The show spawned an enormous marketing franchise, but none of the many animated series to follow in its footsteps, including *The Critic* (ABC, 1994; Fox, 1995), *Family Guy* (1999–2002, 2005–), and Groening's *Futurama* (Fox, 1999–2003), came close to approximating its consistently high ratings.

Two other animated series that aired on cable created quite a stir in the 1990s. The first of these

was Mike Judge's *Beavis and Butt-Head* (MTV, 1993–1997), which focused on the two adolescent stars as they watched and mocked music videos. On the occasions that they left the sofa, they typically inflicted some kind of self-injury with the use of fire, a chainsaw, and so on. There was considerable outrage about the series, particularly after a five year old set fire to his house, killing his sister, apparently imitating the characters. The pair had a hit movie based on their adventures, *Beavis and Butt-Head Do America* (1996). Following in their footsteps was the Comedy Central series *South Park* (1997–). The foul-mouthed third-graders of this series, Stan, Kyle, Kenny, and Cartman, were the creations of Matt Stone and Trey Parker. Although laced with toilet humor, the series offered frequently smart social satire, particularly in its indictment of moral hypocrisy in America. Propelled by animation nearly as crude as that of *Beavis and Butt-Head,* as well as by running jokes, like a talking piece of excrement named Mr. Hankey and Kenny dying in nearly every episode, *South Park* reached the big screen in *South Park: Bigger, Longer & Uncut* (1999).

Along with *The Simpsons,* the other cornerstone sitcom of the 1990s was NBC's *Seinfeld* (1990–1998). Created by stand-up comedian Jerry Seinfeld and Larry David, the show focused on four friends, Jerry, George, Elaine, and Kramer, living in New York City. The characters simply went about their day's business, talking about the minutia of their day-to-day lives. Viewers applauded the reality of the show, but the characters of *Seinfeld* were anything but typical Americans, or even typical New Yorkers. The show was an acute satire of modern life's banality by pushing this banality to such extremes that it became quite surreal. The most inconsequential things—a tuna on rye sandwich, the board game Risk, Pez candy dispensers—ended up having extraordinary ramifications. The show frequently made fun of its own conventions and those of the sitcom in general. This practice reached its height with a series of episodes involving the creation of a TV pilot called *Jerry* by George and Jerry. This show-within-a-show closely approximated *Seinfeld,* with fictional actors cast to play the part of the *real* characters, themselves the fictional constructs of *Seinfeld.* The ultimate bizarreness of *Seinfeld* would not be imitated, which is a credit to the skill of the shows' writers and producers, and also to the chemistry between the show's principal cast, Jason Alexander, Julia Louis-Dreyfus, Michael Richards, and Seinfeld. The show's final episode in 1998 garnered 76 million spectators, the largest viewership ever for a sitcom.

There were other significant entries into the sitcom genre, including *Friends* (NBC, 1994–2004) created by Marta Kauffman and David Crane. This series detailed the relationship between a group of six friends in their twenties and early thirties. The show garnered consistently good ratings due to the chemistry between the characters. Moreover, it helped propel the careers of its young cast, Jennifer Aniston, Courtney Cox (Arquette), Lisa Kudrow, Matt LeBlanc, Matthew Perry, and David Schwimmer. It received numerous awards and nominations, including Kudrow's 1998 Emmy win for Outstanding Supporting Actress. Another noteworthy sitcom was *Frasier* (NBC, 1993–2004), a spin-off of *Cheers* (NBC, 1982–1993). In this show, Kelsey Grammer's *Cheers* character, the barfly psychologist Frasier Crane, relocated from Boston to Seattle where he began a call-in radio psychology show. The real focus of the show, however, was Crane's relationship with his father, Martin (John Mahoney), a retired police officer, who moves in with him, as well as with his father's caretaker, Daphne (Jane Leeves), and his brother Niles (David Hyde Pierce). *Frasier* offered unusually cerebral writing for a sitcom and made light-hearted fun of the intellectual, adding to its popularity among an educated, middle class audience. The show won numerous awards, including Emmys for Outstanding Comedy Series every year from 1994 to 1998. *Mad About You* (NBC, *1992*–1999), followed Paul Reiser and Helen Hunt through their quick courtship, their marriage, and the birth of their daughter. Another important series was *Will and Grace* (NBC, 1998–2006) significant for its positive portrayal of homosexuals. The title characters were a gay man and a straight woman who initially shared an apartment. The show explored new comic ground and made a political point about the real place of gays in American culture and society.

The 1990s also saw major activity in the production of African American sitcoms, with the

RADIO DEBUTS OF THE 1990s

"The Michael Reagan Radio Show" (1992): news and political commentary from the Republican strategist, son of U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

"Imus in the Morning" (1993): politics, headlines, guests, and commentary from shock-jock-turned-pundit Don Imus.

"The Jim Bohannon Show" (1993): evening interview show focusing on politics and current events.

"The Dr. Laura Schlessinger Program" (1994): no-nonsense, culturally conservative advice for callers with personal, relationship, and ethical problems.

"The Tom Leykis Show" (1994): "hot talk" afternoon drive-time show featuring crude comedy and sexual themes.

"This American Life" (1995): essays, short fiction, memoirs, and audio features, thematically based.

"The Michael Medved Show" (1996): politics, social issues, pop culture, movies, and entertainment news, with a conservative bent.

"The Jim Rome Show" (1996): "smack-talking" sports talk, along with entertainment news, offbeat headlines, listener call-ins, and interviews.

"Wait, Wait...Don't Tell Me" (1998): news-based quiz show in which comedian panelists try to stump listeners with questions on current headlines and also answer questions themselves.

"The Neal Boortz Show" (1999): interviews and call-in discussions with the libertarian commentator, author, and attorney.

WB and UPN networks leading the way. These included *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* (WB, 1990–1996), starring Will Smith; *Moesha* (Nickelodeon, 1996–2001) starring singer Brandy; *Hangin' with Mr. Cooper* (ABC, 1992–1997); and *The Jamie Fox Show* (WB, 1996–2001). They did find large audiences among African Americans, and many claimed that the shows offered funny variations on the true lives of the African American communities. Others believed that these shows exploited long-held racial stereotypes of buffoonish blacks. Among these critics was filmmaker Spike Lee, who offered his critique of them in his movie *Bamboozled* (2000).

COMPUTERS AND CINEMA

The 1990s saw the growth of many new studios and the introduction of numerous young, exciting directors. But perhaps the most significant developments in cinema were technological. The 1990s saw the dramatic influence of digital technology, with the bulk of movie theaters turning to digital sound. In 1990, *Dick Tracy* became the first major release with a digital soundtrack.

Advances in technology allowed for special effects imagery unlike anything previously. In 1993, the technologically groundbreaking *Jurassic Park* hit theaters. This Steven Spielberg thriller about a zoo filled with prehistoric creatures was notable for the dinosaurs that seemed to truly come alive. In fact, these realistically rendered beasts were digitally modeled and animated and placed seamlessly onscreen with live-action performers and settings. The long-awaited new movie in the *Star Wars* series, *Episode One: The Phantom Menace* (1999) was loaded with computer-generated effects, including one character, Jar Jar Binks, who was entirely computer created. (Despite the eye-popping complexity and sophistication of the special effects, however, many diehard fans were disappointed with the script and performances.)

Computer technology led to other startlingly new methods of filmmaking. *Toy Story* (1995) was the first full-length computer-animated feature, from the backgrounds to all the characters, primarily living children's playthings. Each fully computer-animated film that followed (including the 1999 sequel, *Toy Story 2*) featured more convincing computer animation.

The 1994 Robert Zemeckis film, *Forrest Gump,* also demonstrated new uses of computer technology in film. The movie used computer technology to show simple-minded Gump (Tom Hanks) meeting such historical figures as John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. Computer imagery

placed Hanks into existing footage of these figures, which was itself computer manipulated to make the figures appear to be interacting with Gump. This technique stirred up considerable controversy about the appropriate use of such technology. The debate was propelled by the advent of commercials featuring dead stars, such as James Cagney, Louis Armstrong, and others, appearing in Diet Coke ads, and John Wayne's image used to hawk Coors Light beer.

Another important use of computers in special effects could be seen in *The Matrix* (1999) directed by the Wachowski brothers. The filmmakers used a new kind of digital effect, which they called "bullet time." Using multiple still cameras, special effects teams could effectively photograph scenes in rapid sequence from multiple angles, and then, assisted by computers, seamlessly animate these still photos. A kind of stop-action animation using live actors, bullet time allowed the makers of *The Matrix* to create stunning action scenes in this science-fiction thriller, in which time seemed to bend at the will of the directors, without any of the artificiality of sped-up or slowed-down film.

The most commercially successful movie of the 1990s, *Titanic,* directed by James Cameron, retold the story of the sinking of the luxury ocean liner. The 1997 film was a triumph of computer and other special effects, but the production of *Titanic* seemed to hearken back to the classic era of cinematic spectacle. The director used a submersible craft to view and film the actual wreckage of the Titanic, and he erected elaborate sets that duplicated sections of the ship. The cost of the project reached some $200 million, which evoked such concern on the part of 20th Century Fox that Cameron forfeited his salary and percentage of the gross. In the end, the film, which featured a rather traditional star-crossed love affair amidst the ocean liner's voyage and destruction, not only made back its money, but broke all box-office records and won several major awards, including Best Director and Best Picture Academy Awards.

INDEPENDENT FILM

In the 1990s, independent producers proved that there was a market for independent film, and many big studios started their own "independent" divisions, such as 20th Century Fox's Fox Searchlight line. The independent film market was further bolstered by the growth of the indy film festival circuit, spearheaded by the Sundance Film Festival. By the end of the decade, however, many were raising red flags about how the major film corporations, with their co-opting of independent talent, their purchases of major independent studios (like Columbia TriStar's purchase of Miramax), and their domination of distribution channels, threatened to stifle independent film.

One of the most significant, as well as most debated, independent films of the 1990s was *The Blair Witch Project* (1999), a faux documentary about three film students who go into the woods to make a film about a local legend, and then are assaulted by forces beyond their comprehension. The film was produced on a shoestring budget of $35,000 and looked it. The camera work was handled by the principal actors, the film students, so it appropriately appeared amateurish. The ultimate quality of the film was debatable, but *The Blair Witch Project* became one of the top-grossing films of the year. After its release, much attention was cast on the guerilla publicity campaign as on the film itself. Directors Daniel Myrick and Eduardo Sanchez marketed the film on the Internet and elsewhere as a true story, producing a sizable amount of extra documentation, so that seeing the film was only a part (albeit, a major part) of the Blair Witch experience.

Henry and June (1990), which detailed the affair between writers Henry Miller and Anais Nin, was the first movie to receive the new NC-17 rating, which was meant to designate a film with strong adult, but not pornographic (i.e., X-rated), content. Although *Henry and June,* directed by Phil Kaufman, was rated NC-17, distributors, theaters, and video outlets nonetheless resisted the film just as if it were X-rated. Consequently, the film, though critically praised, remained largely unseen by the bulk of American moviegoers. This movie proved that there was no real restriction on the content of cinema, although it also proved there was also no way of forcing the industry to show such a film.

NEW TALENT

Pulp Fiction (1994), written and directed by Quentin Tarantino, was one of the most significant films of the decade. In 1992, Tarantino directed his first feature, *Reservoir Dogs,* an ultra-violent, low-budget picture that told of the aftermath of a bank robbery gone bad. The script had an almost theatrical patter, stylized, hip, and retro in tone. Moreover, as in *True Romance* (1993), written by Tarantino, the dialogue was filled with references to popular culture, from film, TV, comic books, and pop music.

With the success of *Reservoir Dogs* behind him, Tarantino cut loose with a nonlinear movie that traced the interweaving threads of numerous narratives. Critical praise, Tarantino's reputation, and considerable star power (including Bruce Willis, Uma Thurman, and John Travolta, whose career was reinvigorated by *Pulp Fiction*), brought viewers in droves. Some complained that Tarantino's overwhelming references to pop culture suggested a lack of original ideas. Others criticized Tarantino's use of extreme violence. Certainly, *Pulp Fiction* was much imitated by other filmmakers, and, frequently, in their shallow celebration of violence and "hipness," these imitations demonstrated the excellence of *Pulp Fiction,* which won Tarantino and Roger Avary an Academy Award for their screenplay. Tarantino followed *Pulp Fiction* with *Jackie Brown* (1997), starring Pam Grier in the title role. Though still filled with violence and snappy dialogue, *Jackie Brown* was decidedly less flashy, with a single linear storyline and a single character's plight.

There were other important young filmmakers. Paul Thomas Anderson's first feature *Hard*



The poster for *Pulp Fiction* (1994). Directed by Quentin Tarantino. Shown: Uma Thurman (as Mia Wallace). Courtesy of Photofest.

TOP ACTORS

Tim Allen (1953–)
Sandra Bullock (1964–)
Nicolas Cage (1964–)
Jim Carrey (1962–)
Kevin Costner (1955–)
Tom Cruise (1962–)
Robert De Niro (1943–)
Harrison Ford (1942–)
Jodie Foster (1962–)
Mel Gibson (1956–)
Tom Hanks (1956–)
Helen Hunt (1963–)
Holly Hunter (1958–)
Tommy Lee Jones (1946–)
Mike Myers (1963–)
Julia Roberts (1967–)
Meg Ryan (1961–)
Arnold Schwarzenegger (1947–)
Will Smith (1968–)
Kevin Spacey (1959–)
Denzel Washington (1954–)
Bruce Willis (1955–)

ACADEMY AWARD WINNERS

1990 Picture: *Dances with Wolves*

Director: Kevin Costner, *Dances with Wolves*
Actor: Jeremy Irons, *Reversal of Fortune*
Actress: Kathy Bates, *Misery*

1991 Picture: *The Silence of the Lambs*

Director: Jonathan Demme, *The Silence of the Lambs*
Actor: Anthony Hopkins, *The Silence of the Lambs*
Actress: Jodie Foster, *The Silence of the Lambs*

1992 Picture: *Unforgiven*

Director: Clint Eastwood, *Unforgiven*
Actor: Al Pacino, *Scent of a Woman*
Actress: Emma Thompson, *Howards End*

1993 Picture: *Schindler's List*

Director: Steven Spielberg, *Schindler's List*
Actor: Tom Hanks, *Philadelphia*
Actress: Holly Hunter, *The Piano*

1994 Picture: *Forrest Gump**

Director: Robert Zemeckis, *Forrest Gump*
Actor: Tom Hanks, *Forrest Gump*
Actress: Jessica Lange, *Blue Sky*

1995 Picture: *Braveheart*

Director: Mel Gibson, *Braveheart*
Actor: Nicolas Cage, *Leaving Las Vegas*
Actress: Susan Sarandon, *Dead Man Walking*

1996 Picture: *The English Patient*

Director: Anthony Minghella, *The English Patient*
Actor: Geoffrey Rush, *Shine*
Actress: Frances McDormand, *Fargo*

1997 Picture: *Titanic***

Director: James Cameron, *Titanic*
Actor: Jack Nicholson, *As Good As It Gets*
Actress: Helen Hunt, *As Good As It Gets*

1998 Picture: *Shakespeare in Love*

Director: Steven Spielberg, *Saving Private Ryan*
Actor: Roberto Benigni, *Life Is Beautiful*
Actress: Gwyneth Paltrow, *Shakespeare in Love*

1999 Picture: *American Beauty*

Director: Sam Mendes, *American Beauty*
Actor: Kevin Spacey, *American Beauty*
Actress: Hilary Swank, *Boys Don't Cry*

*Highest grossing of decade
**Highest grossing movie of all time

Eight (a.k.a., *Sydney*) was released in 1997. His next film *Boogie Nights* (1997), which took place in the late 1970s and early 1980s, explored the rise and fall of a male porn star. The film's content was startling for mainstream audiences, but it weaved a multi-layered story about love and fidelity and employed remarkable cinematographic techniques to capture the mindsets of his characters. Anderson followed *Boogie Nights* with *Magnolia* (1999), an elaborate tapestry of many interrelated narrative threads. The film, which starred Tom Cruise, Jason Robards, and Julianne Moore, earned a number of Academy Award nominations, including Best Actor for Cruise and Best Original Screenplay.

Another major new directing talent in the 1990s was Steven Soderbergh, who first gained widespread attention in 1989 with *sex, lies and videotape.* While much of Soderbergh's output in the early 1990s was only moderately well-received, *Out of Sight* (1998) and *The Limey* (1999) offered strikingly original visual experiences. In these films, Soderbergh displayed a sense of visual timing that seemed almost musical. Though a frequently experimental director, Soderbergh proved himself an effective commercial director with such films as *Erin Brockovich* and *Traffic* (both 2000).

ESTABLISHED FILMMAKERS

Already established major directors came back to the cinema with restored vitality in the 1990s. Two Steven Spielberg films deserve particular

NOTABLE MOVIES

Not including Best Picture.

Ghost (1990)
Goodfellas (1990)
Home Alone (1990)*
Pretty Woman (1990)
Beauty and the Beast (1991)
Boyz N the Hood (1991)
JFK (1991)
Thelma and Louise (1991)
A Few Good Men (1992)
A League of Their Own (1992)
Wayne's World (1992)
The Fugitive (1993)
Jurassic Park (1993)*
Mrs. Doubtfire (1993)
Sleepless in Seattle (1993)
Groundhog Day (1993)
Hoop Dreams (1994)
The Lion King (1994)*
Pulp Fiction (1994)
Speed (1994)
Apollo 13 (1995)
Toy Story (1995)
The Usual Suspects (1995)
Fargo (1996)
Independence Day (1996)*
Jerry Maguire (1996)
Mission Impossible (1996)
Men in Black (1997)*
Armageddon (1998)
Saving Private Ryan (1998)
There's Something About Mary (1998)
American Pie (1999)
Austin Powers: The Spy Who Shagged Me (1999)
The Blair Witch Project (1999)
The Matrix (1999)
The Sixth Sense (1999)*
Star Wars: Episode I: The Phantom Menace (1999)*
Toy Story 2 (1999)

*Highest grossing of decade.

attention. The first is *Schindler's List* (1993), an unflinching retelling of the Holocaust and of the title character who attempted to lessen its devastating effect. The film, shot mostly in black and white, was Spielberg's masterpiece, and it received multiple Academy Awards, including those for Best Picture and Best Director. The second film is *Saving Private Ryan* (1998), a film notable for its first 20 minutes, which depicted the invasion of Normandy on D-Day, June 6, 1944. Never before had World War II been depicted so viscerally, with jerky cinema verité camera work, and considerable gore. *Saving Private Ryan* was nominated for a Best Picture Oscar, and Spielberg won the award for Best Director. Spielberg also stuck close to his roots in the 1990s with movies designed for pure escapist entertainment, the two *Jurassic Park* films foremost among them.

Other major directors also made their mark in the 1990s, including Martin Scorsese, who directed numerous films, including *Goodfellas* (1990) and *Casino* (1997), both regarded by many as his masterpieces. Scorsese also proved himself quite an adventurous director, with an adaptation of the Edith Wharton novel, *The Age of Innocence* (1993); *Kundun* (1997), about the Dali Lama; and *Bringing Out the Dead* (1999).

Robert Altman added to his already illustrious career with *The Player* (1992), about the surreal life of a Hollywood film producer; *Short Cuts* (1993), an interweaving of numerous storylines based on the short stories of Raymond Carver; and others, like *Pret-á-Porter* (1994) and *Cookie's Fortune* (1999). Oliver Stone explored several real-life figures in such films as *The Doors* (1991), *JFK* (1991), and *Nixon* (1995). He also made *Heaven*

and Earth (1993), *Any Given Sunday* (1999), and *Natural Born Killers* (1994), a graphically violent film that owed much to the spate of ultra-violence in the wake of *Pulp Fiction.* Clint Eastwood, who had made a name for himself principally as an actor in Westerns and movies about tough, even brutal police detectives, directed eight features in the decade. Although many of these films garnered critical acclaim, including *A Perfect World* (1993) and *Absolute Power* (1995), Eastwood's greatest triumph in the 1990s was *Unforgiven* (1992). With this picture, Eastwood helped temporarily revitalize the Western, while also offering an acute commentary on the violent nature of the genre. The movie, which won Oscars for Best Picture, Best Director, and Best Supporting Actor (Gene Hackman), solidified Eastwood's status as a director.

The vitality (and material wealth) of American cinema, drew many foreign directors to the United States, much as had happened early in the "golden age" of American film. The Taiwanese director Ang Lee, for instance, brought his subtle eye for family relationships to *The Ice Storm* (1997) and made a movie of the American Civil War, *Ride with the Devil* (1999). John Woo, known for his ultra-violent Hong Kong action movies, contributed to American film with *Hard Target* (1993), *Broken Arrow* (1996), and *Face/Off* (1997). Meanwhile, Swedish director Lasse Hallström brought his off-beat sensibilities to films like *What's Eating Gilbert Grape?* (1994) and *The Cider House Rules* (1999). Germany's Wolfgang Petersen made such films as *In the Line of Fire* (1993), *Outbreak* (1995), and *Air Force One* (1997), about the hijacking of the president's aircraft.

Late in the decade, The American Film Institute released a list of history's 100 greatest movies. Several movies from the 1990s proved worthy of inclusion, a noteworthy accomplishment given that the Institute only considered movies made prior to 1997. The list included *Schindler's List, Forrest Gump, Goodfellas, Pulp Fiction,* and *Unforgiven.* It also included Jonathan Demme's serial-killer thriller, *The Silence of the Lambs* (1991), Kevin Costner's Western about a Civil War soldier living among the Lakota Sioux, *Dances with Wolves* (1990), and Joel and Ethan Coen's updated film-noir, *Fargo* (1996). Since the list came out, opinion on these specific films has shifted somewhat, even as other overlooked films have climbed in estimation.

THEATER

As the century came to a close, the theater came to be seen as something of an elitist form of entertainment. In part, this had to do with the shift from light entertainment to more thematically serious drama. Another reason was that the cost of tickets, which frequently broke the triple digits dollar amount, particularly on Broadway, proved prohibitive to many. This said, the theater was not dead in the 1990s, which saw the rise of numerous small theater companies.

MUSICAL THEATER

The most popular theatrical form in the 1990s was the musical. However, the shows that met with the most success were not new. Englishman Andrew Lloyd Webber, the top producer of Broadway musicals in the 1990s, enjoyed continued success with shows like *Cats* and *Phantom of the Opera,* which started their runs in 1981 and 1986,

NOTABLE THEATER

Miss Saigon, 1991 (4,092 perfs.)
Crazy for You, 1992 (1,622 perfs.)
Guys and Dolls (revival), 1992 (1,143 perfs.)
Beauty and the Beast, 1994 (5,461 perfs.)
Grease (revival), 1994 (1,505 perfs.)
Smokey Joe's Café, 1995 (2,036 perfs.)
Chicago (revival), 1996 (4,700+ perfs.*)
Rent, 1996 (5,000+ perfs.*)
Jekyll and Hyde, 1997 (1,543 perfs.)
The Lion King, 1997 (4,300+ perfs.*)
Cabaret (revival), 1998 (2,377 perfs.)
Fosse, 1999 (1,093 perfs.)
Bring in 'Da Noise, Bring in 'Da Funk, 1999 (1,135 perfs.)

*Still running as of mid-2008.

respectively. Webber's new musical, *Sunset Boulevard,* based on the Billy Wilder film, opened in 1994 with record-breaking advanced ticket sales of $37.5 million but closed as a financial failure.

One of the most successful musicals of the 1990s was based on the 1994 Disney film, *The Lion King.* The Broadway musical version, launched in 1998, was produced by Disney with music by Elton John and lyrics by Tim Rice. Another of the great musical success stories of Broadway was *Rent,* written by Jonathan Larson and directed by Michael Greif. *Rent,* which opened on Broadway on April 29, 1996, was inspired by Puccini's opera, *La Bohème,* though it brought the story to a contemporary, New York City setting. It proved to be one of the most successful Broadway musicals ever, earning a place among its longest-running shows, and also winning the Tony Award and Pulitzer Prize. *Rent* is scheduled to end its Broadway run in September 2008.

Several major dance musical shows also met with resounding success, although many of these were European imports. Started in 1991 in England by Luke Cresswell and Steve McNicholas, *Stomp* combined percussion, industrial noise, dance, and visual comedy in a lively, adrenaline-pumping approach. By the second year, the *Stomp* performers were making commercials across the globe, including a high-profile Coca-Cola television ad. By the time the troupe came to the states, they sold out shows across the country.

Another form of dance that inspired much imitation was Celtic. *Riverdance* was the trailblazer in this form, combining the traditions of Irish dance with a modern sensibility. With the success of *Riverdance,* a number of other Irish dance troupes came to the fore, most notably, *Lord of the Dance,* headed by dancer Michael Flatley.

THEATRICAL DRAMA

During the 1990s, it became difficult for nonmusical plays to find a reception on Broadway. One of Broadway's most renowned productions in 1999 was Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman,* first produced in 1949. It celebrated its 50th anniversary with Brian Dennehy in the lead role.

On and off Broadway, many established playwrights continued fruitfully. Neil Simon, long a Broadway favorite for his nostalgic comedies, continued his successful career with *Lost in Yonkers* (1991), which won the Tony Award and a Pulitzer Prize and was recognized as one of the best works of his career. Simon followed this with *Jake's Women* (1992), *Laughter on the 23rd Floor* (1993), *London Suite* (1995), and *Proposals* (1997), none of which gained the same acclaim. Other more successful players in the 1990s included David Mamet with *Oleanna* (1992), *The Cryptogram* (1995), and *The Old Neighborhood* (1997), and Wendy Wasserstein, who wrote *The Sisters Rosensweig* (1992) and *An American Daughter* (1997).

Ultimately, the place for most serious playwrights, and especially new playwrights, was off Broadway, in New York, and elsewhere. The number of new plays and playwrights in the 1990s was large, but some specific figures deserve particular attention. Among these is Tony Kushner, who made his debut in 1991 with *A Bright Room Called Day,* about the rise of fascism in 1932 Berlin. The play ran for two weeks and met with mixed reviews, but Kushner would achieve considerable fame for his *Angels in America,* the first installment of which, *Part I: Millennium Approaches,* first appeared in London and Los Angeles, and then debuted on Broadway in May 1993. Set during the Reagan era, the play involved three overlapping storylines and numerous characters, from a former drag queen to a conservative Mormon lawyer. The play commented on politics, race, and religion, but it was most notable for its frank treatment of AIDS and homosexuality, and it won several Tonys and a Pulitzer. *Part II: Perestroika* appeared in November 1993. Although Kushner was not the first playwright to address the AIDS epidemic (Larry Kramer and others preceded him), his plays opened the floodgates, and many others followed his lead in addressing the issue.

The prohibitive costs of producing a play led to a rise in the number of one-man or one-woman shows. John Leguizamo, also known for his film acting, created three of the most highly regarded one-man shows, starting with *Mambo Mouth* (1990). This show was followed by *Spic-O-Rama* (1992) and *Freak* (1998). In the plays, Leguizamo explored various aspects of Hispanic culture, alternately playing various characters from his family

Advertising

and the American Latino community in general. Spalding Gray, a master of the one-man monologue since the mid 1980s, continued in this vein as well, writing and performing *Monster in a Box* (1990), *Gray's Anatomy* (1993), *It's a Slippery Slope* (1996), and *Morning, Noon and Night* (1999). Ana Deavere Smith was also a major figure in the one-person show, starting with *Fires in the Mirror* in 1992, which dealt with the 1991 Crown Heights riots, during which violence broke out between local African Americans and Jews. Another series of riots would provide the source for Smith's next presentation, *Twilight: Los Angeles, 1992* (1994). The success of these performers, and the fact that they were able to put their productions on with such a limited budget, stimulated the one-player show considerably, and many followed in their footsteps.

Fashion

of the 1990s

The 1990s saw considerable variation in fashion, particularly as previous fringe elements of popular culture came into the mainstream. Thus, while a certain kind of high fashion might have been in vogue at any given time, alternative fashions constituted a rejection of these styles. American media came to depict a much wider range of people, bringing with it a newfound diversity. Fashion was still important, but the interest turned increasingly to how fashion could serve the individual, and the notion of the "slave to fashion" waned.

The 1990s were described by many as a decade of minimalism. Many designers suggested that this was the result of a significant change in concepts of fashion. Design seemed to be increasingly dictated by consumers rather than by creators. Consumers were less interested in the flash of the 1980s, so designers implemented simple, elegant lines to their clothing. Black, which famed designer Giorgio Armani went so far as to call the most "elegant and intellectual" color in 1995, became the dominant color for women's clothing, and a trend developed favoring longer skirts. Some saw this subtlety in dress as a statement about the role of women in general. Women did not have the same need to attract attention as they had in the 1980s. Additionally, as women became a stronger force in public life, fashions were sought that, while retaining some femininity, did not detract from a woman's substantial role.

In general, young people had more money of their own in the decade, and a large amount of this money went toward clothing. As a consequence, manufacturers of children's apparel catered increasingly to children's tastes, rather than to the tastes of parents. Thus, the fashions worn by high school students could also be found in elementary school classrooms.

Fashion was big business in the 1990s, netting more than $100 billion a year annually. Late in the decade, sales topped $170 billion. The growth of the industry itself consumed much of the profit, as the natural metamorphosis of fashion trends seemed to accelerate. One estimate placed the average fashion trend at the end of the decade as lasting about 6 to 12 weeks.

FORMAL AND BUSINESS ATTIRE

Formal wear sought simplicity and elegance. The ruffles and garnishes of the 1980s were replaced by long, sleek dresses. Black seemed the preferred color, although other colors were also popular, particularly neutral or earthy colors. The pastel colors of the previous decade were replaced by brighter colors, such as bold reds and blues.

FASHION HIGHLIGHTS OF THE 1990s

The big hair and power dressing of the 1980s were replaced by more casual and natural styles. Many women felt more comfortable following their own styles and tastes, and considered themselves "anti-trend."

Women—Take on a more tailored, menswear look with straight-sided jackets, straight-cut pants, unadorned blouses, or Capri pants.

Men—Cargo pants, khakis.

Young women—Filmy baby doll dresses with leggings or bare legs; oversized sweaters or T-shirts with leggings; Capri pants; tousled, slightly shaggy "Rachel" haircuts.

Young men—Grunge look of flannel shirts, torn jeans, layered T-shirts; backward baseball caps in the mid/late decade; baggy beltless pants with boxers showing, or hip hop look with baggy jeans and sports jerseys.

Business suits stayed largely the same with relatively minor variations throughout the century, but the 1990s saw a decline in popularity of the business suit. This has been attributed, in part, to the growth of the computer industry, with its relatively young workforce and young management. This new industry encouraged a more casual approach to dress, and the traditionally formal industries became increasingly casual. This development largely began with the implementation of casual Fridays, but for many companies, this led to the adaptation of a looser, more casual overall dress code. In 1992, about seven percent of U.S. companies had a casual dress code, but by 1998, this number had increased to 53 percent.[1]

HIGH FASHION

The world of haute couture, or high fashion, seemed to grow continually more flamboyant in the 1980s and 1990s. Haute couture designers clearly worked on designs that were not really meant to be worn anywhere but on the catwalk. However, the general populace did have a distinct effect on high fashion. Many designers moved away from flashy and unwearable, as well as away from the overly casual, instead tapping into the desire for uncomplicated, yet graceful, even classical, styles of dress. Chanel and Yohji Yamamoto championed a revival of the black dress and classical lines. By the end of the decade, even guests at the Academy Awards were opting for elegant simplicity over audacious flash.

Gianni Versace reached new heights in popularity in the early 1990s, with a line of clothing influenced by underground fetish-wear. The look gained popularity in some circles, though naturally, the average American shied away from the leather and latex designs. Versace did not stick solely to this kind of fashion, but it helped his name became a household word, along with his friendships with other celebrities, like Elton John. Versace's murder in July 1997 in Miami, Florida, created quite a sensation in the news media. His company continued with his sister, Donatella, at the helm.

Other important designers of the decade included Anna Sui, Alexander McQueen, Isaac Mizrahi, Gucci, Donna Karan, and Miuccia Prada. Japanese designers, especially Yohji Yamamoto and Rei Kawakubo, also had significant influence on high fashion globally.

CASUAL WEAR

For everyday wear, T-shirts and jeans continued to be popular. Many of the T-shirts served the dual purpose of clothing and advertising. A less obvious means of self-expression, jeans nonetheless suggested much about their wearers. More than any other decade since their introduction, a variety of jean designs were simultaneously in vogue, depending on which crowd the wearer wanted to be identified with. In the grunge style, jeans had tears riddling the knees or upper thighs, thereby revealing boxer shorts. Many labels even sold pre-tattered jeans. The display of boxers was also associated with the trend of wearing large, ill-fitting pants that hung at the lowest part of the hips, whereas the boxer shorts still clung to the waist. Boot cut jeans became popular among urban women because of how they highlighted footwear, especially high-heeled boots. In 1998, hard jeans became quite popular. Wearers of these pants treasured the new, untouched look, and frequently took to ironing tight creases into the front of the legs, held well by the denim's stiffness.



Italian designer Gianni Versace along with his sister and business associate, Donatella Versace Beck, strolled through an exhibit of their work at the Fashion Institute of Technology, 1992. AP Photo.

Denim overalls, considered rather unfashionable a decade before, also became popular, especially with girls.

Clothing made of khaki became increasingly popular into the 1990s. Not as casual as T-shirts and jeans, khaki clothing could be worn in a variety of situations; by the end of the decade, entire suits made of khaki hit the market. Part of khaki's revival was due to a series of advertisements that depicted khaki as hip and exciting. The most popular line of TV ads, produced by The Gap, involved young, attractive dancers. The first in this line, which debuted in 1998, showcased khaki clothes in an elaborate dance to Louis Prima's swing classic "Jump, Jive, an' Wail." The ad was followed by similar displays to techno, hip hop, and other musical styles.

Clothing with professional sports team logos continued to be popular, including T-shirts, shorts, jackets, and socks. In addition, sports stars were hired, with great success, to publicize certain lines of clothing. Perhaps no company benefited more from ties to professional sports than the shoe company Nike, which associated itself with two of the highest profiles sportsmen of the decade, Tiger Woods and Michael Jordan. Jordan proved especially profitable for Nike, which created a shoe called the Air Jordan in 1984. In its

first year, the Air Jordan brought in $130 million for Nike and continues to be sold late into the first decade of the 2000s.

CONTEMPORARY CASUAL RETAIL

The turn toward more casual fashions breathed new life into some retail establishments, most notably, Gap Inc., which owned The Gap, Old Navy, and Banana Republic stores. The company had its strongest decade ever, ranking as the country's largest apparel retailer, earning $1.93 billion in 1990, but jumping to $11.64 billion by the end of the decade. The company marketed simple, comfortable, casual, good-looking clothes, such as khaki clothes, polo shirts, and even quality T-shirts and jeans. The Old Navy stores grabbed consumer attention with a line of kitschy television commercials and a semi-retro look. However, perhaps due to the dying down of the retro fad and the company's hesitancy to change the general look of its clothes, profits began dropping significantly for Gap Inc. in the early 2000s.[2]

Target department stores also gained a considerable reputation in the 1990s. The stores started as a competitor to Kmart and other discount department stores, but as the decade progressed, Target developed its own unique image. Like The Gap, Target exploited the somewhat retro look, emphasizing casual but fashionable apparel. As the decade ended, Target avoided the pitfalls of The Gap, successfully keeping its image fresh with a line of sharp, stylized TV commercials and continued innovation in its clothing lines. In the early 2000s, Target hired famed designer Todd Oldham to design a new line, thereby demonstrating that even fashion makers like Oldham still found Target a vital outlet.

HIP HOP

Hip hop fashion took hold in the 1990s, finding its largest market, not in the ghettos where it originated, but among middle-American suburban youth. Hip hop fashion allowed individual expression within an identifiable framework. Common elements included baggy denim pants and overalls, wool and baseball-style caps, and sports-style jerseys and jackets. Likewise, shoes were vital to the hip hop look, with Nike being the most popular brand.

One clothing label, Fubu, was formed by Carl Brown, Daymond John, J. Alexander Martin, and Keith Perrin, all under 30 years old, who came from a lower-middle-class background in Hollis, Queens, New York. Formed in 1992, Fubu, an acronym for "for us by us," quickly gained popularity, partly due to well-placed publicity. Fubu clothes were worn by rappers like LL Cool J and Busta Rhymes and pop stars like Mariah Carey. They also appeared on television programs.

The company also flourished due to the work of the four founders. Many consumers of hip hop clothing found an honesty in the founders who attempted to bridge street style with mainstream style. These men believed enough in their clothes to wear them regularly, rather than suits and ties. In 1998, the company's men's line made around $200 million. The founders of Fubu intended to reach an African American consumer base that had largely been ignored by most clothing manufacturers, but they were surprised when their clothing line found such an enthusiastic reception among white youth.

Fubu was not the only success in the field of hip hop fashion. Other companies, including Ecko Unlimited, Enyce, Mecca, Pelle Pelle, and Phat Farm also thrived. Phat Farm was founded by Russell Simmons, who had been instrumental in the creation of the major hip hop record label Def Jam. Another line, Sean John,



Rap star MC Lyte (sometimes credited as Lana Michele Moorer) wearing a hip hop style of the 1990s, with knit cap, oversized jacket, and baggy pants. Courtesy of Photofest.

was started by rapper Sean "P. Diddy" Combs. In all, hip hop fashion, sometimes called urban sportswear, brought in an estimated $5 billion a year by the end of the decade.

The Tommy Hilfiger brand also became associated with hip hop fashion, although by different means. Hilfiger had started in the 1980s with a line of preppy designs, but in 1992, these clothes were mentioned in a Grand Puba rap, and found new life in urban neighborhoods. So, too, did Ralph Lauren and Fila. However, in finding a new audience, these clothes also found a new aesthetic, which led to the clothes being worn in a different way than they traditionally had been (most commonly in oversize), or mixed with more common street-level urban clothing.[3]

GRUNGE, SKATE, RAVE, AND GOTHIC FASHION

Hip hop design was part of the growing trend in the 1980s and 1990s of developing street style into major markets. Next to hip hop, the most popular adapted style was grunge. The grunge look was most popular in the early years of the decade, though it held significant sway well into the new millennium. The look mimicked musicians of the Seattle grunge movement. In addition to low-riding, tattered jeans, flannel shirts were a major part of the style. Flannel shirts were worn loose over T-shirts, or tied around the waist. The original emissaries of grunge style were not trying to make a fashion statement; they were simply wearing the most comfortable shirts and pants. The trend faded mid-decade as designers like Marc Jacobs took the look to the high fashion catwalks.

The skater look was also popular with young people. One of the most significant companies exploiting this look, which had the bagginess of hip hop, but also the T-shirt and jeans look of grunge, was X-Large. In addition to describing how its oversized clothes fit, the name X-Large was a merging of the phrases "Gen-X" and "Living Large." The line started in 1991 with the opening of a Los Angeles X-Large store, which sold the company's own clothing, as well as other brands. The line quickly became popular among skateboarders, but it also got significant publicity from other celebrities. Mike D of the rap-rock group The Beastie Boys invested in the company and helped bring it to nationwide attention. The company opened a store in Tokyo in 1992 and one in New York in 1993. In 1994, it introduced the x-girl line for women.

The raver look, named after the culture of underground, after-hours dance parties, had started in England, but began waning in popularity there in the early 1990s. In the United States, its influence on fashion stayed strong throughout the decade. Most influential was the rave tendency toward loose-fitting clothing, from oversized T-shirts to baggy trousers worn low on the hips. A great deal of rave clothing emphasized bright colors, which matched well with the spirit of fun and high energy that raves represented, and the look also frequently drew from 1970s club fashions.



A girl wearing cyber-rave style, featuring a plastic look born from earlier club styles. Shutterstock.

Gothic, or Goth, clothing gained considerable attention, although the trend was not especially widespread. Rather, the publicity came as a result of the spate of high school shootings in the late 1990s. Several of the youths who had committed the violence were fans of bands like Marilyn Manson, who bore some similarities to the Gothic bands of the 1980s. In addition, the youths seemed to have a kind of common uniform, consisting of black clothes and dark trench coats.

Media, parents, and school officials looked for an explanation for the violence and found a scapegoat in the music and fashion enjoyed by goths. As a consequence, nearly any youth who listened to dark, aggressive music or wore black clothes or a trench coat, came under suspicion, despite the fact that few who did so entertained vicious thoughts of the magnitude of the shooters'. Although the fervor over Goth style died down as school shootings diminished, it added considerable energy to an ongoing debate about school uniforms.

SCHOOL UNIFORMS

Fears of a growing gang problem among American youths led many to endorse the idea of traditional school uniforms. They feared clothing might be a sign of gang affiliation, and felt that uniformity would reduce the potential for school violence. Additionally, it was believed that uniforms would diminish class distinctions, and keep students, particularly young girls, from wearing inappropriately revealing clothes, which became a growing issue in American schools in the 1990s, especially with the popularization of scantily clad singers like Britney Spears, the Spice Girls, and Christina Aguilera.

Proponents argued that uniforms would create a less distracting environment, that students would relate to each other on more legitimate grounds than fashion sense, and that they would have an easier time concentrating on academic pursuits. The trend toward school uniforms gained a considerable boost in 1996, when President Clinton announced his support. It did seem that uniforms produced a greater sense of order in school, but critics noted that they also reduced children's ability to make their own choices, which was part of the learning process. Others argued that uniform guidelines stripped students of a vital sense of individuality and identity. Uniforms were most widely adopted by private schools. Although a growing number of public schools adopted uniforms in the 1990s, most continued without, though many maintained some sort of dress code.[4]

TECHNOLOGY

Technological developments in fabrics influenced fashion. Gore-Tex, a synthetic material designed to be breathable and water- and windproof, was introduced in 1989 by W. L. Gore & Associates, and became very popular in the 1990s. Also in 1989, microfibers were introduced by I. E. duPont de Nemours & Company. This revolutionary development of fibers about one one-hundredth of the thickness of human hair, finer than the finest silk threads, served to refine polyester, nylon, acrylic, and other synthetic materials. Another important development was Lyocell, released under the trade name Tencel. Lyocell was developed as an environmentally safe fiber made from the pulp of trees grown specifically for this purpose.

Although the advances in actual clothing materials were tremendous, perhaps a greater technological advancement could be found in the fashion industry's relationship to ever-advancing computer technology. The apparel industry only began fully exploiting computer technology in the mid-1990s, but ultimately, the technology improved the distribution of goods. Computers proved invaluable for keeping track of shifting inventories. An important name in this dimension of the industry was SAP, a software developer that modified its existing systems to suit the needs of major companies, including footwear company Reebok and the VF Corporation, the force behind the Wrangler, Lee, JanSport, and Vanity Fair lines of apparel. The installation of the system increased both companies' revenues by streamlining their sales and distribution. Designers also used the Internet as a showroom and sales floor for their goods. At decade's end, virtually every major designer had a Web site on which consumers could browse products and order to size.[5]

Naturally, fashion design schools, including major institutions like the Parsons School of Design and the Fashion Institute of Technology, increasingly taught computer use to students. Computers became instrumental to the process of designing clothes. While some stuck to traditional methods, clothing designers began to use CAD computer systems to design more and more. Gap, Banana Republic, Polo Ralph Lauren, Calvin Klein, Tommy Hilfiger, and numerous others all used CAD.

JEWELRY

With the turn toward simplicity in dress came a new emphasis on accessorizing. Jewelry played an important role in the world of fashion, as it allowed individuals to truly express themselves. An "anything goes" attitude seemed to take hold during the decade when it came to jewelry. A great deal of modern jewelry borrowed its look from the jewelry of the past, but no specific era dominated. Brooches and chokers echoed the jewelry of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, while jewelry of the 1960s was also influential. Peace signs, for instance, made a comeback. So, too, did jewelry utilizing hemp twine and wooden beads. Christian iconography was popular, but so were images from other religions and cultures, from African, to Asian, to Celtic. There was an increased use of synthetic material, especially polymer clays, which could easily be formed and hardened into virtually any desired shape.

There was also considerable growth in the home manufacturing of jewelry. It was easier than ever to make one's own jewelry, given not only a number of home-jewelry kits on the market, but also the availability of home kilns, stationary torches, and low-temperature soldering torches. These made it easier for home jewelers to create their own beads and use metal work to create necklaces, earrings, bracelets, and other forms of jewelry.

COSMETICS

As fashion drifted toward simplicity, and muted colors dominated, the cosmetic industry offered earthier tones. For many women, natural tones were preferred when it came to lipstick and nail polish. However, there were times when women wished to use makeup as a way to express themselves. Several women became makeup entrepreneurs in the 1990s, largely driven by their dissatisfaction with the limited palette of cosmetics available to them. Dineh Mohajer started her company, Hard Candy, as a 22-year-old premed student. Her inability to find the nail polish colors she wanted led her to start mixing her own. She developed four bright pastels, called Lime, Sky, Sunshine, and Violet. Her customer base grew quickly as the line expanded. By the end of the decade, Hard Candy was a million dollar company. Mohajer also started a men's line of nail polish called Candy Man.[6] The same kind of dissatisfaction with available makeup prompted Sandy Lerner, who had co-founded the technology company Cisco Systems, and Wende Zomnir to launch their own company, Urban Decay, in 1996. Urban Decay created colors with an urban, industrial edge, including greens, purples, and grays. It began with 10 lipstick colors, 12 nail polishes, and an advertising slogan, "Does Pink Make You Puke?" The company also selected caustic names for its colors: Acid Rain, Frostbite, Oil Slick, Ozone, Shattered, Smog, Rust, and Roach. Urban Decay also expanded into other cosmetics.[7] The success of these companies led even venerable cosmetic lines, like Channel and Revlon, to experiment with edgier colors.

The cosmetic industry grew dramatically in the 1990s. Department stores had been the dominant retailer of such items in earlier decades, but now the industry was strong enough to support specialized outlets. Sephora was one of the first to enter the market, and it remained the most popular throughout the decade. The first Sephora store was opened in France in 1993 and was later acquired by the company Louis Vuitton Moet Hennessy (LVMH). The first American store was opened in New York City in 1998. Sephora's success was driven by its emphasis on wide selection, a knowledgeable staff, and the customers' ability to try products before purchasing them. By the decade's end, there were more than 70 Sephora stores in the United States and more than 400 internationally.[8]

HAIR

Hair also provided an outlet for self-expression. Hair extensions increased in popularity, particularly with African American women, in part driven by their use by a number of African America singers, including Patti LaBelle and Queen Latifah. Elaborate hair pieces, straight or braided, were weaved into the natural hair of many women.

Hair coloring continued to be popular as well, with use increasing about 70 percent over the course of the decade. This growth was in part attributed to aging baby boomers, but also younger women. Men increasingly turned to hair color as well. While gray hair might have been considered distinguished in certain circles, a growing number of men reacted negatively to the thought of going gray, and the market for men's hair color surged as a result. On television, advertisements for products to color men's hair, including facial hair, aired nearly as often as similar ads for women's hair color products.

Hair coloring was also popular for those simply seeking to change their look, either subtly or radically. Red was a popular hair color choice for women in the 1990s, which may have been driven in part by models and actresses. Actress Gillian Anderson of *The X-Files* contributed to an increase in the number of women with brassy red hair. Blonde was popular, particularly among teen and pre-teen girls. This was partially driven by the styles of Britney Spears and other young, blonde pop singers. Many of these singers, and their fashion followers among the general public, didn't hide the fact that their hair was dyed, frequently allowing their darker roots to show freely.

There was less of a tendency toward dramatic change among men, though younger men and boys frequently turned to coloring or bleaching their hair. In the early 1990s, surf-bum bleaching of longish hair took hold with followers of the grunge movement, but by the end of the decade, it was more popular to wear bleached hair short, lightly spiked, and with apparent dark roots. This look was popular among skaters and other extreme sports athletes, as well as among musicians. It could be seen on the heads of punk and hard rock musicians, as well as in more mainstream music, sported by such top acts as Ricky Martin and members of the singing group 'N Sync. Fashion has always been influenced by how celebrities dressed, but in the 1990s, this was far truer of hair. The average hairstyling magazine was filled with photos of celebrities, or models sporting styles deliberately copied from celebrities. Each new season of the sitcom *Friends* drew almost as much comment about actress Jennifer Aniston's hairstyle as the storylines.

TATTOOS AND PIERCING

Another important component of 1990s fashion was body scarring and adornment. Pierced ears had long been popular in the United States, but piercing of the nose or navel were considered fringe practices. However, in the 1990s, these



Young woman with mohawk hair styling, and piercing. Shutterstock.

kinds of piercings became increasingly popular. Young people embraced nose and navel piercing rather quickly, but the practice also grew among adults. More extreme piercings, like the impaling of the tongue with a small bar or metal ball, were less widely embraced, but still grew in popularity.

Tattooing also became a mainstream practice throughout most of the nation, in part encouraged by a growing number of celebrities, from sports stars to movie and TV actors. For many Americans, tattoos became just another means of self-expression and adornment. Of course, young Americans most frequently sported tattoos, but the practice even took hold among the middle-class, suburban professionals. More extreme forms of bodily mutilation, like body scarring, remained rare, but nonetheless experienced small growth, largely among those who saw the mainstreaming of tattooing and piercing and sought new forms of cultural rebellion.

THE BREAST ENHANCEMENT INDUSTRY

A multi-billion dollar industry developed in the 1990s centered on the size of women's breasts. The Wonderbra, designed to lift and pad a woman's breasts, was introduced in the United States in 1994 by Bali Brassiere Company, and spawned numerous copies and imitations. In 1998, retail sales of the Wonderbra and other makes exceeded $100 million. A silicone bra insert, called Curvec, also spawned numerous imitations, and this industry made $50 million in retail sales.[9]

Of course, these products merely created the illusion of size. Surgical breast augmentation provided for the actual increase in size that many women desired. Silicone pouches surgically implanted in breasts became enormously popular, even with the hefty $3,000–$4,000 price tag. To some detractors, the implants made breasts look unrealistic, while simultaneously raising serious health concerns. Frequently, implants resulted in the hardening of the breast, making it difficult for a recipient to lie down or raise her arms. The surgery carried the additional risk of reduced sensitivity, and the biological creation of fibrous tissue around the implant as a foreign body. Furthermore, the fear of saline or silicone leakage into breast tissue became real to many in the health community. In all, health experts estimated the chance of developing serious health risks from breast augmentation at between 30 percent and 50 percent. Despite these concerns, the demand for enlarged breasts continued, not at all surprising considering the continuing portrayal of women perpetrated by the TV and film industries and both men's and women's magazines. In 1999, more than 167,000 breast implants were performed, more than a 50 percent increase from just three years earlier.[10]

COSMETIC SURGERY

Cosmetic also surged in popularity by the end of the decade. With such surgery being so common, and even something that celebrities frequently spoke about openly, its stigma was reduced. A survey by the American Association of Plastic Surgeons suggested that as much as 57 percent of women and 58 percent of men approved of plastic surgery.[11] For many, the numbers were shocking and disturbing in their revelation of the number of women who felt that they needed surgery to improve their appearance. In 1999, about 2.2 million cosmetic surgery procedures were performed, a 153 percent increase from 1992. The most common procedure was liposuction, which was performed 230,865 times in 1999, an increase of 264 percent from 1992. The second most popular procedure was breast augmentation, and the third was surgery on the eyelids, called blepharoplasty. Also popular were face-lifts, which surgically tightened facial skin, and chemical peels, which stripped the top layers of facial skin away altogether. Perhaps one reason why cosmetic surgery was approved of is that it was a sign of affluence. All of these procedures were quite expensive, with a facelift commonly costing more than $5,000, and a chemical peel, the simplest of these procedures, costing roughly $1,300.[12] There was also burgeoning interest in Botox, a form of botulism injected into people's faces with the intention of paralyzing the muscles, thereby reducing the appearance of wrinkles. While the treatment did indeed lessen wrinkling, it also limited facial expressions.

BODY IMAGE

The rise of the supermodel continued throughout the 1990s, setting an unrealistic ideal to which many women aspired. Supermodels provided an utterly impractical model for most women, especially as the new supermodels seemed to get thinner and thinner, with a much lighter natural bone structure. The extreme case of thinning models came in a trend toward advertising with emaciated, almost skeletal models. A series of Calvin Klein print ads was credited with starting what came to be known as the "heroin chic" look. In these ads, the models were so thin that they looked like extremely unhealthy drug addicts. Calvin Klein's intention had been to counter conventional ideals of beauty, as suggested by the campaign slogan, "Just Be." Many Americans were repulsed by the ads, but they nonetheless had an impact. These were, after all, fashion models, and if sickly thin appeared in a fashion magazine ad, then some readers would certainly take sickly thin as fashionable.

In 1990, the average fashion model weighed 23 percent less than the average American woman, compared to a mere 8 percent difference from a quarter-century earlier.[13] There were two reasons for this. First, the 1980s and 1990s saw an increase in obesity. By 1990, the average American woman weighed more than she did 25 years earlier. At the same time, however, the average fashion model was getting lighter. The curves on fashion models of the 1950s, for instance, fell to the wayside in favor of a much narrower, sleeker look. The result was that a greater number of women than ever before fell short of the ideal being depicted in fashion magazines and also in movies, television broadcasts, and the world of pop music. In response, there was an increased emphasis placed on accepting one's body for what it was, and for acknowledging that the media image was only one standard of beauty. This was especially geared toward teenage girls, among which there were skyrocketing rates of anorexia and bulimia. The decade experienced a flood of articles and books that examined the beauty industry and its effects on the psychology of women and girls, most notably Naomi Wolf's *The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty Are Used Against Women* (1991).

The number of boys becoming obsessed with body image greatly increased in the 1980s and 1990s as well. The hyper-masculine men of action films and pro wrestling created as much of a gap between the ideal and the average male body as there was for women. As a result, many men, especially young men in their teens and early twenties, turned to bodybuilding. More disturbingly, more turned to the use of supplements and steroids. Some experts in youth psychology suggested that boys who failed to live up to the masculine image were more likely to see themselves as outcasts, which may have contributed to the rise in suburban teen violence during the decade.

Ultimately, for both men and women, body image became a much greater concern than ever before. Ironically, some who pursued dramatic means of matching the supermodel or muscle man ideal sought not to be extraordinary, but to match the image that was, in their eyes, normal. The normal bodies possessed by many of these individuals were regarded as inferior because the norm had been redefined by the carefully photographed, meticulously lighted, and sometimes airbrushed (or otherwise altered) images on magazine pages and TV and movie screens.

Young children were frequently exposed to exceptional ideals of beauty, partly in the media, but parents also played a part. Perhaps the most notable example of this was the growing world of children's beauty pageants. Pageants of this sort were quite popular at the beginning of the 1990s, and the popularity continued to grow until there were approximately 3,000 being held in the United States annually, with around 100,000 participants. The pageant business became a billion-dollar-a-year industry.[14] Children's beauty pageants suffered a sharp decline in 1997, however, largely due to the JonBenet Ramsey murder case. The six-year-old Ramsey was murdered in late 1996 in a case that was sensational enough for its brutality and mysteriousness. Contributing to the sensation was the fact that Ramsey had been a child beauty queen. The wide media coverage repeatedly showed footage of Ramsey strutting across stages, wearing garish makeup and scanty outfits, exuding sex appeal that seemed completely inappropriate for a six-year-old girl. Almost overnight, the growing fad of children's beauty pageants became something that many Americans found distasteful.

Food of the 1990s

In the 1990s, traditional fast food chains continued to expand their influence and new, higher class chain restaurants found their way into cities from coast to coast. Celebrity chefs, like Wolfgang Puck and Emeril Lagasse, got into the franchise game, not only with restaurants, but also with packaged foods in major supermarket chains.

However, the decade saw contradictory movements in nutrition. On one hand, eating healthy grew in popularity. A flood of low-fat, low-calorie packaged goods reached the supermarket shelves, restaurants paid more attention to the nutritional value of their offerings, and diet books and videos experienced increased sales. Yet, the decade also saw notable increases in nutrition-related health risks and growing obesity across all demographics.

The trend away from meals prepared from scratch continued unabated as the century came to a close. Many Americans were working longer hours and had a greater number of commitments. As a consequence, anything that made preparing meals easier seemed to sell. About 90 percent of the money spent by Americans on food in the 1990s went to processed goods—canned, frozen, or dehydrated. This was also true of the processed food found in fast food and other restaurants employing prepared goods. Americans seemed to be eating out much more, and as a consequence, the restaurant industry expanded considerably. Restaurants remained among the hardest small businesses to make succeed, but with the growth of chain restaurants and the change in Americans' dining patterns, the industry nonetheless found itself the largest employer of the 1990s. A 1998 report released by the National Restaurant Association projected total sales for the food service industry at $336.4 billion. By the end of the decade, the industry employed more than nine million people.[1]

Greatly influencing people's everyday diets, the consumption of sugar skyrocketed in the 1990s, particularly in the latter half of the decade. A study by the Department of Agriculture estimated that, by the decade's end, the average American consumed about 150 pounds of sugar annually, an increase of nearly 30 pounds from two decades earlier. As the American public became increasingly diet-conscious, the number of fat-free foods on the market also increased. However, in many cases, manufacturers simply replaced fat with sugar. Dieters looking for low-fat foods tended to overlook the high sugar content. The sugar increase was not merely the result of increased consumption of sweets; sugar was a common additive to many different kinds of food. Potato chips (and other potato products), meats, and even packaged vegetables saw sugar becoming a

common additive. A bestselling diet book called *Sugar Busters!,* published in 1998, brought considerable attention to this. The craze for fat-free food tempered somewhat as consumers paid increased attention to sugar content.[2] Nabisco even created a sugar-free version of its highly popular low-fat Snackwell cookies as awareness of sugar content increased.

READY-MADE FOODS

By the end of the decade, more than 9,000 new food products launched annually, but the percentage of food bought at supermarkets—as opposed to specialty stores, warehouse clubs, or chain stores like Wal-Mart—declined during the 1990s. The trend toward pre-packaged and prepared food continued to accelerate. A 2000 survey conducted by the Food Marketing Institute found that 62 percent of shoppers bought precut and ready-to-eat packaged vegetables once a month or more. Thirty-nine percent bought frozen side dishes, and 26 percent purchased pre-cooked or marinated, pre-seasoned ready-to-cook meat.[3]

One important development in the packaging of food was a new packing method sometimes called modified atmosphere packaging. This technique was instrumental in the increased prevalence of packaged salad mixes. The prewashed and prepared mixes ranged from simple iceberg lettuce varieties to more unusual mixes that included more exotic greens, dressing, croutons, and other toppings, giving consumers everything needed to prepare an elaborate salad. The Food Marketing Institute survey found that nearly half of all shoppers bought packaged salad mixes at least once a month.

For many children, the Oscar Mayer Lunchable became a popular substitute for the traditional parent-made school lunch. Lunchables offered a boxed lunch of crackers and cold cuts, cold burgers, hotdogs with buns, cold pizza, or nachos, with a drink (soda or juice), a dessert (cookies, chocolate bars, etc.), and occasionally, a small, cheap toy. In creating these simple food packages, Oscar Mayer exploited both the tastes of children and also parents' increasingly busy schedule. More than simply a desire for the food enclosed, children demanded Lunchables because marketing trained them to respond to the packaging.

Frozen diet foods saw a surge in popularity as well, with brand names like Lean Cuisine, Smart Ones, and Healthy Choice offering relatively healthy variations on the classic TV dinner. With the swell of vegetarians and vegans in the United States, many in the food industry sought to diversify so that they could cater to vegetarians as well as to meat eaters. Frozen vegetarian burgers, like Garden Burger and Boca, reached a wider audience, with products made of grain, vegetables, tofu, and texturized vegetable protein. Consumers could find vegetarian hot dogs, sausage, chicken nuggets, and other goods. Many restaurants added vegetarian entrees to their menus. In 1990, McDonald's changed the way it cooked its French fries. The chain switched from a high beef tallow cooking oil to a pure vegetable oil and used additives to simulate the flavor that had long made McDonald's fries so popular.[4]

By 1999, sales of frozen foods were overtaken by ready-made meals, prepared by supermarket delis and kept chilled and ready for reheating. These ready-made meals typically approximated a home-cooked meal better than did frozen foods, yet required little work in the kitchen. Many could be microwaved, but some required basic use of ovens or stove-tops. Although these products were all but finished, consumers could feel that they were actually cooking, which reduced the guilt behind instant foods. Moreover, consumers tended to think of these as fresher and healthier than frozen meals, though top quality frozen foods were flash-frozen using a process that maintained freshness and nutritional content.

The 1990s were also a golden age for that most portable of foods, the bar. Bars were nothing new, given the long-lived popularity of candy bars. But consumption of various bar-shaped foods increased notably in the decade, as did the variety. Cereal bars were among the most popular, catering to people who missed breakfast and those who simply wanted a sweet, relatively healthy snack. The bars were frequently modeled on the flavors and ingredients of traditional cereals, particularly those consisting of oats, nuts, and honey. The Kellogg Company was one of the strongest competitors in this market, particularly with

their Nutri-Grain line of bars. General Mills and Quaker, well-established makers of traditional granola bars, also came out with cereal bars. Diet bars, such as Slimfast, were designed to simulate the sweetness of a candy bar, thereby satiating the urge without imparting the caloric content. Moreover, these bars were often marketed as a high-nutrition meal substitute. Similarly, energy bars, such as PowerBars and Balance bars, found a considerable audience, especially among athletes and would-be athletes. These were seen as an excellent supplement to a high-protein diet.

The decade also saw an increase in the popularity of energy drinks. Traditional sports drinks like Gatorade were joined by new products like Red Bull and KMX. These energy drinks typically came in cans that were much smaller than a traditional soda can, but usually twice the price. Rather than simply offering a refreshing beverage, they promised to "vitalize the body and stimulate the mind," as Red Bull marketing claimed. Red Bull, originally from Austria, topped the energy drink market, due in part to a highly successful line of animated commercials praising Red Bull for "giving you wings" with its formula of high caffeine and taurine, an amino acid touted as a metabolic transmitter and detoxifier.[5]

Bottled iced teas also experienced a growth in popularity, largely due to an aggressive marketing campaign by the leading brand in the field, Snapple. Snapple iced teas incorporated a great variety of fruity and sweet flavors to attract a new type of tea drinker. Snapple packaging and advertising downplayed the old-fashioned image of iced tea, and for the first time in many years, tea became chic. Snapple and other companies were helped by the growing desire on the part of many Americans to develop healthier eating habits. People viewed tea as healthier than sodas or coffee, particularly green tea, which garnered praised for its high level of antioxidants. Hot teas, traditional and herbal, also experienced considerable market growth, with Lipton, Bigelow, and Celestial Seasonings dominating. Many tea manufacturers exploited the rising interest in herbal supplements. Celestial Seasoning, for example, developed a line of special Wellness Teas using increased amounts of ginseng, Echinacea, valerian root, and other herbal additives. The claims made by these teas and other herbal remedies were not evaluated by the Food and Drug Administration, but this lack seemed to have little effect on consumers.

FOOD HIGHLIGHTS OF THE 1990s

1990 Birmingham, Alabama, is home to more than 60 Chinese restaurants.

1991 Sales of salsa are reported to outpace those of ketchup.

1991 The USDA replaces its "Basic Four" nutritional pie chart with a food pyramid that places new importance on vegetables, legumes, fruits, and grains.

1994 The FDA reports that the Flavr Savr, a tomato developed through biotechnology, is as safe for human consumption as conventional hybridized tomato varieties.

1995 Kraft Foods brings out DiGiorno, the first frozen pizza with a self-rising crust.

1996 Leroy, New York, the birthplace of JELL-O, opens the JELLO-O Museum, which features artwork by Maxfield Parrish and Norman Rockwell.

1997 *Emeril Live,* hosted by celebrity chef Emeril Lagasse and showcasing his "New New Orleans" cuisine and animated cooking style, debuts on the Food Network.

1997 Coca-Cola estimates that it sells one billion servings of its product worldwide on a daily basis.

1997 Scribner publishes the sixth edition of the bestselling *Joy of Cooking,* by Irma S. Rombauer, Marion Rombauer Becker, and Ethan Becker, and promises that, in the new edition, "every chapter has been rethought with an emphasis on freshness, convenience, and health."

1999 Lipton invents "Cold Brew" and calls it "the ultimate ice-tea time saver," tea that can be brewed in cold water.

1999 General Mills introduces Go-Gurt, "portable" yogurt that's squeezed and eaten from a plastic sleeve.

FAST FOOD

By the end of the 1990s, Americans were spending about $110 billion dollars on fast food. In his book, *Fast Food Nation: The Dark Side of the All-American Meal,* Eric Schlosser suggested that "Americans now spend more money on fast food than on higher education, personal computers, computer software, or new cars. They spend more on fast food than on movies, books, magazines, newspapers, videos, and recorded music—combined."[6]

Children had long been a prime target for fast food marketing. Advertisers realized that the ability to coax a child into a restaurant meant not only a sale of food to that child but also to one or more parents. Certainly, McDonald's, by employing its clown mascot Ronald McDonald and building restaurants with playgrounds, appealed to children. McDonald's further encouraged visits to the restaurants with Happy Meals, a child-sized meal that included a toy, often a tie-in from a popular children's movie or cartoon character. In the 1990s, Happy Meals experienced unprecedented popularity. More than simply including traditional toys featuring the McDonald's cast of characters—Ronald, the Hamburglar, Grimace, and others—the company joined with major toy manufacturers in the 1990s to boost their sales. McDonald's association with Disney proved successful, as movie-related toys in Happy Meals not only boosted McDonald's sales but also served as vital promotion of Disney movie productions. In 1996, McDonald's and the Walt Disney Company forged a 10-year agreement, giving the fast food chain exclusive rights to Disney film characters for the purpose of promotions like Happy Meal toys. With these and other toys, McDonald's emphasized the "collect them all" mentality, thereby tapping not only into children's interests, but also into a collectors' market. Indeed, the collectors' market for McDonald's toys grew enormously in the 1990s, with the publishing of at least five different price guides devoted to McDonald's paraphernalia. Even adults bought them. In 1997, McDonald's Happy Meals sales leapt when they featured highly popular, collectible Beanie Babies. Whereas McDonald's typically sold about 10 million Happy Meals a week, a 10-day period in April 1997 saw about 100 million Happy Meal sales.[7]

As much as competing fast food chains fought for market shares, they were also battling to have exclusive rights to tie their products to the latest blockbuster movie, popular television show, or toy craze. Taco Bell introduced several new food items in the 1990s, but none of these came close to the marketing boon that accompanied the chain's association with the long-awaited new *Star Wars* movie. Television ads for Taco Bell, as well as for KFC (Kentucky Fried Chicken) and Pizza Hut (all three owned by Tricon Global Restaurants, Inc.), essentially served as ads for the movie. Taco Bell sales increased due to the various *Star Wars* goodies that could be attained at the restaurants.

McDonald's forged ties with the Fox Kids Network and Klasky-Csupo, the producer of *Rugrats* and *The Simpsons,* while Burger King linked with Nickelodeon and *Pokémon.* Restaurant chains also allied themselves with sports leagues and events: for example, McDonald's with the National Basketball Association and the Olympics; Wendy's with the National Hockey League' Denny's with Major League Baseball; and the triumvirate of KFC, Pizza Hut, and Taco Bell with the National Collegiate Athletic Association.[8]

Restaurants were not the only sector of the food industry to build associations with non-food businesses. Products from chips, to cereal, to sodas attempted to gain an edge in marketing by displaying, for instance, sports stars or cartoon characters on their packaging. As in the case with the Happy Meal, traditional cereal box toys increasingly had some larger association, and many products had some kind of mail-in offer, in which toys or other goods would be rewarded with a certain number of proofs-of-purchase.

It was clear by the start of the decade that fast food had, for all intents and purposes, conquered the United States; now it was time to conquer the world. American fast food chains expanded internationally like never before. In 1993, McDonald's opened 193 new restaurants, but of these, only 50 were opened within the United States. Taco Bell also successfully opened locations in Mexico.

OTHER CHAINS

The growth of the market for chain restaurants was not limited to fast food. Other major chains grew considerably in the 1990s. Increasingly, cities across the country came to have the same restaurants, much as they came to have the same department stores, the same hardware stores, and the same bookstores. Many of these chains had their start in earlier decades, but the 1990s saw an unprecedented acceleration in their growth. T.G.I. Friday's is one example whose first location opened in 1965, its second in 1970, and its 169th restaurant in 1990, including several international locations. In 1998, it opened its 500th restaurant.[9]

The decade saw an explosion in the number of Outback Steakhouses, Red Lobsters, Olive Gardens, and other chain restaurants. The success of these restaurants relied on the quality of the food and atmospheres, which took a large step beyond anything available at fast food restaurants, or even the coffee-shop style of Denny's and the like. These restaurants provided a casual sit-down atmosphere, with menus that offered variety, but were familiar. Visitors to a town might not know which of the local restaurants to choose, but they could certainly walk into a familiar chain restaurant with a good idea of both the quality and the selection. Of course, the proliferation of chain restaurants diminished the individuality of a given locale, creating a kind of culinary homogeneity nationwide. Naturally, local restaurant owners also resented the competition of the chains, which made it harder to entice diners into trying someplace new. The chains also had a competitive advantage because the volume of their business allowed them to offer large meals at affordable prices. The larger portions served at these restaurants contributed to a trend as many independent restaurants were forced to offer larger portions in order to compete.

Many of the restaurant chains were part of a single parent company. KFC, Pizza Hut, and Taco Bell all fell under the auspices of Tricon Global. Brinker International, known as Chili's, Inc. until a name change in 1991, owned not only the Chili's restaurant chain, but also Romano's Macaroni Grill, On The Border, and others. By the end of the decade, Brinker owned more than 1,000 restaurants, more than 700 of which were Chili's. Likewise, Darden Restaurants owned Red Lobster, The Olive Garden, and others. By 1994, Darden made more than $1 billion in revenue. At the end of the century, the company operated more than 1,000 restaurants.

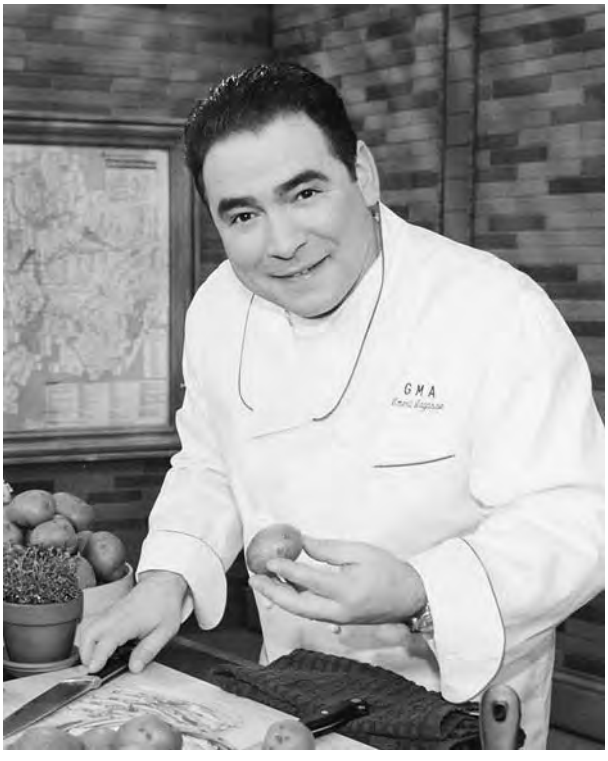
However, the largest non-fast food restaurant group was the Advantica Restaurant Group, which acquired the Denny's restaurant chain in 1987. At the time, Denny's suffered a serious image problem, plagued by high-profile charges of racism. In 1993, these charges reached a peak when six black men accused an Annapolis Denny's of discrimination. Worse still, the six men were Secret Service officers who were to protect the president later that day. The publicity was a public relations disaster, affecting the entire company. In the following years, Denny's instituted high-profile efforts to clean up their tarnished image, including the hiring of a greater number of minorities both in individual restaurants, and in all levels of company management. Denny's also instituted a program of sensitivity training for all employees. By the end of the decade, the racism charges were largely forgotten, and Denny's netted record-breaking revenues.[10] And, by the end of the decade, Advantica owned thousands of restaurants across the United States and internationally.

CELEBRITY CHEFS

Chefs frequently became celebrities starting in the 1980s. The trend accelerated in the 1990s as chefs had unprecedented access to mass media. Emeril Lagasse, for instance, attracted viewers to his cooking show, not only through his culinary skills, but also by his boisterous presentation, punctuated with shouts of "Bam!", a catchphrase that would become more associated with Lagasse than any of his signature dishes. Lagasse's popularity grew rapidly in the 10 years that followed the opening of Emeril's Restaurant in March 1990. He opened his second restaurant two-and-a-half-years later, and in 1993, he published his first cookbook, *Emeril's New New Orleans Cooking*. That year, he began hosting his own

cooking show, *The Essence of Emeril,* on the new cable television Food Network. In the years that followed, Lagasse opened several new restaurants and published numerous books. His television show gained unrivalled popularity for a cooking show, with *Time* magazine calling it one of the 10 best shows in 1996. In 2001, Lagasse was the first chef ever to be given his own television sitcom. The NBC show *Emeril* flopped, but the fact that executives thought it worth producing in the first place demonstrated just how popular Lagasse had become, and it also served as notice to the new status of the celebrity chef.[11]

In addition to running their own restaurants and appearing on their own television shows, celebrity chefs marketed products through supermarket outlets. Wolfgang Puck pioneered this movement. The chef behind the famed restaurant Spago used his fame to sell a line of frozen pizzas in the late 1980s and later branched out with a popular line of canned soups. Emeril Lagasse sold his jarred pasta sauces, as did Paul Prudhomme, with his line of Cajun spices and seasoning blends. Other restaurateurs also got into the supermarket game. For instance, California Pizza Kitchen brought something new to the world of frozen pizzas. In a market that seemed already overcrowded, the small company, originally started as a Southern California restaurant, offered pizzas with unusual toppings: Thai Chicken, Portobello Mixed Mushroom, BBQ Chicken, and others. They created a sound niche, aided by a major distributor, Kraft Foods.



Emeril Lagasse was one of the first celebrity chefs of the 1990s, helping to make the new Food Network on cable television a success. In later years, he also began appearing on ABC's *Good Morning America*. Courtesy of Photofest.

Some fast food companies got into the supermarket business. Taco Bell, for instance, began selling its own brands of hot sauce and taco shells in major American supermarkets. These products were immediate successes due to brand familiarity.

COFFEE CULTURE AND STARBUCKS

One of the greatest culinary forces in the 1990s was a coffee company started in Seattle, Washington. The company, Starbucks Coffee, opened its first location in 1971 and started a gradual expansion in the 1980s, changing its approach in the hopes of nurturing a coffee bar culture similar to that in Europe. In the late 1980s and 1990s, the number of independent coffee shops seemed to grow exponentially, but Starbucks quickly became the powerhouse in the market. At the end of the 1980s, the company had 55 locations. In 1991, Starbucks opened its first airport location in Seattle. In 1993, it received enormous assistance in its climb to become the nation's most successful coffeehouse chain through its alliance with Barnes & Noble bookstores. Barnes & Noble built numerous chain bookstores in the 1990s, and with their emphasis as much on atmosphere as on product, the stores frequently included a Starbucks cafe. Partnerships with other corporations were significant to Starbucks' success, such as its partnership with Dreyer's Grand Ice Cream to produce what would quickly become the number one brand of coffee-flavored ice cream in the nation; with Pepsi to market a bottled version of Starbucks' Frappuccino beverage, and with other companies, including Kraft Foods and Albertson's grocery stores. Starbucks also expanded overseas, establishing locations not only in Europe, but in such unlikely



Customers sip coffee, read the morning papers, and work on their laptop computers at a Starbucks in New York City. AP Photo.

places as the Philippines, Thailand, Kuwait, and Lebanon. By the end of the decade, Starbucks had 2,135 locations, a number that would more than double in the first two years of the new millennium.[12] Starbucks coffee also appeared on many grocery stores' shelves. Starbucks was the target of the same sort of criticism leveled against most major chain retailers: it forced independent coffee houses out of business, and that it contributed to an unhealthy national homogeneity.

CRAFT BEER

The late 1980s and early 1990s were an era of beer connoisseurship, as reflected by the number of microbreweries spreading across the country. In the 1990s, the major beer sellers—Coors, Budweiser, and Miller—continued to dominate, but not without a surge in the market for lesser-known brands of beer, coming from every corner of the country. Some microbreweries proved so successful that they could no longer truthfully consider themselves micro, the term "craft beer" proving much more suitable. The largest of these was the Boston Brewing Company, makers of Samuel Adams Lager. Brewer Jim Koch once suggested that the cutoff for being considered a microbrewery should be 15,000 barrels a year, believing that "Sam Adams will never get that big." But, as the new millennium began, about 1.2 million barrels were being produced by the Boston Brewing Company.[13]

Other companies that surged to the top of the craft brew market were Sierra Nevada Brewing Company, New Belgium Brewing Company, Deschutes Brewery, Alaskan Brewing Company, Redhook Ale Brewery, and Harpoon Brewery.[14] While many craft brewers had their start in the 1980s, some of the strongest had much earlier origins, including Jacob Leinenkugel and FX Matt, both of which started in the late nineteenth century. The popularity of craft beer in the latter decades of the twentieth century gave these older companies a market boost. The late 1990s, however, saw a significant slowdown in the popularity of microbreweries. Many small brewers folded, but others persevered, largely because microbrewers were frequently not people who got into the business to make a quick profit, but because of their love of beer and brewing. Still, a 2000 survey by

the Institute for Brewing Studies in Boulder, Colorado, found that 21 new microbreweries opened that year, while 31 folded. As a result of this trend, many microbreweries returned to an older strategy of catering to a regional customer base.

SODA

Soda consumption continued to grow in the 1990s, reaching an estimated annual rate of 56 gallons a person at the end of the decade. Fast food chains provided a considerable outlet for soda companies, giving them exclusive rights to their restaurants. Such arrangements were extremely profitable to both the restaurant chains and the soda companies, as soft drinks offered the highest profit margin of all goods sold. Soft drink companies targeted every possible outlet, even some elementary and high school campuses. (See Advertising of the 1990s.) The soft drink market became fiercely competitive and an actively hostile one for smaller soda producers. By the decade's end, more than 90 percent of the soda market was controlled by Coke, Pepsi, and Cadbury-Schweppes.[15]

The increased soda consumption marked a disturbing trend, especially among the nation's youth. A 1997 study showed that sodas constituted more than 27 percent of Americans' beverage consumption, averaging out to the equivalent of more than 576 cans of soda a year per person. Males age 12 to 24 were the greatest consumers of sodas, averaging two and a half cans per day. This was particularly alarming when it came to children and young teens. As soda consumption increased, consumption of other more nutritious beverages, such as milk and juice, decreased. Soda's high sugar and calorie content and low nutrient count, led many to raise warnings about the poor dietary habits of American youths.[16]

DIET AND NUTRITION

Nutrition in general seemed under siege in the 1990s, as more and more Americans consumed a great deal of soda, fast food, high-fat snacks, and packaged foods. Warnings abounded about the accelerating trend of obesity in Americans, especially in children—a rate far outpacing that of Europeans. Poor diets led to increases in heart disease, bone loss, dental problems, and other health challenges frequently attributed to eating habits. A 1996 survey of American youth found that they fell far short of government diet recommendations. Only 36 percent of boys and 14 percent of girls consumed the recommended daily calcium intake. Only 34 percent of boys and 33 percent of girls ate the recommended serving of vegetables.[17] Poor diet combined with a decrease in the amount of physical exercise produced an embarrassingly unhealthy condition for the wealthiest nation in the world.

For many, it became nearly impossible to maintain a healthy diet in the 1990s. Certainly, it became far easier for many Americans to purchase fast food or packaged microwavable meals than it was to prepare a full meal from scratch. This was particularly true in the increasing number of households in which all adults worked. Many Americans turned to dietary and vitamin supplements to make up for the nutrients they did not get in the food they ate. The industry also produced special packaged pill cocktails, advertised as providing energy or boosting mental prowess, which frequently consisted, not only of vitamins and minerals, but also of herbal compounds. Companies marketed dietary supplements at athletes as a healthy alternative to steroid use.

The growing rate of obesity in the nation notwithstanding, Americans put themselves on diets in unprecedented numbers. This can be in part attributed to the images of both men and women in the media. Thin fashion models and actresses had long provided an unrealistic exemplar of beauty and health. (See Fashion of the 1990s.) Increasingly at the end of the century, this was also true of the depiction of men.

The 1990s began as a time of anti-fat paranoia. The most popular diets were those that called for a dramatic reduction in fat intake. Consumption of chicken and other fowl increased, largely due to the lower fat content than that in beef and other red meats.[18] However, a small but growing number of diet books argued that fat-free diets were problematic, ultimately not working well. Rather, these diets proposed that carbohydrates were the real source of a fattening public, and called for a severe reduction, along with increased

protein consumption. Among these books were Robert C. Atkins's *New Diet Revolution* (actually introduced in a somewhat different form in the 1970s), Barry Sears's *The Zone,* Rachael F. Heller and Richard F. Heller's *The Carbohydrate Addict's Diet,* and Michael R. Eades and Mary Dan Eades's *Protein Power.*

The market for dietary drugs boomed during this period, but there were considerable concerns about the safety. Few felt that they provided as beneficial weight reduction as adjustments in diet and exercise, and some diet drugs were proven actively harmful to their consumers. Some dietary drugs that actually led to weight loss, but several were linked to liver disease, kidney disease, respiratory and coronary damage, and other problems. One of the more notorious dietary drugs "Fen-Phen," a cocktail of Pondimin and Redux (which individually were targeted for health risks), was found to result in high blood pressure, irregularities in heart rate, insomnia, tremors, nervousness, headaches, seizures, heart attacks, strokes, and other symptoms in certain consumers. First introduced in 1996, Fen-Phen later became the subject of several major class-action suits. So, too, did the diet drug Meridia, which was introduced in 1998 and soon came under suspicion of causing, in combination with other factors, many deaths. Despite warnings, consumption of these drugs continued, as did the obsession with thinness on the part of consumers, and the lure of profit on the part of manufacturers outpaced health concerns.

BIOENGINEERING

The advent of bioengineering altered the way people thought about food and nutrition. The most significant name in bioengineering in the 1990s was the Monsanto corporation, which took pioneering steps in the genetic manipulation of crops. Essentially, Monsanto examined how foreign DNA could be introduced into crop species, thereby altering crops. With the growing world population, there was considerable interest in producing food at a greater rate. Moreover, geneticists hoped that their efforts could not only increase food production but also make engineered vegetables more nutritious. Or perhaps crops could be engineered so that their growth and harvest would not strip soil of its nutrients, or so that they could grow in otherwise hostile environments, thereby using farm land more efficiently. Crops could also potentially be made extra-resistant to harsh weather or insects. Maybe different subspecies could be engineered based on the eventual uses of a crop: a subspecies of corn, for instance, engineered for human consumption, another for animal feed, and another for processed foods like corn syrup. In short, the possibilities for bioengineered food were staggering. And these possibilities prompted Monsanto to turn the whole of the company's assets to biotechnology, investing $8 billion dollars in seed processing.

The company's efforts were met with ideological opposition, not unlike the opposition facing the advances in animal cloning during the 1990s, particularly the 1996 cloning of Dolly the sheep. Many were worried about the risks of "playing God" that they saw as inherent in tampering with nature. Fears likewise arose about the potential damage that altered plant life might have on the natural environment, on other plants and animals, and on entire ecosystems.

These fears were amplified as evidence mounted that some bioengineered corn produced a natural pesticide harmful to monarch butterflies and other beneficial insect populations. Opposition also came from certain nations. Japan ruled that genetically altered foodstuff would have to be labeled as such, and several corporations, such as brewers Kirin and Sapporo, announced that they would not use genetically engineered materials. This was also true of several Mexican companies that traditionally imported corn from the United States. Within the United States, companies like Gerber and H. J. Heinz, producers of baby food, also refused to use genetically engineered corn or soy. Kraft taco shells containing modified corn that had not been approved for human consumption were part of a high-profile, high-publicity recall. Worst of all for the bioengineering business was the European Union's decision to stop importing any American corn, coming on the heels of its ban on American beef raised using growth hormones.

These events ultimately resulted in the dissipation of Monsanto. Its resulting financial troubles

forced it to merge with Pharmacia & Upjohn, a major drug company that sold off much of the company's agricultural assets.

Milk also came under unusual scrutiny in the 1990s, even as it hit upon its most popular advertising campaign ever. Print advertising showing various celebrities sporting a milk moustache spurred consumption of milk (See Advertising of the 1990s), but many were questioning just how healthy milk actually was. Monsanto had developed a hormone (IGF-1) to increase milk production in cows. Some claimed that the hormone increased risks of breast and prostate cancer. These claims were disputed, especially by Monsanto, but they still carried enough weight that many other nations, including Canada, refused to use it, making the United States the only major developed nation to allow it. Consequently, many consumers turned to organically produced milk, but even this raised worries. Even without the hormone, critics attacked milk for its high fat content. A study by the Center for Science in the Public Interest claimed that one cup of whole milk carried as much detrimental fat as five strips of bacon, and a glass of two percent milk as much as three strips. Those who criticized milk made a case for calcium intake through the consumption of green vegetables.[19]

Music

of the 1990s

NIRVANA

In its May 13, 1999, issue, *Rolling Stone* magazine proclaimed singer/songwriter Kurt Cobain its "Artist of the Decade."[1] Perhaps there is no better place to begin a treatment of music in the 1990s than with Cobain, not only for his popularity as the front man for the band Nirvana but also as a representative of changes happening in the music industry. A great deal of music that had previously been directed to a niche audience—not only alternative rock and pop, but also soul, country, rap, and more—turned mainstream. Although Nirvana was not the sole reason for this, the band greatly influenced the opening up of mainstream media to new kinds of music.

Alternative rock, which had its roots in the punk rock and new wave of the 1970s and early 1980s, had, by the start of the 1990s, established a strong outlet, mostly through college radio and a few commercial stations. It is primarily through these alternative commercial and college stations that bands like Nirvana were first heard by many listeners, but it is a single song, with an aggressive guitar riff, bleak lyrics, and Cobain's screaming voice that made much of America sit up and take notice. The single, "Smells Like Teen Spirit," from the 1991 album *Nevermind,* seemed to become an anthem virtually overnight for the nation's malaise and particularly for America's youth. The song also signaled that supposed niche music could indeed find a wider audience, and even, as was the case with *Nevermind,* achieve enormous commercial success.

Nirvana formed in the late 1980s, as part of Seattle's Sub Pop scene. The Sub Pop record label had made a name for itself by working with numerous bands whose inspirations came in part from punk, but also infused other musical styles, especially the melodies of 1970s hard rock, into the mix. The most notable of these bands was Soundgarden, which predated Nirvana.

Nirvana's first album, *Bleach* (1989) was immediately well-received by alternative radio, but lacked the spirit and the catchy songwriting that would later bring the band its great acclaim. Two years and two EPs later, Nirvana released *Nevermind,* which eventually sold more than seven million copies. On this record, original members Cobain and Chris (later Krist) Novoselic were joined by drummer Dave Grohl, and the music coalesced into a melodic wall of sound. "Smells Like Teen Spirit," the opening track, demonstrated a hallmark of Cobain's writing style, alternating between clean guitar chords, with lyrics sung in a lazy, mumbled style, and then an explosion of distortion and shrieking. Formula aside, the key to the song and the band's success was Cobain's

sense of melody. Behind the aggression and the noise was a remarkably well constructed pop song. Listeners found themselves humming along based on the strong melody. The Cobain formula resulted in numerous hits from *Nevermind* and its follow-up album, *In Utero.*

Part of Nirvana's appeal was the implied lack of control suggested by Cobain's lyrics. Self-deprecation, paranoia, disassociation, and even a sense of contempt for the world of pop music and its fans haunted his songs. That lack of control manifested itself in Nirvana's music and Cobain's life. The less commercially successful *In Utero* seemed more fragile and lacked the self-control of *Nevermind,* which also likely reflected the instability of Cobain's mental and emotional state. Although the band's performance on the TV show *MTV Unplugged* would later be released as a CD, *In Utero* would be their final studio record. Cobain fell further under the thrall of drug, health, and emotional problems, and in April 1994, he killed himself in his Seattle home.[2]

Cobain's death sent shockwaves across the country. His suicide at the age of 27, followed by a fan-based funeral vigil and an around-the-clock tribute on MTV, led many to proclaim Cobain the latest in a long line of rock 'n' roll martyrs. Those associated with Nirvana went on to other projects: Novoselic formed a band called Sweet 75. Grohl found enormous success with his new band, Foo Fighters. Cobain's widow, Courtney Love, found continued fame as the front woman for the band Hole and as a minor film actress in movies like *The People vs. Larry Flynt* (1996).

GRUNGE AND ALTERNATIVE HARD ROCK

The term *grunge* came to be applied to numerous bands that came to light during the early 1990s, especially those coming out of Seattle's Sub Pop label. Several grunge bands, including Soundgarden, Alice in Chains, and Stone Temple Pilots, found considerable commercial success, in part due to Nirvana's trailblazing. Second only to Nirvana in fame was Pearl Jam, led by singer Eddie Vedder. Pearl Jam's melodies drew more from heavy metal and 1970s rock than Nirvana's. They opted for pseudocerebral existential sensitivity rather than Cobain's self-deprecating humor. The real appeal of Pearl Jam was Vedder's almost hyper-emotive vocals. Pearl Jam's 1991 debut *Ten,* which sold more than 6 million copies, offered up a sense of seriousness and profundity. It was clear from *Ten* and the records that followed, including *Vs.* (1993) and *Vitalogy* (1994), which both entered the charts at number one, that Pearl Jam took itself seriously and warmed up to its commercial success far more easily than Cobain.[3]

The success of grunge also opened doors for bands with an equally aggressive sound that might not be strictly considered grunge. Smashing Pumpkins, for instance, melded grunge, 1970s rock, and the gothic rock sound of the 1980s. Smashing Pumpkin's songs on their debut *Gish* (1991) and their two-disc concept album *Mellon Collie and the Infinite Sadness* (1995) were marked by deep (and often bleak) introspection and rage, but what particularly stood out was front man Billy Corgan's thin and reedy, yet hypnotic, voice.

Rage Against The Machine, a multiethnic band, mixed hardcore punk, hip hop, and heavy metal with a dash of reggae and fiery political lyrics, literally raging against the establishment. Political polemics were not widespread in the pop music of the 1990s, making Rage Against The Machine an anomaly. The band's self-titled debut in 1992 introduced themes to which it would return frequently: social injustice, power politics, and especially racism. Rage Against The Machine often played benefit concerts and openly protested what they saw as unjust, such as the imprisonment of Native American activist Leonard Peltier.[4]

Similar in sound, if not in politics, to Rage Against The Machine were a number of new hard rock bands that blended crunching guitars with hip hop beats and vocals. Korn gained a large following among men in their late teens and early twenties. Korn's unrelentingly aggressive music and lyrics, along with occasional interesting instrumentation—singer Jonathan Davis played bagpipes—made them a mainstay of hard rock radio. Their third album, *Follow the Leader* (1998), debuted at the top spot of *Billboard* magazine's list of top 200 albums and spawned the hit singles "Got the Life" and "Freak on a Leash." Leaning more heavily on rap were rap-rock performers like Insane Clown Posse, known as much for their costumes and makeup as for their music,

IT CAME FROM SEATTLE

Grunge came roaring out of the American Northwest in the mid-1980s and peaked in the early 1990s as a rejection of the dominant glam metal look and sound of the "hair bands." The music fused the raw energy and lyrical content of punk with the edgy angularity of metal, and it drew on such seminal 1980s rock acts as the Pixies, Sonic Youth, and the Melvins to create a raw new style. Grunge was also identified with the slacker chic image of ripped denim, flannel shirts, knit caps, and work boots. As the music's popularity spread, so did grunge style, even reaching the runways of the world's fashion capitals. The punk ethic of the bands and the Seattle fans that helped birth the scene made many of them denounce the worldwide spread of their city's sound. Interestingly, it wasn't until the British music paper *Melody Maker* described the burgeoning Seattle sound in 1989 that many Americans took notice.

While grunge became popular worldwide, Britpop emerged in the mid-1990s as, in part, a self-conscious rejection of the dour lyrics and introspective moodiness of the grunge bands. British acts such as Blur and Oasis brought Beatles-esque sunshine to the rock landscape, while acknowledging that their sound was in part inspired by and reaction against the grunge aesthetic.

Meanwhile, Australian youth were heavily exposed to the Seattle sound and look, and they took to it. Australian rockers Silverchair are counted among the more notable early successes of the post-grunge movement. That genre tended to be more slickly packaged and produced but was indebted to the intense heart of grunge.

and Kid Rock, who also threw a country twang into the mix.

The music of Marilyn Manson incorporated the same power guitar riffs, musical noise, and distorted vocals often found in the noise-laden industrial pop of the late 1980s. Marilyn Manson (born Brian Hugh Warner), the man whose stage name leant itself to the band, became as well known for his costuming, which combined



Lead singer of the shock rock band Marilyn Manson performs at OzzFest '97 at Giants Stadium, in 1997, in East Rutherford, New Jersey. AP Photo.

drag queen with horror movie walking undead, and onstage antics. The sex-and-death motif of their music, shows, appearance, and stage names earned Marilyn Manson widespread publicity, but they also raised the ire of parents and community leaders. Performances by the band were barred in several areas, and its music was linked to several acts of high school violence. The criticisms spread to include all gothic music, and although Marilyn Manson had little to do with the gloomy gothic rock that was born in the 1980s, the term gothic came to be identified with similar bands.[5]

THE MAINSTREAMING OF ALTERNATIVE ROCK

Prior to the 1990s, alternative rock had largely been the domain of the college radio stations and commercial alternative stations that were mostly confined to coastal urban areas, such as Los Angeles and New York. But the 1990s saw large corporations coming to control local stations, with

stations playing the same alternative rock from region to region. Alternative rock festivals, like Lollapalooza and several festivals starting in 1994 under the name "Woodstock," became some of the most successful live music events in the nation. The crass commercialism of Woodstock '99 and the widespread violence and vandalism that took place at the festival, however, proved it to be much different than its namesake.

MTV, corporate radio, and rock festival tours contributed to a growing homogeneity, even in the traditionally eclectic and localized world of alternative rock. This encouraged the popularity of bands that were only mildly alternative, veering closer to an adult-contemporary sound, such as Hootie & the Blowfish.

The Dave Matthews Band, led by Matthews, a South African relocated to Charlottesville, Virginia, garnered much attention for its multicultural, multi-ethnic lineup, including a saxophonist and a violinist. The band's base was acoustic rock, but its influences included folk, jazz, and world music. With early independent releases, including its debut, *Remember Two Things* (1993), the Dave Matthews Band developed a fanatic following, even though they had yet to gain much radio airplay. With *Under the Table and Dreaming* (1994) and *Crash* (1996), the band established itself as a one of the most popular bands in the world, reflected both on radio and the band's near-constant touring. By the end of the decade, the group's musical virtuosity, catchy songs, and its front man's affable nature routinely packed venues.

WOMEN IN ROCK

The strong female presence in alternative music during the 1990s is perhaps best represented by the establishment of an annual festival primarily devoted to women's music: Lilith Fair. The festival was primarily the brainchild of Sarah McLachlan. Her first album, *Touch* (1988), made her a pop star in her native Canada; her follow-ups *Solace* (1991) and *Fumbling Towards Ecstasy* (1994) established her in the United States. These layered, guitar- and piano-driven records prominently featured McLachlan's rich, airy voice, and introspective and frequently melancholy lyrics. McLachlan became a strong proponent of women's music and argued that the music industry, particularly in terms of live performance, was not kind to female artists other than those whose prime asset was their sex appeal, like the Spice Girls and Britney Spears. Lilith Fair was her attempt to rectify this, at least in part.

The popularity of Lilith Fair, as well as that of McLachlan and other female singers, like Tori Amos, inspired other women and created a more welcoming environment in the music industry. While there were many McLachlan imitators, other women developed their own distinct sound. Alanis Morissette, another Canadian, had made several innocuous pop albums before the 1995 release of *Jagged Little Pill,* a multi-platinum album of often cynical, frequently angry, yet catchy pop songs. Jewel (surname Kilcher) released her first record, *Pieces of You,* in 1995. A highly skilled vocalist, Jewel drew from traditional folk music and the pop world. Sheryl Crow, initially as popular for her good looks as for her music, proved herself with folk- and blues-based rock 'n' roll and an appealing mixture of tough and vulnerable vocals. Fiona Apple, a teenaged singer with a voice that sounded much older, released her debut *Tidal* (1996) to critical and commercial acclaim.

HEAVY METAL

Heavy metal, while still limited in its radio appeal, continued to accumulate a significant following, particularly among young men in their teens and twenties. A Grammy Award for best hard rock/heavy metal act was introduced in 1989, and while its first recipient, the classic rock group Jethro Tull, raised the ire of many heavy metal fans, the award marked a change in the general conception of the genre. The 1980s and 1990s saw the genre spread into a number of sub-genres, such as thrash metal, speed metal, and death metal. Death metal received considerable criticism for its frequent use of violent imagery and its attention to death and decay.

Despite its growing sales, most heavy metal failed to garner much radio play, as stations instead latched on to grunge-derived sounds. But there were exceptions, such as Metallica. From its beginnings with the 1983 speed metal record *Kill*

'Em All, Metallica built the strongest following, winning the 1990 heavy metal Grammy. Throughout the 1990s, the band continued to prosper as it became more melodic, while never losing its often bleak and always aggressive outlook. While heavy metal may have influenced grunge bands, Metallica remained unarguably the most successful true metal band of the decade, meriting high sales for its albums *Metallica* (1991), *Load* (1996), *Re-Load* (1997), *Garage Inc.* (1998), and *S&M* (1999).

RAP AND HIP HOP

Like heavy metal, rap and hip hop largely went ignored by most commercial radio, even as the sales figures for the genre shot sky high. Many Americans first became aware of rap through the relatively accessible and non-controversial rapping of MC Hammer, Run-D.M.C., and the like in the 1980s. However, in 1990, the group 2 Live Crew attracted attention when a federal judge in Florida ruled its album *As Nasty as They Wanna Be* (1989) to be obscene, due to its explicitly sexual lyrics. The ruling gave 2 Live Crew the dubious distinction of being the first musical group of any kind to have a record legally declared obscene in the United States, but the added notoriety increased the group's sales.

Authorities, especially those in Florida, continued to target the group and their music, raiding live shows and arresting and prosecuting record store owners and clerks for selling the record. After the arrest of several members of 2 Live Crew at an adults-only show at a Florida night club, the group went to trial. Some questioned the merits of the trial, noting that equally explicit material could be found in other musical forms, as well as in literary works. This led some to suspect that 2 Live Crew were singled out in part because they were black, and therefore more threatening than a white comedian with equally lascivious material, like the popular Andrew Dice Clay. Ultimately, 2 Live Crew was acquitted and the obscenity ruling on their album reversed, but the controversy surrounding rap was far from over.

Particularly targeted for attack on counts of misogyny and encouraging violence was the Gangsta Rap genre. This rap form can arguably be said to have its source in the music of Public Enemy, whose records, including *It Takes a Nation of Millions to Hold Us Back* (1988), *Fear of a Black Planet* (1990), and *Apocalypse 91… The Enemy Strikes Black* (1991), brought a new political consciousness to rap. But it was groups like N.W.A. (Niggas With Attitude) that dragged their listeners deep into the realistic world of African American communities. N.W.A. painted a brutal picture of their home, Compton in South Central Los Angeles, as their lyrics detailed drug deals and gang wars in explicit and violent terms. While some critics lambasted them for the violence and disrespect toward women in their lyrics, others applauded the group for their honest portrayal of life in the lower class African American neighborhoods. Several individual members of the group would go on to their own solo success during the course of the decade. Ice Cube had a string of critically praised albums, starting with *AmeriKKKa's Most Wanted* (1990), and he started a successful career as an actor. Eazy E began a successful solo stint but died of AIDS in 1995. Meanwhile, Dr. Dre cofounded his own label, Death Row Records.[6]

The name Death Row was chosen in part because of the criminal background of many of the executives and recording artists on the label, and the label was plagued with violence and run-ins with the law. Co-founder Marion "Sugar Beat" Knight openly admitted to ruling by intimidation as much as by business acumen, an attitude that may have contributed to a major rivalry with Sean "P. Diddy" Combs and his Bad Boy label. Meanwhile, Death Row's top artist Snoop Doggy Dogg was being tried on murder charges. Though treating the usual themes of gangsta violence, womanizing, and drug use, Snoop Doggy Dogg was unusual in his oddly sing-song, playful raps. Employing the more traditional swagger and aggression of gangsta rap, Tupac "2Pac" Shakur was recruited from his jail cell by Knight, even as his record *Me Against the World* (1995) was selling phenomenally, topping the charts. This all lent credence to the accusations of rap's violent nature, as did the growing rivalry between Death Row and Bad Boy.

Although it was never proven that the conflict resulted directly in violence, the period saw the murders of several involved with the labels,



Dr. Dre, left, and Snoop Dogg, both featured in *Rolling Stone '93: The Year in Review,* shown on television in December 1993. Courtesy of Photofest.

including Tupac Shakur in 1996 and Bad Boy's most popular artist, the Notorious B.I.G., in early 1997. Death Row eventually dissolved after it was abandoned by Snoop Doggy Dogg and by Dr. Dre, who formed his own label, Aftermath Entertainment. Knight was ultimately incarcerated for violating parole.[7]

Another important figure in gangsta rap was Ice T who, like Ice Cube, would eventually take up acting as well. Ice T spent his early years engaged in gang and criminal activity in Los Angeles. He released his first album in 1987 and developed a considerable following, as well as stirred up controversy, both of which would hit their peak in 1992 with the formation of his heavy metal band, Body Count, and the release of the band's self-titled album. The band was an anomaly: heavy metal, the traditional domain of young middle class white men, was now being performed by an angry black man from the 'hood.

Body Count's songs made it clear that Ice T was not one to steer away from controversy. A song called "Cop Killer" sparked hostility toward the rapper-cum-rocker from the law enforcement community, and Vice President Dan Quayle blamed the song for encouraging violence against police officers. The Body Count album would eventually be re-released without "Cop Killer," a move criticized by other artists who derided Ice T for caving in to external pressure.

The Gangsta label had long been questioned by many of the rappers whose work was being labeled as such, but calling something gangsta was a wise commercial move. Many rappers viewed gangsta as having become more concerned with fashion than with personal and political expression.

Because of this, as well as the violence and misogyny in so much of the music, there was a backlash against gangsta and hardcore rap from within the hip hop community. The Native Tongues family, a loose-knit conglomeration of rap artists coming originally out of New York in the mid-1980s, eschewed themes of violence and criminality. Native Tongue bands like De La Soul, the Jungle Brothers, and A Tribe Called Quest explored political issues, frequently drawing from soul, blues, and jazz for their melodic and rhythmic structures. This style of rap also tended to be friendlier to women. Queen Latifah's first record, released in 1989, received immediate critical and commercial success, which she used as a springboard in the 1990s to further musical success, as well as an acting career and significant activism in support of AIDS research and ecology.[8]

This kinder, gentler rap sound reached its commercial peak in a Georgia group called Arrested Development. This group not only celebrated their African roots, but also their Southern upbringing, both in their clothing and their sung and rapped vocals. Their first record, *3 Years, 5 Months and 2 Days in the Life of. . .* (1992) marked the time it took for the band to be signed to a record label. The album went platinum within the year. Arrested Development showed many hip hop artists and the general American populace that rap need not be simply about black anger.

With the success of rap, it was only natural that whites would venture into the world of hip hop. Many of the newer white rappers were copying the styles of black music but expanding it to capture their own experiences. The Beastie Boys, for instance, developed a sound on *Check Your Head* (1992), *Ill Communication* (1994), and *Hello Nasty* (1998) that relied significantly from rap—rhythmically spoken lyrics and heavily layered samples, for instance—but was almost a new

genre unto itself. The Beastie Boys started their own label, Grand Royal, which allowed them full creative freedom and provided an avenue for others, like the all-female group Luscious Jackson.

By following a similar pattern, Beck, a singer-songwriter, sprang to nationwide popularity with the single "Loser," which despite its lo-fi sound and sloppy vocals (by design), became a surprise hit. The single was re-released on Beck's debut, *Mellow Gold* (1994), an entertaining but uneven record. On his *Odelay* (1996), Beck left behind the amusing childishness of "Loser" in favor of surprisingly intelligent songs that only bore the slightest resemblance to traditional rap. Beck's popularity exploded, based on his fusion style and willingness to change styles with each new CD.

At the end of the decade, Eminem stole the crown as the most popular white rapper, and as his fame grew, he developed into one of the most popular performers in the world. By then, much of the controversy about rap had died down, as rappers expanded into new musical territories and the gangstas had largely dissipated. However, with *The Slim Shady LP* (1998), Eminem brought the controversy back to the front page. Eminem, born Marshall Bruce Mathers III, became a target almost immediately, even as album sold 480,000 in its first two weeks. Eminem was accused of encouraging violent behavior, particularly against women and homosexuals. The lyrics presented some of the most brutally graphic images to appear in all of pop music. Eminem also received early flack for being a white artist performing black music, but Eminem was soon largely accepted, if not always approved of, by the hip hop community. His debut album, after all, had been released on a real hip hop label, Dr. Dre's Aftermath Entertainment, with the brilliant Dre producing the album and appearing in Eminem music videos.

African American performers also found success in rhythm and blues (R&B). R&B performers like Janet Jackson and Mariah Carey successfully stuck to the familiar dance-pop sound that had carried their careers thus far. By the end of the 1990s, Macy Gray had become one of the top selling R&B performers, with a brassy soul sound that could well have come from decades earlier.

LATINO POP

Latinos also experienced success in the 1990s in genres from punk to heavy metal to hip hop, but the greatest successes were those in mainstream pop, with Latin American influences. Although performers like Gloria Estefan had garnered a certain amount of attention for Latin pop, no such performer had ever come close to Ricky Martin. Martin, originally a member of mid-1980s boy band group Menudo, had already established himself in Latin America, especially his birthplace of Puerto Rico, when, in 1999, he released his first English language album, *Ricky Martin.* Propelled largely by the energetic dance single "Livin' La Vida Loca," the album shot to the top of the pop charts. The song itself became virtually inescapable.

Martin opened doors for other Latino performers, including Marc Anthony, Enrique Iglesias, and singer/actress Jennifer Lopez. Martin's attempt to crossover followed in the footsteps of singer Selena, who had made significant moves to expand her fan base to include non-Latinos, before her 1995 murder put a premature end to her promising career.

Ultimately, the growth in Latin music's popularity was phenomenal, with annual sales reaching more than $570 million in 1998.[9] The success of Latin music in America was not surprising, given the rapid growth of the Hispanic population in the United States. What is perhaps more surprising is that performers like Ricky Martin found such a warm welcome with a white, English-speaking audience, although certainly in Martin's case, his movie star good looks and dance moves played a large role in his success. Consequently, record companies began to market their wares to both Hispanic and Anglo audiences.

COUNTRY MUSIC

Country music also continued the move into the mainstream with the upsurge of younger performers and the shift to an adult-contemporary pop sound. 1989 saw the rise of country superstars like Travis Tritt, Clint Black, Vince Gill, Mary Chapin Carpenter, and Garth Brooks. Both rock and country influences were clearly audible

in Brook's music, which, if stripped of his country twang vocals and the occasional country instrumentation (i.e., slide guitar and fiddle), could easily be mistaken for mainstream soft rock. Brooks later became the bestselling recording artist of the 1990s, selling more than 100 million records.[10]

Some country purists complained that, as these artists moved toward a stronger pop sound, they stripped country of its soul, taking away its unique qualities. There was still an audience for traditional country, and, fortunately, old stalwarts, such as Johnny Cash and Waylon Jennings, still made that kind of music. Although possessing definite pop sensibilities (as evidenced by a later duet with Elton John and her subsequent recordings), 13-year-old singer LeAnn Rimes shot to stardom in 1996 with "Blue," a song that clearly nodded to country music legend Patsy Cline and helped Rimes win a Best New Artist Grammy.

Others also stuck to the traditions of the country genre, in a movement referred to as Americana, roots revival, and (ironically, given its closer adherence to traditional sounds) alternative-country. One of the most notable groups in this vein was the Dixie Chicks, a trio of women who flaunted their looks and fashion sense, but who also had a keen interest in preserving country's heritage.

HIT SONGS OF THE 1990s

"Friends in Low Places"—Garth Brooks (1990)

"Nothing Compares 2 U"—Sinéad O'Connor (1990)

"Smells Like Teen Spirit"—Nirvana (1991)

"Nuthin' But a 'G' Thang"—Dr Dre featuring Snoop Doggy Dogg (1993)

"Wonderwall"—Oasis (1995)

"Ironic"—Alanis Morissette (1996)

"Don't Speak"—No Doubt (1996)

"I'll Be Missing You"—Puff Daddy and Faith Evans featuring 112 (1997)

"My Heart Will Go On"—Celine Dion (1998)

"…Baby One More Time"—Britney Spears (1998)

MAINSTREAM POP

Even as record companies became more adventurous with their releases in the 1990s, there was no shortage of traditional pop. Bubblegum pop had an enormous resurgence during the decade, with the music of young, mostly blonde girl singers and boy bands becoming virtually inescapable, although it could be argued that these youths were largely being sold on their image, not their music. The boy bands, for instance, provided fans with non-threatening heartthrobs and playful, never sexual, love songs. The girl singers, on the other hand, were frequently overly sexualized, raising both controversy and record sales.

Certainly, sex appeal was a large part of the Spice Girls' success. This British group of five singers, bearing monikers like Sporty Spice, Baby Spice, and Ginger Spice, were almost immediately showered with criticisms: that they were style over substance, that they were more marketing than musical, that they catered to feminine stereotypes, even that they were racially inequitable (the one black member was called Scary Spice). Whatever the criticisms, however, the group's debut album, *Spice* (1996), and the first single, "Wannabe," quickly reached the number one spot on the charts.

The Spice Girls found a considerable audience among young teen and pre-teen girls, and given this audience, some felt troubled by their sexed up image, especially that of Baby Spice, who was in her early twenties. By the end of the decade, there would be a new breed of sexed-up teen singer that would make Baby Spice's sexuality seem tame.

In 1999, singer Britney Spears released her debut album, *…Baby One More Time,* which sold more than 10 million copies before the end of the year. The buoyant dance pop music tapped into the young teens and pre-teens audience to whom the Spice Girls' music appealed. Also like the Spice Girls, Britney Spears's image was equally important to her appeal. But at the time of her debut, Spears was 17 years old, and some thought she provided a bad example for young girls, while also appealing to prurient interests among adults. Spears denied that her scanty outfits were worn in the interest of sex appeal, claiming that the clothing simply reflected the fashion of the day.

Spears began slightly downplaying her sexuality, albeit still with considerable bare skin, but her popularity continued into the next decade, along with that of similar performers, such as Christina Aguilera and Jessica Simpson.

The boy bands of the late 1990s were almost diametrically opposed to the image created for most of the young female pop singers. Instead of being highly sexualized, these groups were largely presented as non-threatening. Thus, the Backstreet Boys might come across as fun-loving and mischievous but never dangerous. The image paid off, as the group would be named Artists of the Year in *Rolling Stone*'s 1999 readers' poll, followed closely by similar groups, especially 'N Sync. The Backstreet Boys were formed in 1993, the product of an open audition in Orlando, Florida, held by businessman Lou Pearlmen, but it wouldn't be until 1997, after considerable touring and moderate success in Europe, that the group would finally break through in the United States. They had repeated success with songs like "Quit Playing Games (with My Heart)," "As Long As You Love Me," and "I'll Never Break Your Heart." The Backstreet Boys would eventually break from Pearlman and successfully venture forward on their own, but not before Pearlman had put together a similar group, 'N Sync.[11] As another five boys in their late teens and twenties, singing similar love songs, 'N Sync could be seen as simply a carbon copy of the Pearlman era Backstreet Boys, but 'N Sync (who would also break from Pearlman) sold more than nine million copies of their self-titled debut album by the end of the 1990s.[12]

Of course, veteran pop divas continued to prosper. Madonna pursued an acting career, especially in *Evita* (1996). She experimented with electronica and other musical forms on her albums *I'm Breathless* (1990), *Erotica* (1992), *Bedtime Stories* (1994), and *Ray of Light* (1998). Another diva, Celine Dion, had one of the most popular singles of the decade with "My Heart Will Go On," recorded for the soundtrack of *Titanic* (1995). The song won an Oscar and enjoyed virtually inescapable radio airplay.

Sports

and Leisure of the 1990s

A growing American population and increased concerns about health and fitness contributed to an overall growth in sports participation during the 1990s. A growing environmental impulse also prompted an increase in the number of Americans seeking outdoor experiences, like hiking, camping, backpacking, and bicycling. Moreover, sports appeal was cultivated by the media and big business, as advertisers exploited sports imagery in commercials. The growth of supply superstores made sporting gear easily attainable, affordable, and fashionable as well. Retail sales for sporting gear had the fastest growth ever in the nineties, as did spending on recreational team sports and gym memberships.

A 1995 survey found that more than 24 million people participated in in-line skating, also called rollerblading, in which the wheels were placed in a single row that simulated the straight blade of an ice skate. One reason for the popularity of in-line skating was that people could skate on any paved surface. In-line skate sales hit a plateau as other vehicular fads, like the scooter craze of the early 2000s, cut into the demand for roller blades among the youths who had constituted 62 percent of skaters according to the 1995 study.[1]

Another athletic trend of the 1990s was an exercise program called Tae-Bo, which had a fairly limited pool of participants. The program, a combination of martial arts and aerobics, was largely propelled by a series of TV ads and infomercials featuring its energetic creator and spokesman, Billy Blanks and also by its reputation as a celebrity exercise program. Tae-Bo had, according to Blanks, evolved out of his experimentation with the traditional martial art Taekwondo. Experts were divided about whether or not Tae-Bo offered more than traditional aerobic and martial arts training, but the program was notable for the media blitz that brought it into American homes.

EXTREME SPORTS

While traditional sports continued to enjoy widespread participation, a growing segment of the populace began looking for something that stimulated an adrenaline rush well beyond that provided by conventional athletics. Many of these individuals turned to activities that had at least some semblance of danger, or sports that had previously enjoyed something of an underground following, such as skateboarding. Snowboarding, once a fringe hybrid of skiing and surfing, enjoyed widespread growth especially. A 1995 study found that there were about 2.3 million snowboarders in the country, a growth of 800,000 since 1990. The study also noted that most snowboarders were

under the age of 18, suggesting that the sport was still very much in its growth stage.[2]

Extreme sports also frequently involved using traditional sporting equipment in a new and more exciting way. Traditional skiing mutated into free-style and aerial skiing, wherein what a skier did while in the air, flung by jumping ramps, was at least as important as what he or she did while in contact with the snow. Likewise, bicycling, particularly BMX (bicycle motocross) bikes, became an extreme sport, as riders performed acrobatics while balanced on the bike frame, spinning the handlebars, or soaring off of ramps.

While many of these activities had existed in some form before the 1990s, now they became a popular spectacle, flirting with mainstream success. Snowboarding and free-style skiing became official Winter Olympic sports. White-water rafting, skateboard bungee jumping, and other extreme sports appeared in many advertisements as companies tried to tap into a market of young people with disposable income.

Many of these sports were brought together by an annual tournament, the X Games, created by and broadcast on the cable network ESPN. First held in 1995 as the Extreme Games, the competition featured 350 participants in 27 events, and both numbers increased every year thereafter. The growing extreme sports culture spawned its own celebrities, including skateboarder Tony Hawk, who appeared on numerous TV shows, was signed to advertising contracts on par with other sports stars, and had his name pasted on a multitude of products, from clothing to Hot Wheels toy cars.

PROFESSIONAL WRESTLING

On February 9, 1989, the New Jersey Senate proclaimed that, for purposes of regulation, big-time professional wrestling was *entertainment* rather than a sport. The senate's legislation removed some of the restrictions placed on wrestling matches, but it also acknowledged that the activity, which always depicted itself as an authentic athletic contest, was one in which matches were, to some extent, choreographed, and participants often trained to avoid serious injury. Other states followed New Jersey's legislative lead.



The World Wrestling Federation (WWF) in the 1990s. Shown: Ultimate Warrior. Courtesy of Photofest.

However, rather than stifling enthusiasm, this proclamation breathed new life into pro wrestling. In fact, the World Wrestling Foundation (WWF) had requested the legislation. The major wrestling organizations, the WWF, headed by Vince McMahon, and the smaller World Championship Wrestling (WCW), founded in 1994 by Ted Turner, became increasingly flamboyant.

Wrestlers developed striking personas and acted out elaborate dramas of betrayal, jealousy, and revenge, both in the ring and in the locker rooms. There was frequently a kind of mythic quality to the dramas, with good pitted against evil, and heroes fallen and redeemed. Pro wrestling featured celebrities like "Stone Cold" Steve Austin, Dwayne "The Rock" Johnson, and Mankind (Mick Foley). As always, wrestling still featured over-the-top action, and as a matter of fact, greater risks seemed necessary to generate fan interest. In a September 1999 WWF bout, for example, Austin beat up an opponent, dragged him out of the ring and backstage, and then threw him into the back of an ambulance. Next, Austin

climbed into a semi and smashed into the ambulance. Few adults saw such a spectacle as a real fight, but worries abounded about young people who watched these events. The WWF did, after all, market to youth, and it even issued a line of WWF action figures for sale in toy stores. Desensitization to violence was the primary fear, but there was also concern about imitation. Among teenagers, the popularity of backyard wrestling, in imitation of the WWF and the WCW, grew enormously, and a number of teens suffered serious injuries as a result of their imitations.

The success of pro wrestling in the 1980s and 1990s spawned similar athletic entertainments, like *American Gladiators* (1989–1997). In the TV show, contestants, who were real athletes, rather than trained performers, competed in odd events against each other and the Gladiators, muscle-bound men and women whose primary goal was to prevent the contestants' success. The events included climbing rock walls with Gladiators in hot pursuit, or rolling around in giant cage-like balls. *Battle Dome,* which debuted in 1999, offered similar entertainment, increasing the amount of physical contact, as well as the flamboyancy of their costumed gladiators, called Warriors. However, the feuds between the Battle Dome Warriors bore a stronger resemblance to those of pro wrestling.

WOMEN'S SPORTS

In 1972, Title IX, guaranteeing gender equality in educational programs, was instituted. The legislation mandated that women be given the equal opportunity to participate in high school and college sports. Title IX was never without controversy, and many athletic directors and administrators continued to hold the beliefs that sports were primarily the realm of men, and that women's sports just couldn't bring in the same kind of revenue that men's sports did. The Women's Sports Foundation conducted a study in 1998 that found these attitudes still running strong, even though, in the same year, the Supreme Court declined to hear an appeal to overturn Title IX.[3]

Even as Title IX had been increasing the number of women taking part in amateur sports, professionally, women were making a name for themselves like never before. Moreover, they were making a name for themselves in sports that were not traditional women's sports. Instead, they were playing basketball in the Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA). The league was conceived in 1996, after U.S. women won Olympic gold earlier in the year, and the first WNBA tip-off took place on June 21, 1997. Women's soccer received a considerable boost in popularity as well. In 1991, the U.S. team won the first women's World Cup. While that first triumph received relatively little press, more attention was given to it in 1999. The U.S. women's World Cup team took home the trophy again, much in contrast to the 1998 men's World Cup tournament, in which the U.S. team ranked dead last. The spectacular performance of the women's team created several high-profile celebrities, including Mia Hamm and Brandi Chastain. Chastain gained widespread publicity for celebrating a goal by sliding on the playing field and pulling off her jersey, revealing a sports bra, upon winning the tournament. Even hockey opened up to women in the 1990s. The first Women's World Hockey Championship, won by Canada, was held in 1990, and in 1998, the U.S. team won the first Olympic gold medal in women's hockey. However, despite the growing popularity of women's sports, they continued to receive considerably less publicity than men's events.

PROFESSIONAL SPORTS

Auto Racing

The 1990s were a golden age for auto racing, particularly for the National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing (NASCAR). Directed in the 1990s by Bill France Sr. and Bill France Jr., NASCAR was the fastest-growing spectator sport of the decade. Started in the late 1940s, NASCAR-sanctioned stock car racing experienced gradual growth, but in the 1980s, sponsorship from major corporations and growing television coverage brought NASCAR to new audiences. NASCAR-licensed merchandise, an $80 million industry in 1990, brought in more than $950 million in 1998. Racers such as Dale Earnhardt, Jeff Gordon, Dale Jarrett, and Sterling Marlin became celebrities on par with those of football, basketball, and baseball. Of course, fame did not diminish the danger

of high-speed racing. The 1990s saw the loss of several racers, including J. D. McDuffie, Clifford Allison, Rodney Orr, Neil Bonnett, and John Nemechek. Earnhardt, perhaps the most popular driver in NASCAR history, died in a crash at the Daytona 500 in February 2001.

Basketball

Basketball's popularity grew rapidly in the 1990s, propelled by fast-paced action and a marketing campaign designed to emphasize the sheer entertainment value of the sport. Numerous players had tremendous appeal well beyond their skills on the court, such as Earvin "Magic" Johnson, Charles Barkley, David Robinson, Karl Malone, and Shaquille O'Neal. Michael Jordan stood first and foremost among these greats. Jordan's on-court skills made him arguably the greatest player ever, while his enormous popularity grew based on his charisma and geniality. He proved to be the highest-profile player in the strongest team of the decade, the Chicago Bulls. Despite his retirement during the 1993–1994 season, Jordan was instrumental in leading the Bulls to six NBA championships (1991–1993, 1996–1998). Jordan's skills were also supplemented by a top-notch team, which included Scotty Pippen, Dennis Rodman, and Toni Kukoc.

Football

The National Football League added three teams: the Carolina Panthers and the Jacksonville Jaguars in 1995, and the Baltimore Ravens in 1996. These teams increased the number to 31, making it the largest league in pro sports. Attendance at NFL games continued to rise, with the Super Bowl consistently rating as the most popular annual event in spectator sports. One of the top teams of the decade was the Dallas Cowboys, which won Super Bowls XXVI (1993), XXVIII (1994), and XXX (1996). But there were other champions, including the San Francisco 49ers, winner of the Super Bowl in 1990 and in 1995, becoming the first team to win five Super Bowls. The Green Bay Packers won the Super Bowl for the first time in 29 years in 1997. They returned to the Bowl the next year but were defeated by the Denver Broncos. In winning Super Bowl XXXII, Denver became the first AFC team to win in 13 years. They won their second consecutive Super Bowl in 1999.

Hockey

The 1990s were a good decade for American hockey, although American teams were heavily stocked with players from other countries, primarily Canada. Nonetheless, never before had U.S. teams earned such good standing in the Stanley Cup hockey championships. The Pittsburgh Penguins won back-to-back in 1991 and 1992, as did the Detroit Red Wings in 1997 and 1998. Other American teams winning the cup in the 1990s were the New York Rangers in 1994, the New Jersey Devils in 1995 (who again won in 2000), the Colorado Avalanche (formerly the Quebec Nordiques) in 1996, and the Dallas Stars (formerly the Minnesota North Stars) in 1999. These championships certainly contributed to the growing popularity of hockey in the United States, despite a 1994 labor dispute that resulted



Wayne Gretzky, playing in the late 1980s. Courtesy of Photofest.

WAYNE GRETZKY (1961–)

Few athletes have had a larger impact on their sport than Wayne Gretzky has had on hockey. The Canadian native, dubbed "The Great One," is widely considered the greatest hockey player of all time. His stellar play and positive celebrity image helped popularize the sport in the United States during his playing days, and he continues to influence hockey as a coach and an icon.

Gretzky holds or shares 61 records, including most career goals (894), most career assists (1,962), and most total points (2,856). Gretzky began his career in the World Hockey Association in 1978 at the age of 17. Gretzky later played for the Edmonton Oilers and moved to the National Hockey League (NHL) when that team joined the league.

In 1988, Gretzky joined the Los Angeles Kings. The move, known by hockey fans simply as "The Trade," disheartened Canadians who watched as their national hero moved south. In response, Nelson Riis, a Canadian New Democratic Party House Leader, demanded that the government block it. Gretzky remained with the Kings until 1996 when he was traded to the St. Louis Blues. That same year, Gretzky made his final move to the New York Rangers, where he played three years before retiring in 1999.

Gretzky played his final game against the Pittsburgh Penguins, April 18, 1999, in Madison Square Garden. He left a legacy of winning four Stanley Cups, nine Hart Trophies as MVP, 10 Art Ross Trophies as the NHL's top scorer, and two Conn Smyth Trophies as playoff MVP. Gretzky appeared in every All-Star Game of his 20 years in hockey. His number 99 was retired by the league in 1999, the same year of his induction into the Hockey Hall of Fame. The Great One is currently head coach and part owner of the Phoenix Coyotes, married to American actress Janet Jones, and they have five children.

in a 103-day lock-out of National Hockey League players. Also adding to the popularity was the growing number of American teams in the NHL. In the course of the decade, professional hockey welcomed the San Jose Sharks, the Tampa Bay Lightning, the Florida Panthers, the Anaheim Mighty Ducks, and the Nashville Predators.

Baseball

Several longstanding baseball records fell during the decade, including that for the most consecutive games played. The 56-year-old record, set by New York Yankee Lou Gehrig, fell on September 6, 1995, when Baltimore Orioles shortstop Cal Ripken stepped onto the field for his 2,131st game. And to confirm his place as a quality player, Ripken hit home runs in both the record tying and breaking games.

Later in the decade, however, an even more sacred baseball record was broken. In the 1998 season, two players were poised to break New York Yankee Roger Maris's long-standing homerun record, set in 1961. As St. Louis Cardinal Mark McGwire and Chicago Cub Sammy Sosa came closer to the mark, game attendance and television ratings rose. In the end, McGwire would break the record and hold it for the season,

WORLD SERIES

1990 Cincinnati Reds (NL) 4 games; Oakland A's (AL), 0 games

1991 Minnesota Twins (AL), 4 games; Atlanta Braves (NL), 3 games

1992 Toronto Blue Jays (AL), 4 games; Atlanta Braves (NL), 2 games

1993 Toronto Blue Jays (AL), 4 games; Philadelphia Phillies (NL), 2 games

1994 Cancelled due to players' strike

1995 Atlanta Braves (NL), 4 games; Cleveland Indians (AL), 2 games

1996 New York Yankees (AL), 4 games; Atlanta Braves (NL), 2 games

1997 Florida Marlins (NL), 4 games; Cleveland Indians (AL), 3 games

1998 New York Yankees (AL), 4 games; San Diego Padres (NL), 0 games

1999 New York Yankees (AL), 4 games; Atlanta Braves (NL), 0 games

though Sosa would also exceed Maris's record. Although there was some grumbling that steroid use—which many believed was rampant in pro sports in general and in baseball in particular—had played a role in the fall of Maris's record, for most fans, this was a welcome return to the glory days of the sport.

Although two long-standing Yankee-held records fell, the New York team had little to feel bad about in the 1990s. The team reached the World Series three times in 1996, 1998, and 1999, winning each time. Atlanta had less luck. Although the Braves played in five of the nine 1990s series, they only won in 1995. The Toronto Blue Jays proved themselves by taking the pennant in 1992 and 1993, while the Cincinnati Reds, Minnesota Twins, and Florida Marlins rounded out the list of champions for 1990, 1991, and 1997, respectively.

SCANDAL AND CONTROVERSY IN PRO SPORTS

Professional sports saw many scandals in the 1990s. The most high-profile case was that of retired football great O. J. Simpson (See Overview of the 1990s), but drugs and violence infected nearly every major pro sport. Scandal even infected women's ice skating in 1994, when Olympic figure skater Nancy Kerrigan was attacked, her knee severely beaten after a practice session, in a conspiracy that involved Kerrigan's rival Tonya Harding.

Boxing came under particular fire. Never a gentle sport, boxing had long been criticized for its violence and its exploitation of athletes. However, in the 1990s, the accusations of barbarity focused principally on Mike Tyson, the heavyweight champion. Tyson developed a reputation as a strong and ferocious fighter, but his antics outside the ring drew considerable publicity as well. High-profile accusations of abuse by his wife, actress Robin Givens, and conviction of rape charges destroyed the fighter's reputation.

After his release from prison in 1996, Tyson fought Evander Holyfield, then current heavyweight champ. The fight was stopped by the referee after Holyfield clearly had Tyson at a disadvantage. A rematch was cut short by referee Mills Lane after Tyson twice bit his opponent, literally tearing off part of Holyfield's ear with his teeth. The spectacle invigorated renewed condemnation of boxing. Though Tyson was barred from the sport (only to return in 2002), the criticisms of boxing continued to be largely ignored. Boxing remained big business, bringing large revenues to the host cities and proving extraordinarily popular on pay-per-view cable TV.

Baseball also suffered, morally if not commercially, in the 1990s, with numerous player run-ins with the law. Most of these cases were drug-related, a fact that tarnished the image of a game that traditionally had great family appeal. The image was also damaged by Atlanta Braves pitcher John Rocker, who let loose a tirade of racist and bigoted slurs in a *Sports Illustrated* interview. The league did not take kindly to Rocker's outbursts, but the short suspension and fine Rocker received seemed a mere slap on the wrist, his prowess on the field clearly ranking as more important than his ethical conduct. What hurt baseball the most, however, was a player strike in the 1994–1995 season. For many fans, the suspension of the season seemed an affront because already highly paid players were demanding still higher pay. Defenders of the strike noted that professional baseball made huge amounts of money, and that the money not going to the players was going to already wealthy executives and owners. But combined with the ever increasing cost of game tickets, the strike signaled that baseball's tradition and history had been buried under the mounting commercialism of the sport. In short, baseball suffered a confidence crisis among fans, and the popular 1994 PBS TV series, *Baseball,* produced by Ken Burns, seemed to signal how far baseball had fallen.

Sports also suffered some major losses due to AIDS and the HIV virus. In 1991, basketball superstar Earvin "Magic" Johnson announced that he had contracted HIV and was retiring from the game (he briefly returned later). (See Overview of the 1990s.) In 1993, tennis legend Arthur Ashe died of AIDS contracted from a blood transfusion. In 1996, boxer Tommy Morrison was barred from the sport upon the revelation that he was HIV-positive. These cases woke many athletes and young people to the risks of sexual promiscuity,

and also drew national attention to AIDS, which could no longer been seen as a fringe disease if it was affecting the country's sports heroes.

SPORTS AND MONEY

Professional sports also suffered as spiraling costs made attending sports events prohibitive for many Americans. This was especially true of newly constructed sports arenas, many of which devoted part of their space to catering to wealthy spectators and corporate interests, with private clubs and luxurious boxes for rent from $75,000 to $300,000. Even the less glamorous seats became increasingly expensive. This was due to the widespread introduction of permanent seat licenses, which consumers would have to purchase just to have the right to buy tickets. Therefore, the additional license fee charged by stadium owners could jack up the price of a $40 ticket to several hundred dollars. Stadiums also continued to rely on corporate sponsorship. Advertising became omnipresent within stadiums, and arenas forged special arrangements to only serve a particular brand of beer, hotdog, or soda. In 1995, 3Com Corporation purchased the rights to San Francisco's historic Candlestick Park, and it officially became 3Com Park. Most San Franciscans continued to call the stadium Candlestick.

As ticket prices and advertising increased, many sports fans also looked with disdain at players' increasing wealth. Few fans would deny that players deserved high compensation, as they did in fact entertain millions and brought in high revenues, but to many, salaries seemed to skyrocket to ridiculous levels.

Aside from ticket prices, sports leagues charged an ever increasing rate for broadcast rights. The amount of money in professional sports broadcasts was staggering. In 1993, the NBA negotiated four-year deals with NBC for $750 million and with cable's TNT for $352 million. In 1994, the NFL entered into deals with ABC, NBC, Fox, and ESPN, which garnered the league $4.4 billion (approximately $39.2 million per team). There was prestige connected with sports broadcasts, especially such events as the Olympics, the Super Bowl, and the World Series, but the monetary payoff sometimes fell short of expectations.

Networks were spending a great deal of money to acquire broadcast rights, but they had also to make back their money, and the primary source of revenue was advertising. Getting advertisers to buy airtime at a high enough cost to cover the acquisition expenses, however, was a challenge. CBS had some of the greatest losses, particularly early in the decade, with the 1992 Winter Olympics broadcast and a $1.06 billion arrangement with Major League Baseball from 1990 to 1994. Even as the networks were struggling to afford broadcast rights for sports, cable providers were exploiting the pay-per-view system of subscription television. Pay-per-view had considerable success with broadcasting relatively inexpensive, and typically regional, sporting events, like hockey and college football. But the service's greatest success came with boxing and professional wrestling matches. A 1993 fight between Evander Holyfield and Riddick Bowe, for instance, brought in $33 million dollars for pay-per-view broadcasters.[4]

Top athletes made a good deal of money on endorsements. In some cases, product sponsorship even outpaced their salaries. In 1997, for instance, basketball star Michael Jordan earned $31.3 million in salary, but $47 million on product sponsorships, making him the highest-paid athlete of the year. Tiger Woods, who earned a salary of $2.1 million in 1997, earned $24 million in sponsorships.[5]

CELEBRITY ATHLETES

Sports celebrities became major commercial assets. Basketball spawned perhaps more superstars than any other sport in the 1990s, none more popular than Michael Jordan. His skill and clean image, as compared to far too many other sports figures, made Jordan an ideal role model, and consequently an ideal product spokesman. He became the most sought after basketball player by advertisers, making commercials for Hanes underwear and Nike's Air Jordan shoes. (See Advertising of the 1990s.) He also appeared on the large screen in 1996, playing basketball with Warner Brothers cartoon characters in the blockbuster *Space Jam.* Jordan, however, was hardly alone in his commercial success. Other basketball players also made it to the big screen. Shaquille O'Neal

starred in *Kazaam* (1996) and *Steel* (1997), and Dennis Rodman appeared in *Double Team* (1997) and a short-lived TV series, *Soldier of Fortune, Inc.* (1998).

Another major sports celebrity was golf hero Tiger Woods. Young, charming, handsome, and black, Woods was not the kind of person typically associated with the game of golf. Woods hit the professional circuit with a vengeance, winning the Master's Tournament in 1997, the youngest player to do so, at 21 years old. In 1999, he ranked first five times in the PGA tour. Woods broke major ground in a sport that had long been regarded as the elite realm of white men. He was not only the first African American to win a major tournament, but also, as his mother was Thai, the first Asian-American to do so. As a result, Woods became another highly sought after advertising property, and subsequently made ads for Titleist golf gear, Nike, American Express, Rolex, and others. Clearly, he was the most widely-recognized celebrity ever to emerge from the game of golf.

LEISURE ACTIVITIES

Studies have suggested that Americans spent more time working in the 1990s than ever before, but they still seemed to have plenty of time for leisure activities. More toys than ever were being produced, and the average child tended to have more toys than children of earlier generations. Many adults also turned to toy collectibles. The market for games boomed, especially that for computer games, which developed astonishing sophistication. Sports also provided plenty of opportunities to pass the time, either as participant or spectator.

TOYS

The continued increase in the toy market can be attributed, in part, to the increase in disposable income held not only by parents, but also by children themselves. Also important to the growth of the toy market was the continued success of chain retail outlets, like Toys R Us, which accounted for about 20 percent of the retail toy market.

To a large extent, the toy market was driven by licensed properties based on characters and situations on TV or in movies, such as the *Mighty Morphing Power Rangers, Pokémon,* or *Star Wars.* For example, a *Star Wars* Lego series proved popular, but also posed a problem for the Lego Company. It now had to follow up with something

HOW OTHERS SEE US

China Hoops It Up

The hula hoop debuted in 1958 as one of the most explosively popular fads of all time. More than 50 million of the hollow plastic hoops were sold in the United States in the toy's first year, and by 1960, 50 million more had been sold worldwide in Japan, Britain, Australia, and elsewhere. The hoops lost their fad status by 1960, and over the next few decades, manufacturer Wham-O conducted periodic re-launch efforts to temporarily boost sales. However, even the company was surprised when, 35 years later, the hula hoop finally became a craze in mainland China.

Largely isolated from popular culture by its communist government, China seemed immune to fads that swept the rest of the world. In early 1992, however, the official New China News Agency signaled official approval of the *hula quanr* as "part of the new trend of keeping fit and slim," despite the activity's Western origins—a rarity at the time.

The multicolored hoops, which sold for the equivalent of $1.20, were already so popular that shops in China's major cities were unable to keep them in stock. According to one report, a shop in Beijing sold an entire shipment of 350 hoops in 10 minutes. More than 500,000 were sold in China in the fad's first three months. Workers on their midmorning breaks would pull out their hoops and gyrate, and on their way home in the evenings, adults and children alike could be seen with hoops slung over their shoulders or balanced on their bicycle handlebars.

The fad was not without its dark side, however. Soon the Chinese press was warning hoopers to warm up properly and to avoid hooping after eating, when reports emerged that three people had suffered "twisted intestines" as a result of overly vigorous sessions with the toy.

equally exciting; it could no longer count on a child's own creativity for its popularity.

Except for Barbie, most doll sales slumped in the 1990s. However, the collectors' market picked up considerably, becoming one of the 1990s fastest-growing hobbies. Just as she dominated the general doll market, Barbie dominated the collectors' market. A series of international Barbies showed off meticulously-designed ethnic costuming. Barbie also appeared in movie-themed costumes, covering classic films like *The Wizard of Oz* and *Gone with the Wind.*

The Beanie Baby craze centered on a line of small stuffed animals produced by Ty Inc. This large line of many different cute animals soared in popularity. The competition to attain Beanie Babies was fierce, especially among adult collectors, who would sometimes pay outlandish prices for specific ones. Ty stoked the fires by releasing especially rare toys, produced well under the demand level of the market.

In 1996, Tickle-Me Elmo stimulated a buyers' frenzy, not unlike that seen for Cabbage Patch Dolls in the 1980s. This plush version of the character from the Sesame Street children's television program laughed hysterically when tickled on its tummy. The doll's success led to numerous imitators, and *Sesame Street* licensed the creation of similar dolls of other characters from the show.

ACTION FIGURES

Action figures also found a considerable market among adults. Prior parallels like G. I. Joe notwithstanding, the action figure came into its own in the 1970s, particularly with the release of the *Star Wars* action figures line. In the 1990s, *Star Wars* experienced a new surge in popularity due to the release of several *Star Wars* novels and the anticipation of new films in the series. Naturally, the action figures also saw a rebirth. But this time, there were adults who had grown up on the movies and who fondly remembered playing with the toys. Therefore, the acquisition of action figures served as a nostalgic reclamation of the past. *Star Trek* figures also flourished, as did many others tied to various movies and television programs. With the growth of the collectible toy market, the stigma of adults owning action figures was reduced, spurring collectors on, and manufacturers began catering more to this audience.



Todd McFarlane poses with his action figure creation, Spawn, at his office in Tempe, Arizona, April 1999. AP Photo.

One of the groundbreaking companies in this field was McFarlane Toys, founded by Todd McFarlane, creator of the comic book series *Spawn.* McFarlane oversaw the production of figures based on his comic book designs. The result was the most meticulously detailed and gruesome figures to ever hit toy stores. McFarlane's zombies, demons, and monstrosities introduced a new aesthetic to action figure production. McFarlane Toys produced high quality figures for such non-children-oriented properties as the *X-Files* TV series, Austin Powers, and the rock band KISS.[6] These changes in the market also ushered in a new era of sexuality in action figure production. McFarlane Toys had produced several figures of scantily-clad, well-endowed women, principally characters drawn from comic books. Other companies followed suit, creating figures, again mostly based on comic book characters, whose proportions made Barbie's look quite natural. These figures did merit some criticism, but the outcry was limited, given that most figures were sold in comic shops and stores specializing in collectibles.

COMPUTER GAMES

The decade also saw a rise in the popularity of video games. Advances in graphics, complexity, and sophistication of computer gaming engines

far outpaced the advances for the prior history of computer gaming. Several major breakthroughs occurred in 1989 with the development of two 16-bit (a unit of memory) gaming consoles, NEC TurboGrafx 16 and Sega Genesis. Much more sophisticated than prior game systems created by companies like Amiga, Atari, and Coleco, these consoles immediately gained wide acceptance despite the price tag of nearly $250. Genesis sales generally outpaced those of the TurboGrafx 16, largely due to the wider selection of games available for the system, particularly those made by Electronic Arts, which began by specializing in sports-related games, but in 1990, began buying out other game publishers. Sega also benefited from the exclusive rights to its own popular line of arcade video games. One of the decade's biggest names in electronic gaming, Nintendo, a software developer known primarily for its best-selling *Super Mario 3* game and Game Boy handheld video game console, introduced its Super NES system in 1991. In 1992, Sega released the first CD-driven console, a technology that would revolutionize not only electronic games but computer operations in general. The system was highly touted, but Sega failed to release the tools that would allow other companies to produce games. These tactics hurt Sega sales as they limited the number of games available to consumers. Nonetheless, other companies, including Sony and Nintendo, began creating their own CD systems. Before long, CDs would replace software cartridges except those in handheld systems.

In 1993, Panasonic released the first 32-bit console, the 3DO Interactive Multiplayer. The system was a limited success, held back by the $699 price, as well as by the looming release of Atari's Jaguar, a 64-bit gaming system. Although the Jaguar suffered from internal hardware limitations, it made clear how rapidly obsolescence could set in. Naturally, it didn't take long for other companies to leap into the 64-bit fray, though the 32-bit console still dominated, with particular success for Sony's 1995 release of a 32-bit PlayStation console. Sony also gained market share by reducing the PlayStation price to $199 in 1996, making it far more affordable than similar systems. That year, Nintendo also released its first 64-bit system. In Japan, where it was first released, the Nintendo 64 sold 500,000 units in the first day, and the 350,000 shipment to the United States sold out in less than three days. By the end of the decade, the games were astonishingly sophisticated with elaborate virtual environments. In 1999, Sega announced plans to release a 128-bit system using CD-ROM technology and with built in modem play support.

Nintendo's Game Boy system provided another major venue for electronic gaming, spawning numerous imitators in the handheld console market. In 1995, Nintendo released its Virtual Boy 32-bit portable system, which, along with continued advances in the Game Boy systems, left the company dominant in this niche for the duration of the nineties. Portable game systems never reached the level of sophistication displayed by non-portable systems, but they still saw considerable advances in technology.

Of course, with the proliferation of video games, concerns about their effects increased considerably. The growing popularity of video games encouraged children to spend even more time in front of screens. Most experts agreed that this contributed to a decrease in physical activity, thereby contributing to obesity and other physiological problems. Moreover, many were concerned about the kinds of games being played by children, many of which seemed to celebrate violence without showing the consequences. Shooting games were popular, as were hand-to-hand combat games.

Street Fighter II, introduced in 1991 in arcades and later for home systems, was one of the most popular video games ever. It involved one-on-one combat between colorful characters modeled on Japanese animation (*anime*). The goal of the game was to beat opponent after opponent into submission. The violence of the game was reasonably non-realistic, but flecks of blood and the fact that players were encouraged to hurt others in the gaming world troubled critics. Parents shocked by *Street Fighter II*'s violence, however, were in for an even bigger shock with Midway Games' 1993 introduction of *Mortal Kombat,* which used photographic instead of cartoonish characters in similar combat situations. Furthermore, the violence became much more graphic. Blood flowed freely, and players could execute maneuvers such

as yanking the hearts out of opponents' chests, beheading them, or stripping them of their spines. Outrage over the violence led to the creation of a rating system for video games, but this did little to deter the flow of violence. Ultimately, despite criticisms, no definitive relationship between video game violence and real-world violent acts committed by youths was ever proven.

One of the most significant names in the realm of personal computer gaming was id Software, founded in 1992. The company's first big success was *Wolfenstein 3D,* in which the player raced around various levels of an old castle shooting down aggressive Nazi soldiers. The game introduced the first-person shooter style of computer gaming. *Wolfenstein 3D* was followed by *Doom,* a similarly oriented game in which the player assumed the role of a space marine battling zombies and hellish monsters. The game was a resounding success, and imitators leapt on the first-person shooter bandwagon. Id Software itself soon released the sequel *Doom II,* and then *Quake,* which offered a greater flexibility of character movement. Each of these games, all released within the first five years of id's existence, was more successful than its predecessors, with *Quake* selling more than 1.7 million copies in its first year (compared to sales of about 100,000 for most PC games). These games were not without controversy, given their graphic violence and the fact that the storylines seemed little more than excuses for simulated killing. The games were accused of desensitizing youths, and some directly blamed the games for the increase in suburban high school shootings.[7]

Created by Robyn and Rand Miller in 1994 for the Broderbund software company, *Myst* offered a very different gaming experience. *Myst* involved an exquisitely rendered 3D environment through which players roamed, solving puzzles to further the storyline. With about four million units sold, *Myst* became the top selling computer game. *Myst* and similar games, including *The 7th Guest* and its sequel *The Eleventh Hour,* were primarily puzzle oriented, but the environments, along with the narrative structures of the games, made them as popular as most action games.

Perhaps the ultimate computer game of the 1990s, however, was a contest between machine and the human mind. The game was chess, and the participants were the master of the game Garry Kasparov and the IBM RS/6000SP, named Deep Blue. Kasparov was regarded by most not only as the top current chess player but as the best there had ever been. He went into the match with Deep Blue having won the World Championship for 11 years running. The man and machine met in February 1996. The multi-game match began on a startling note, with Deep Blue defeating the world champion handily. Thereafter, Kasparov seemed to take the match more seriously and soundly defeated Deep Blue, winning four games to the computer's two. The opponents met for a rematch a year later. This time Kasparov won the first game, but the second, third, and fifth games ended in draws. The fourth was won by Deep Blue. Then, in the final game, Kasparov crumbled under an aggressive and unpredictable assault by Deep Blue, conceding the game and match to the computer after the loss of his queen. By the time the final game had commenced, the media turned more attention to the match than it ever had to a chess game, aware that something truly remarkable took place. Millions watched as man at his best was defeated by a synthetic mind. Kasparov defenders accused the programmers of designing Deep Blue to not play a fine chess match per se, but to defeat Kasparov's specific style of play.[8]

COLLECTIBLE CARD GAMES

The game field also saw the rise of collectible card games. The games tapped into two potential markets: game players and collectors. The first popular card game to hit the market was *Magic: the Gathering,* a fairly complex fantasy-oriented game. It featured cards representing characters or weapons, events or powers. The basic unit of this and similar games was the starter deck, a set of cards that included everything that players needed to play the game. The real money for companies in this market, however, was in booster packs. The packs of, typically, 10 to 15 cards allowed players to supplement their starter deck with more powerful cards, which were also usually rare and highly collectible, as well. Detractors criticized the fact that the amount of money paid directly influenced the strength of a player's deck, but the booster cards also let players customize their decks, and with thousands of different cards

available in the many types of booster packs, a player could develop a seemingly infinite number of combinations. Such possibilities made for an unpredictable and exciting game.

Similar card games followed. Among the most successful were those tied in with other media. The *Star Trek* game cards snared both gamers and science fiction fans, who were delighted by the attention to detail shown in the cards, which depicted not only major characters and events, but also the minutia that added to their atmosphere. Similar sets featuring *Star Wars, Hercules: The Legendary Journeys, Babylon 5,* and *Xena, Warrior Princess* also appeared, as did other independent collectible card games. With simpler rules, geared toward a younger audience, the *Pokémon* collectible card game became, for a time, the hottest such game on the market.

Although started as a game, *Pokémon* quickly grew into an empire, manifesting itself in television programs and movies, as well as on sneakers, backpacks, food products, T-shirts, and many other items. The game had broad appeal. Children could enjoy the colorful creatures featured on the cards, yet also learn it fairly quickly. The cards also found an audience among adult collectors, especially those interested in Japanese culture, out of which *Pokémon* was born. The game utilized very basic rules, but many of the rules could be bent based on text printed on the cards in play, which allowed for simplicity that could grow complex as play unfolded.

THE INTERNET

An important part of the collectors market was the development of online auctions. The search for antiques and collectibles once involved scouring thrift and antique stores and communicating via phone and letter writing. With the rise of the Internet, and especially with the birth of the Internet's largest auction house, eBay, collecting took on a different dynamic. Collectors could easily search a wide database of items with photographs and contact sellers via e-mail. EBay was founded in September 1995, and it maintained its dominant status throughout the decade. By decade's end, it had more than 40 million registered users, and in 2000, it facilitated more than $5 billion in merchandise transactions.

The Internet in general quickly became a hobbyist paradise. Seemingly, no matter how obscure a hobby, at least one Web site could be found devoted to it. Sites devoted to various collectibles, from stamps to Beanie Babies, flourished as both dealers and collectors showed off their wares. Surfers could easily compare the completeness of their own collections to those of others or to definitive catalogues. Likewise, those more interested in craft hobbies could easily find tips and ideas online. Perhaps most importantly, the Internet allowed hobbyists around the world to communicate via e-mail or real-time chat rooms.

The Internet itself became something of a hobby for many Americans. Chat rooms provided millions with a form of relatively inexpensive entertainment, and, in its way, revived the art of conversation. Stories of romance born of online interaction became increasingly common as the decade progressed.

The Internet also provided a medium for game playing. Individuals could easily find simple games like card games and puzzles online from the earliest years of the Internet. And, as technology advanced, many games became increasingly complex. Game players could network their systems to play multiplayer games of popular software titles, like *Doom.*

Perhaps the biggest source of Internet amusement was the simple act of Web surfing. The increase in Internet users during the decade was staggering. Largely made public in 1992, by 1994 about 3 million people went online regularly. By 1998, more than 100 million were online with many simply typing topics of interest into search engines and following where they led. Most Web sites were linked to other sites of similar interest and so on, and by following these links, surfers could easily spend hours online. For some, the Internet became more compelling than television. The lure of the Internet was, at least in part, the semblance of control. Television largely dictated what a viewer could watch and when. The choices on the Internet were seemingly infinite and were typically available when the consumer wanted them. Naturally, television networks and movie studios, as well as radio stations, noted this shifting audience and frequently implemented their own Web sites, complete with online broadcasts.

Travel

of the 1990s

The 1990s were a boom decade for travel and the tourism industry. Yet, it was also a volatile decade, with new challenges brought about by developing technologies, competitive business practices, and new notions on the part of many Americans about the nature of travel. The travel industry, heavily reliant on service workers, was notable in its hiring of non-white female immigrants, who, frequently working for minimum wage, accounted for as much as 80 percent of the new hires of the 1990s.

In 1999, the number of international arrivals to the United States reached 663 million, although during the decade, the United States slipped a spot on the list of top travel destinations, coming in third place behind France and Spain. Still, this created limited concern in the travel industry given the steady increase in the sheer number of tourists, and the United States maintained its position as the top tourism income earner. A 1998 study showed that U.S. tourism receipts equaled some $74 billion; Italy, the second place on this list, made more than $30 billion.[1]

The first few years of the 1990s were difficult ones for the airline industry, with losses of approximately $12.8 billion. The increase in the sheer number of travelers, as well as low fuel costs, helped turn around the industry.[2] By 1997, the industry launched more than 22,350 flights a day and attained record profits of more than $5.2 billion. By the end of the 1990s, the industry consisted of about 800 different airlines employing more than three million people and carrying more than one billion passengers a year. These airlines were complemented by some 14,000 airports across the world, including giant new constructions, like the Denver International Airport, which, in 1995, became the first major new U.S. airport to be built in 20 years.

Business travel grew in the decade, due in part to improvements in communication technologies, especially the Internet and the ability to transmit so much information via computers. This technology allowed businesses to function smoothly in numerous locations, even locations overseas. The greater dispersion led to an increase in business travel for important face-to-face interaction within a company and with clients.

Travel itself became an object of conspicuous consumption for some, with tales of travels and adventures amounting to a status symbol. The travel book industry expanded considerably in the 1990s, with new publishers leaping into the fray and older publishers printing more books than ever before. While much of the market tapped into actual travelers, the sheer quality of many of the books, in terms of photography and textual content, also garnered a significant share

of armchair travelers. There was also a growth in specialization in the travel book industry, with books geared specifically to families, the elderly, ecotourists, or gay and lesbian travelers.

WORLD TRAVEL

In the United States, major cities began to resemble one another as the same kind of large chain businesses moved in. This brought about the question as to how a city could remain distinct—thereby remaining a worthwhile tourist destination—even as it acquired the same retailers and restaurants to be found from city to city. This was also a factor internationally, as much more of the world came under the shadow of American corporations.

The Berlin Wall came down in 1990, which led to the reunification of Germany. This opened what had been East Germany to a whole new tourist market that had largely been stifled due to its Communist regime and internationally imposed travel restrictions. The fall of the Berlin Wall was also symbolic of the general collapse of Communism in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Some formerly Communist countries, as well as former Soviet Republics, remained dangerous places to visit as political and social power struggles, even civil war, filled in the gap left by Communism's fall. However, many others, including Poland and Russia, became popular tourist destinations, driven largely by a curiosity about these nations that had not been easily accessible in the past.

THE DANGERS OF TRAVEL

On September 11, 2001, terrorism thrust itself into the public consciousness, delivering a mighty blow to the airline industry and tourism as a whole with attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon. Terrorism also concerned travelers in the 1990s as several high-profile incidents increased the awareness of the dangers of flying overseas (though domestic flights were still considered relatively safe). Notably, since the 1991 Gulf War (and 1998's Desert

HOW OTHERS SEE US

EuroDisney: The Mouse Invades Europe

Mickey Mouse had been a welcome fictional resident in his American birthplace ever since the 1955 founding of the Disneyland theme park in Anaheim, California. When he landed in Paris in 1992, though, French citizens largely reacted as if they'd seen a rat. A big one.

The advent of Disneyland Paris, first known as EuroDisney, was heralded by some as a "cultural Chernobyl" and a Trojan horse from an American corporate goliath. Some French observers saw the resort as an opportunity for profit and economic stimulation in the countryside northeast of the capital, but predictions that the theme park would never last were widely publicized early on. During its first months of operation, labor disputes periodically cut off the rail line that led to the Magic Kingdom, and farmers frequented the gates with protest signs decrying the misuse of valuable farmland. Visions of doom remained plausible in 1994, when the park reported a loss of $493 million.

However, before the entertainment spot marked its fifth birthday, the company had reversed its record and announced it had become the biggest "paid for" tourist attraction in France, with 11.3 million visitors—three times that of the Louvre. The turnaround was attributed to several changes in Disney's strategy, including the jettisoning of the rankling "Euro" prefix, the addition of wine to its restaurants, and a wide-ranging international menu that included, among other fare, fine French cuisine at the *Auberge de Cendrillon*—Cinderella's Inn.

While retaining American features from burger shops to a Wild West show, and the cute and sanitized characteristics associated with Disney and its critics' neologism, "Disneyization," Disneyland Paris also incorporated French cultural content, with Jules Verne-inspired rides and such characters as Victor Hugo's Hunchback of Notre Dame.

Fox operations), there was a sharp increase in terrorist activity, especially in the Middle East. Strife in some former Soviet republics made these equally dangerous travel destinations, along with regions of Northern Africa, Latin America, and the Baltic states, among others. Furthermore, much of this accelerated terrorism was directed toward American targets. Tourists and tourism hot spots became what have been described as "soft targets:" easy objectives, difficult to defend, yet high-profile enough to garner terrorist groups the attention they desired.

Unlike the terrorist attacks of September 2001, however, the terrorism of the 1990s slowed tourism to particular destinations. Suffering more from terrorism were the countries that relied on tourism for a significant amount of their national revenue. Egypt, for instance, felt a considerable economic loss in the wake of a November 1997 terrorist attack on tourists visiting a historic temple. The attack killed 58 people. One study, however, suggested that the effects on some tourist sites was fleeting, with tourism returning to full visitation within six weeks.

Perhaps one of the strangest developments out of the increasingly threatening world was a book series issued by notable travel book publisher Fielding, Robert Young Pelton's *The World's Most Dangerous Places.* Though prefaced with stern warnings that the destinations listed in the book were indeed dangerous and should not be considered as tourist destinations, the book was marketed as a travel handbook, and it became a *New York Times* best seller. Ultimately, the annual editions of the books served mostly as interesting reading for people who would never actually see the destinations in question. But even if few of the purchasers of this book actually ever considered visiting the war zones and such listed therein, the book's mere existence and success suggests an important aspect of travel and the tourist mentality of the 1990s.

ADVENTURE AND SPORTS TRAVEL

For many Americans, the desire now was for adventure or travel off the beaten track. Many travelers pursued vacations involving hiking, camping, bicycling, rock climbing, boating, skiing, river rafting, and numerous other physical activities. The number of American's engaging in outdoor sports increased notably in the 1990s, as did travel of this sort. (See Sports and Leisure of the 1990s.) Camping and backpacking trips became increasingly popular as Americans sought temporary solace from the hustle of urban life. One survey found that more than 53 million people went camping in the 1994–1995 season, roughly 10 million more than a decade before. Rather than simply visiting established camping areas, Americans were seeking out areas that were as far as possible from civilization. Indeed, the 1994–1995 study found that the number of primitive area campers had almost doubled from the 1982–1983 season.[3] Likewise, skiing vacations increased in popularity, with snowboarding's growing popularity (driven by the rise in popularity of extreme sports, as well as by its induction into Olympic competition) adding significantly to ski resorts' revenues. There was a boom in the number of visitors to the country's national parks. Additionally, there was a significant increase in the number of tourists who pursued marine activities like swimming with dolphins or close-quarters whale watching. These attractions proved problematic for marine biologists, who saw the opportunity to educate the public about ocean life, but also how these activities could infringe upon the natural environments and behaviors of sea creatures.

Many travelers took a new approach to international travel. The 1990s saw a significant increase in travel to less developed (or third world) nations, which included much of the South American and African continents. Similarly, many took to backpacking across Europe or the Orient or any other destination they might reach. Adventure travel in the 1990s tended toward less developed but fairly known lands. The goal of adventure travel was not to accumulate knowledge of the world for the benefit of mankind, but to experience to personal growth or enrichment. Interaction with native populaces outside of well-worked tourist destinations, it was reasoned, must be more enlightening than the usual tourist traps. Likewise, firsthand experience with exotic locales certainly must be more personally enlightening and invigorating than simply reading about such places in *National*

Geographic. Critics noted that adventure travelers often lacked contextual understanding of the cultures they visited and upon whom they passed judgment. Additionally, adventure travel was also unquestionably a status builder, offering bragging rights, rather than enlightenment, to those who visited the most exotic locales.

Adventure travel was especially appealing to a fairly young segment of the population, those labeled Generation X. The individuals of this generation came into their own as independent consumers, and consequently were, for the first time, planning their own vacations. This was also the generation seemingly most dissatisfied with the growing urbanization of the United States, as well as the growing homogeneity of America's urban spaces, which were perceived as instituted by earlier generations.

ENVIRONMENT AND SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

One of the major problems of tourism is that tourist destinations experience the wear and tear that comes with increased traveler traffic. The latter decades of the twentieth century seemed to demonstrate an increased awareness of the damage that could be inflicted by tourism. England's Stonehenge, for instance, saw increased levels of protection. The ancient monument, which could once be viewed by visitors close up, even touched by them, was cordoned off in 1989. Ultimately, the separation of traveler from artifact diminished the experience of visiting Stonehenge and similar destinations, but so, too, would the gradual degradation of the monument.

Naturally, the concern about manmade destinations was echoed in consideration of natural attractions, including natural parks and preserves. Visits to federally owned natural sites increased some 40 percent from 1986 to 1996, often outpacing the parks service's efforts both to provide accommodations and to reduce the detrimental environmental effects of the crowds.[4] The infrastructure of many parks fast became insufficient for the tourist load. Increasing the size of roads and build more tourist accommodations, however, infringed upon the natural environment, the very attraction drawing visitors.

As concern over the state of the environment increased, so, too, did the attention given to tourism's impact on the environment. Thus, environmental tourism, also called "green" tourism and, from the travel industry side, sustainable tourism developed. The early 1990s saw several pioneering books espousing the ideas of environmental tourism, particularly *Ecotourism: The Potentials and Pitfalls* (1990) by Elizabeth Boo, which outlined the problems and set a precedent for exploring ways to sustain both the desires of travelers and the environments to which they traveled.

On a global level, tourism's environmental impact was indirectly addressed at a 1992 Earth Summit, where government representatives from 179 countries unanimously endorsed an agenda designed to address the problem. This agreement, Local Agenda 21, encouraged the sustaining of destination lands with additional funding, land grants, and tax incentives on the part of host governments. While the initial agenda did not specifically name tourism, a 1999 meeting of the U.N. Committee on Sustainable Development refined Local Agenda 21, calling for further government efforts in this matter, and also calling on the travel industry itself to educate travelers—through in-flight videos and publications, for instance—about how to reduce their environmental impact.

Of course, one important issue addressed how tourism, even ecotourism, might affect local populations. Tourism certainly had an effect on native populations. Some experts expressed their concerns about how sustainable tourism was being applied to the environment of destinations without consideration of other factors.

Ultimately, the number of eco-tourists increased, as did the number of general travelers with an eye for the environment. This growth became apparent in the increased attention on the part of transportation services and hotels to the environment, and, perhaps more importantly, to making their attention to the environment visible to the consumer. Hotels spearheaded the move by posting signs encouraging lodgers to reuse towels to reduce water use and minimize dissemination of laundry detergents into the environment. Additionally, many tourists sought to lessen their impact by camping, rather than staying in hotels, or

relying increasingly on hiking and biking, rather than on less environmentally friendly modes of vehicular travel.

GAMBLING DESTINATIONS

Traditional gambling destinations—Atlantic City, Las Vegas, and Reno—suffered in the 1990s on several counts. First, legalized gambling grew as an industry, with many states allowing limited casino development and the installment of state lotteries. Moreover, in 1988, Congress passed the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, which limited how states could regulate Native American–run casinos on Indian lands. As a result, hundreds of largely unregulated and untaxed Indian casinos sprouted up across the country. Spurred in part by the growth of Indian casinos, many states instituted limited legalized gambling. In 1990, Colorado, Illinois, and Mississippi enabled some degree of gambling. These were followed by Louisiana, Missouri, Indiana, and Michigan. Canada also relaxed its gambling restrictions in the early 1990s. While many of these regions limited gambling to waterways or rural locations, the casinos still reduced the need for gamblers to travel to Nevada or Atlantic City. The 1990s also saw the development of Internet gambling, which allowed wagering from home. Early online casinos were fairly simplistic, but later models offered elaborate virtual casino environments.[5]

Still, even with the rise of online gambling, a study revealed that, in 2000, some 72.8 million travelers, about 7 percent of domestic travelers, made trips that involved significant gaming.[6] A large part of this success was due to the development of new luxury hotel casinos, such as the Luxor Hotel, Treasure Island, Mandalay Bay, and others in Las Vegas and the Silver Legacy in Reno. These new casinos marketed themselves differently than the gambling industry had in the past by promoting non-gaming entertainment, particularly spectacular shows with big name entertainers. Moreover, many of these hotels emphasized the family aspect of the casinos, a precedent set by the Circus Circus hotels back in the 1970s. A casino like the Luxor, opened in 1993 as the world's third largest hotel, could market itself by its elaborate Egyptian theme, complete with pyramid and sphinx. Treasure Island offered an extravagant pirate spectacle designed to appeal to the entire family. The draw of these new hotels, however, resulted in the closing of smaller, older casinos, leaving much of downtown Reno, for instance, filled with vacant buildings by century's end.

AUTOMOTIVE TRAVEL

A 1996 study found that auto travel (including rental cars, trucks, and recreational vehicles) accounted for about 80 percent of personal travel in the United States. Air travel accounted for 17 percent, with bus and train travel registering barely one percent each. The sense of personal control and flexibility offered by personal vehicles amplified in the 1990s. Car models often reflected a driver's desire for freedom and individuality.

The popular sports utility vehicle (SUV) of the 1990s bridged the gap between the family car and the truck, and it was sporty. SUVs were rugged, large, four-wheel drive autos, designed to take on all kinds of terrain. Advertisements typically showed them climbing mountains, racing through mud, and in other adventurous settings. The names given these vehicles frequently tapped into the adventure notion as well: Blazer, Cherokee, Expedition, Tahoe, Yukon, and Bronco. Cadillac added a luxury SUV to the market in 1999, the Escalade. SUVs were significantly more expensive than the average pickup truck, and consequently, the SUV appealed to better-off buyers, mostly urban.

SUVs also found a major market among professional women with families and with suburban housewives because it could accommodate many passengers and goods. Moreover, it may well be that such large vehicles also gave the drivers a sense of power and safety. Critics questioned the need for such a vehicle on well-paved city streets and noted their truly awful gas mileage. Whatever their disadvantages, however, the SUV craze continued. There were 7 million SUVs on American roads in 1993, but at the end of the decade, this number had risen to 20 million.[7]

Several car manufacturers also tapped into the nostalgia held by baby boomers. The prime example of this is the reintroduction of the Volkswagen Beetle in 1997. Sales of the classic Beetle



The 1999 Cadillac Escalade, shown in this 1998 photo in Detroit, was Cadillac's first sports utility vehicle (SUV). AP Photo.

in the United States ended in 1978, although production continued in Mexico into the 1990s. The reintroduced Beetle was only superficially similar to earlier models, bearing more resemblance under its shell to the more conventional VW Golf. But that shell, a modernized variation on the classic Beetle, made all the difference. The Beetle became one of the most popular small cars of the late 1990s, and it was followed by other nostalgia vehicles, most notably Chrysler's PT Cruiser, a combination of 1930s style and 1990s minivan engineering, which was introduced in 1999 to widespread popularity.

Of course, more traditional designs continued to flourish, with plenty of sport cars and economy cars. But many of the automotive advances vastly improved automotive safety, especially in terms of body design and the increased use of airbags, which was one of the reasons for the elimination of a federally-mandated maximum speed law. This change allowed states and cities to determine their own speed limits, or in one area of Montana, to do away with a posted speed limit altogether. Additionally, auto makers began incorporating more elaborate computer systems into vehicles. Some cars had computerized security systems, some had digital dashboard instruments, and some had entertainment systems, complete with television for those in the back seat.

Perhaps most significant was the incorporation of a Global Positioning System (GPS) in some vehicles. When used in conjunction with a computerized map system, the GPS could inform a driver as to his or her exact location, and offer directions to the desired destination. In 1997, OnStar linked the GPS with cellular technology, connecting drivers with live operators using wireless cellular technology. The data conveyed to the

human operator included the car's exact location. Consequently, operators could inform customers of not only their location, but of nearby roadways or businesses and of current traffic conditions. Additionally, the OnStar system had connections to various parts of the car, and was thereby able to relay information about the car's status and unlock doors. Sensors connected to airbags reported when the bags were inflated, so that operators could attempt to contact drivers and authorities in the event of a crash.

Road construction also accelerated during the decade, although clearly road building failed to keep up with increased traffic. Observers realized that roads inefficiently funneled far more vehicles into traffic patterns than the roads were designed to handle. Much of the construction focused on growing cities, but established urban areas lacked space to expand their roadways significantly. In 1999, the transportation institute of Texas A&M University studied 75 urban areas and found that the average driver spent about 60 hours in traffic, up from 16 hours in 1982, when the last similar study was conducted. Another traffic study the following year found that time in traffic increased to 62 hours. Additionally, the study found that the weekday high traffic period referred to as rush hour had grown from less than five hours long to about seven hours. The study recommended the building of more roads, but also noted that better management of roadways and better promotion of alternative transportation would also be necessary.

The condition of roads also became an important issue in the 1990s, with many older roadways falling into serious disrepair. For example, in California, it is estimated that the number of urban highways in need of serious repair doubled in the 1990s, and that roads in poor condition were costing the average Californian $140 a year in auto repairs. Likewise, the growing dilapidation of California bridges became a major concern.

TRAINS, BOATS, AND BUSES

Railways continued to flourish as a domestic means of travel in other countries, but the United States had seen a long downward slide in train travel since its peak in the 1920s. Most rail companies turned away from passenger transport, concentrating on cargo shipping, which left Amtrak essentially unopposed. Despite the decline in rail travel, Amtrak still saw significant revenues. In 1997 alone, Amtrak carried 48 million travelers, including many business commuters, and garnered a record-breaking $1.67 billion. Amtrak was, however, still subsidized by the federal government, as an economic and relatively environmentally friendly means of transportation. Amtrak strived in the 1990s to reach a level of self-sufficiency, particularly with the production of high-speed Acela Express, which was unveiled in 2000 as the American answer to Japan's and France's high speed trains.[8]

In 1993, The White House Conference on Global Climate Change reported that intercity bus service was the most energy-efficient commuter transportation mode, more efficient than air, automobile, and even train service (including subways). Estimates at the end of the 1990s placed the number of buses in service at between 26,000 and 28,000. While many were confined within city limits, bus services flourished not only in cities, but over longer distances as well, with companies like Greyhound. and the Trailways National Bus System offering charter and tour "motorcoach" services. The continued stability of the charter bus industry was aided by replacing older vehicles with luxury buses, complete with reclining seats and climate control.

The cruise liner industry was one of the most rapidly growing travel industries at the end of the century. In 1980, an estimated 1.4 million people took cruise ship vacations, but by 1997, that number reached over 5 million. The Caribbean accounted for about 48 percent of cruise ship vacations according to 1998 figures, but other destinations, especially the Mediterranean, Alaska, Northern Europe, and the Bahamas, were also popular. Disney made a great stir when it established the Disney Cruise Line, which geared cruises toward the whole family, providing at least as much for children to do as for adults. Additionally, Disney offered a package vacation including not only the cruise, but also time at Florida's Walt Disney World or Disney's Animal



The *Carnival Destiny,* a huge cruise ship, dwarfs a smaller cruise vessel, background, as it arrives at the Port of Miami in 1996. The ship has a passenger capacity of 3,400 people, is higher than the Statue of Liberty, and is too wide to pass through the Panama Canal. AP Photo.

Kingdom, a new 500-acre, $800 million park that opened in April 1998.

Pleasure boating also grew in popularity. Although the expense of boating kept it as an activity for the wealthy and upper-middle class, an increase in disposable income for many Americans led to an increase in boat sales. Technological advancements changed boating significantly. In 1985, a sailboat could travel some 20 miles in two hours. By 1998, high-speed catamarans could travel 75 miles in the same amount of time. Consequently, boat tourism increased significantly. A given tropical island that once took a full day to reach just 15 years earlier could now be visited in a matter of hours.

Visual Arts of the 1990s

ART AND CONTROVERSY IN THE EARLY 1990s

The 1980s ended with considerable controversy about the appropriate subject matter for art. This controversy came to a head with the debate over federal National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) funding of artists considered by some as obscene. Specifically, the work of such artists as Robert Mapplethorpe and Andres Serrano had become the battleground over which the NEA, the artists, and their supporters fought against such groups as evangelist Donald Wildmon's American Family Association. In July 1989, Senator Jesse Helms snuck an amendment through the sparsely attended Senate, that proclaimed that public funds (including, but not limited to, NEA funds) could not be used to support art that featured "depictions of sadomasochism, homoeroticism, the sexual exploitation of children, or individuals engaged in sex acts and which, when taken as a whole, do not have serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value."

In 1990, the NEA's president vetoed grants to several performance artists, Karen Finley, John Fleck, Holly Hughes, and Tim Miller, claiming their work was too political. That the performers were gay males, lesbians, and feminists—and politically on the left—was not lost on many observers. A lawsuit filed by the artists reinstated the grants three years after the vetoes, and also undercut the potency of the anti-obscenity pledge that NEA grant recipients were required to sign in the wake of the Helms amendment.

The NEA found itself embattled not only by the political right, but also by the left, which felt that the organization's recent attempts to restrict artistic content amounted to an assault on the first amendment's guarantee of free speech.

POLITICAL ART

AIDS had had a terrible impact on the art world in the 1980s and 1990s, taking the lives of Mapplethorpe (in 1989), Scott Burton, Keith Haring (both in 1990), David Wojnarowicz (in 1992), and many others. Not surprisingly, then, many artists created works that directly engaged the AIDS epidemic. Frequently, this work was among the most direct of the artists' work, backed as it was by a desire to educate. Ultimately, the most famous work of art addressing the AIDS epidemic, however, was more properly qualified as folk art. The AIDS Memorial Quilt, by the NAMES Project Foundation, with each panel representing a different AIDS victim, was started in 1987. The quilt included 1,920 panels when first displayed, and by 1996, the last time it was displayed in its

entirety, it included about 38,000 panels and covered the entirety of Washington, D.C.'s National Mall. The quilt continued to grow, reaching in excess of 46,000 panels and 91,000 names, which only represented 17.5 percent of American AIDS deaths. The 1996 display was likely the last such presentation of the whole quilt, which, at some 50 tons, was far too large for more than partial exhibition.[1]

Art that advanced feminist and homosexual politics continued to thrive within the world of art, but more notable was the growth in exhibitions featuring work by ethnic minorities. In 1990, the New Museum of Contemporary Art in New York launched "The Decade Show: Frameworks of Identity in the 1980s," a groundbreaking exhibition devoted to ethnic diversity and multiculturalism. Many of the artists of color featured in the exhibit were brought out of obscurity by the show. In the years that followed, major art museums added a great deal of work by ethnic minorities to their permanent collections, and held numerous shows highlighting their work. One of the most notable of these shows was the 1994 Whitney Museum exhibition titled the "Black Male," which took to task representations of black men in popular culture.

PUBLIC ART

In the United States, public art projects seemed to be erected at an accelerated pace late in the century. A central force in the creation of public art—mostly sculptures and murals, but also architecture and museum exhibits—was the attempt on the part of many cities to revitalize urban areas. (See Architecture of the 1990s.) Proponents claimed that public art would help add a sense of life to an area, bringing businesses and patrons back to the abandoned urban areas of a city. Whereas prior public art, more accurately thought of as civic art, had been frequently placed without regard to area residents, the late 1980s and 1990s saw public officials seeking to allow the local populace some say in the kind of art that would decorate their town.

Several cities instituted art education programs in conjunction with the development of public art projects. An example of this is a statue of the Aztec winged-serpent god Quetzalcoatl erected in San Jose, California. While the statue had its detractors, it nonetheless served as a significant work for a city with such a large and active Latino populace.

ART AND TELEVISION

One of the most important figures in bringing high art to a popular audience was also one of the most unlikely. Sister Wendy Beckett, a tiny nun with an animated and passionate way of talking about art, found a wide audience through her BBC/PBS television shows that traced the history of art. Sister Wendy, born in South Africa and later relocated to England, made her first television appearance in 1991 on the BBC, and was shortly re-aired in the United States to critical and popular acclaim. She hosted numerous art documentaries, including *Sister Wendy's Story of Painting* (1997). She not only explored ancient arts, but also delved into the world of modern art in such a way that the average audience could begin to understand avant-garde art. Sister Wendy simply didn't come across as an art critic. There was no jargon and no pretense to her commentary, simply a knowledge of art history, a keen eye for detail, and an obvious passion for art. Her television success was supplemented by some 15 books on art authored by Sister Wendy, along with numerous articles in art magazines.

Though none quite matched Sister Wendy in sheer charm, other art series appeared on PBS. Among these were the series *American Photography: A Century in Images* (1999) and *American Visions* (1997) hosted by renowned critic Robert Hughes. The art critic for *Time* magazine, Hughes wrote and narrated the eight-part series, which took the viewer to more than 100 locations in the United States. Hughes sought to explore how art reflected the point of view of various people in various parts of the country at different times in history.

PHOTOGRAPHY

David LaChapelle and France's Jean-Baptiste Mondino shaped the look of the decade's fashion and celebrity photography. Their photography

frequently relied on high stylization, unusual and deliberate posing of the subjects, and garish colors. LaChapelle produced particularly conspicuous celebrity photography, as one of the most commonly employed cover photographers for *Rolling Stone* and other major magazines like *The Face* and *Interview.* Mondino worked in many areas of photography, from fashion shoots, to album and magazine covers. Both photographers also directed music videos. Other major photographers working in the field of fashion and celebrity photography included Steven Klein, a frequent contributor to international editions of *Vogue,* and Greg Gorman, who also produced movie posters. The German-born former model, Ellen von Unwerth, also made a name for herself in the 1990s with her own brand of fashion and celebrity photography, which appeared in major magazines like *Vogue,* as well as in several books.

Working in a decidedly different vein, Anne Geddes was perhaps the most popular photographer of the decade. Her best-known work involved babies dressed as various natural objects, including animals, insects, vegetables, and especially flowers. Detractors claimed that her work was more interested in being cute than being substantive. Geddes's many books (particularly the 1996 collection *Down in the Garden*) were photography best sellers, and they spawned a cottage industry. Her distinctive baby photos could be seen on note cards, journals, calendars, photo albums, advertisements, and more. In addition, numerous children's books were produced using her photographs.

Similarly criticized for their lack of substance were a series of photos by William Wegman, who became enormously popular in the 1990s on the basis of his dog photos. He dressed Weimaraners in various costumes and photographed them, as in his picture-storybook adaptation of Little Red Riding Hood, complete with Weimaraner wolf and Weimaraner Red Riding Hood. This 1993 publication was followed by the like-minded *Cinderella* in 1999. Wegman's highly successful photography albums included *William Wegman's Farm Days* (1997), *My Town* (1998), *What Do You Do?* (1999), and *William Wegman's Pups* (1999). Interestingly, even as critics lambasted Geddes and Wegman, their technique was quite strong. Wegman, particularly, was less known for his edgier non-dog photography, wherein his sense of composition served a more pointed, less commercial purpose.

As in other areas of visual art, photography was the subject of considerable controversy, particularly the work of several photographers whose focus was the youthful human body. San Francisco Bay area photographer Jock Sturges had several books that contained nude photos of young people, particularly girls, just coming into sexual maturity. Defenders of Sturges's work argued that his photos were artfully composed depictions of a natural part of adolescence. Detractors claimed they were no better than child pornography. Sturges was charged, and later cleared, as a pornographer.

Other photography books with similar content also received condemnation. Among these were those of Lexington, Virginia, photographer Sally Mann, whose photos were collected in *Immediate Family* (1992) and *Still Time* (1994). A well-regarded photographer, Mann's photos were moodier than those of Sturges, with shapes and shadow almost in abstraction. Thus, many considered Mann's work decidedly less sexualized than that of Sturges. Barnes & Noble and other outlets took to keeping these photography books behind the counter, and eventually making the books available only through special order. The controversy about the books and their photographers eventually diminished, having affected little more than an increase in the sales of the books.

An altogether different kind of controversy developed around the digital manipulation of photographs. Although the practice of altering photographic evidence was nothing new, computer technology made the practice much easier and much harder to detect. While this practice did have some worthwhile practical effects—such as the use of computer-generated age progressions in the search for missing persons—it also caused concern because even a photograph could not be taken as irrefutable proof.

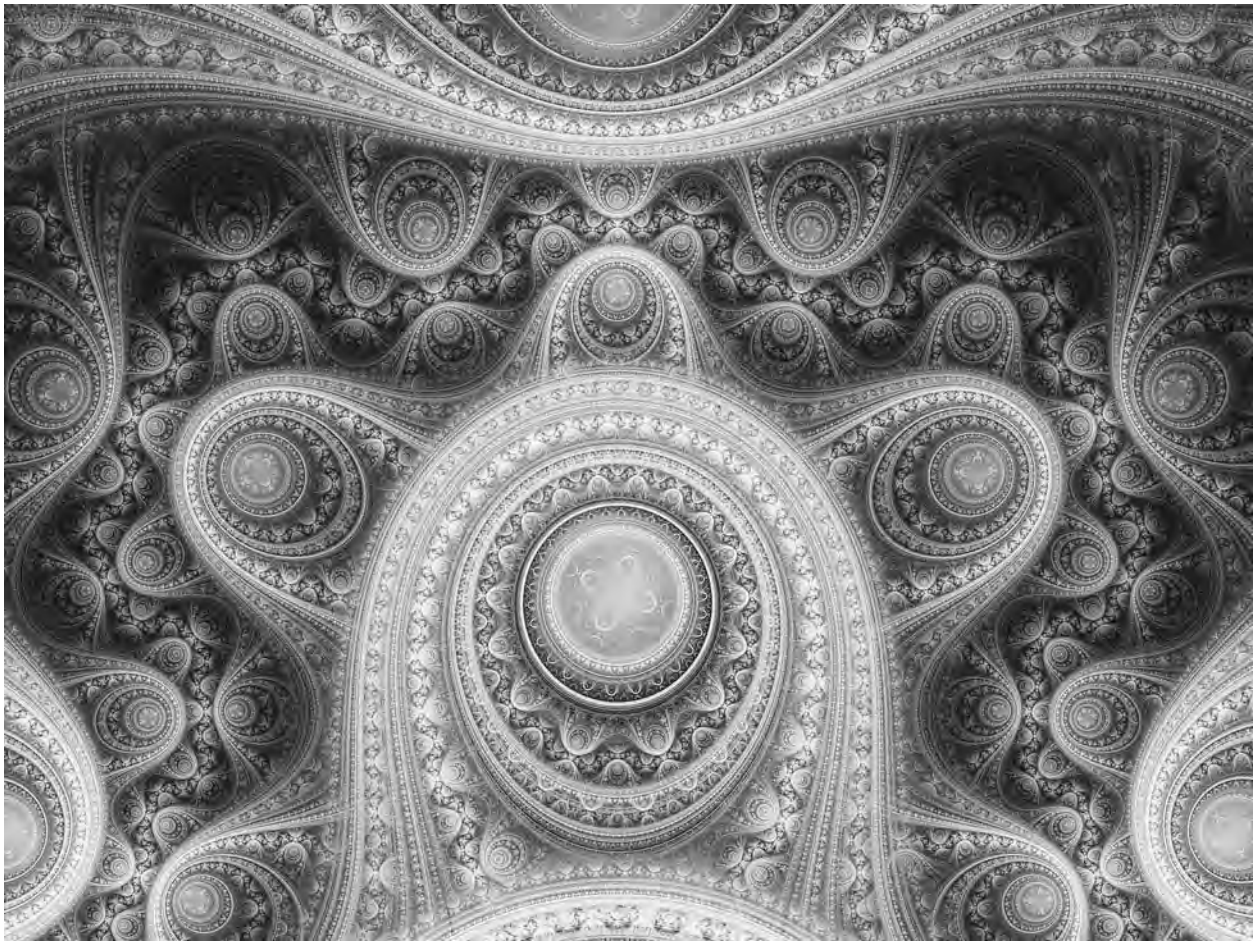
Digital photo alteration became commonplace. Photo technique magazines regularly featured articles on how to manipulate photographs, to center an image, to sharpen (or even alter) a background, and to brighten or mute colors.

Moreover, these powers were not only granted to the professional photographer but also came within the reach of the average amateur. The 1990s saw the development of affordable digital cameras, which captured images in a computer memory, allowing them either to be printed or downloaded onto a home computer. In addition, many models allowed for instant review of a photograph, so that only successful photos needed to be kept, and these could be digitally manipulated for various purposes or easily e-mailed or posted on Web sites.

COMPUTER ART

The 1990s saw the development of several new avenues of artistic production using the computer itself for the creation of art, alternately called cyberart, digital art, or simply computer-generated art. Indeed, works frequently might exist strictly within the memory of a computer, without any true source material for manipulation. In addition, the computer allowed for the creation of art that could not be approximated with any other medium.

One prime example of this was the creation of digital stereograms, also known as Magic Eye pictures. Stereograms existed in some form long before the 1990s, with early postcards using duo images. The idea was that, by bringing these images into the same visual space and relaxing the eyes, sometimes with the assistance of vision distorting lenses, the pair of 2D images would appear as a single 3D image. In the 1960s, the application of computers to this concept took place. By the 1990s, the stereogram techniques had advanced amazingly, and individuals like Dan Dyckman and Mike Bielinski saw the aesthetic potential



In this example of fractal art, a representation of a complex mathematical iteration looks both beautiful and strange. Courtesy of Shutterstock.

of the stereogram. Advanced computer technology simplified the mathematical processes used in stereogram creation, resulting in images of increasing complexity. Most stereograms appeared, at first glance, as chaotic abstract patterns, but with the relaxing of the eye, now without the need for special lenses, previously unseen 3D images came into focus. Other stereograms used non-abstract repeated images—of coins, insects, flowers, and so on—which could create a similar illusion of depth. The stereogram phenomenon first exploded in Japan, and its popularity quickly reached the United States. In 1993, the book *Magic Eye: A New Way of Looking at the World,* which featured images created by N. E. Thing Enterprises, hit bookstores and quickly became a best seller. The book's success led to many other books of stereograms. Additionally, such images began appearing more frequently in advertising, on posters and greeting cards, and even in a few art gallery showcases.

Fractal art also became popular during the decade. These designs, the visual representations of complex mathematical formulas, began to appear with greater frequency on posters, cards, and more. Several books of fractal art were published. Critics contended that it was not true art because the images were the simple playing out of mathematical algorithms. Defenders claimed that, because the artist made certain selections in launching a fractal, that determined the ultimate pattern.[2] The works, with their complex mingling of both natural patterns and high tech computations, quickly found an audience, with successful video-cassettes and books, such as *Fractal Cosmos: The Art of Mathematical Design* (1994).

Fractals and stereograms were among the most high-profile works of computer art, but they were not the only modes of digital creativity. Even the average home computer included illustration software, and those in the business of art used such software to create representational art that, in some cases, was difficult to distinguish from straight photography. The perfection of textural modeling allowed computer artists to closely approximate the look of different materials, from metal to human skin. Also significant was the rise to prominence of computer collages and mosaics. For a collage, the artist simply used the computer to juxtapose illustrations, photos, and other images (including backgrounds and color schemes) to create a unified whole. Mosaics took this process further, using perhaps thousands of photos and placing them in such a way that, with some digital manipulation of color and shadow, these small photos formed a larger picture. As these new innovations shaped the way people thought aesthetically, age-old

FROM STREET TO NET

Graffiti has a long history, going back all the way to the cave art of ancient humans. One of its most recent forms, spray-painted graffiti (or, as some would call it, aerosol art), emerged in New York City in the late 1960s. By the mid-1980s, the form had been adapted by the art world, and painters like Jean-Michel Basquiat and Keith Haring, who had gotten their start as graffiti street artists, were showing their work in high-end galleries in North America and Europe. New York's street graffiti practitioners continued to create their (usually illegal) displays on walls and subway trains until police crackdowns in the 1990s began to discourage them.

At that point, though, taggers and aerosol artists in Europe, Africa, and South America injected new life into the subculture, united by technology: the Internet. What was formerly an ephemeral and local art form suddenly could take on an extended life and find a wider audience. Artists and crews in Buenos Aires, Cape Town, Copenhagen, Oslo, Toronto, and many other cities set up Web sites where they could show off pictures of their tags and murals to inspire their peers and teach new techniques. E-mail chains and message boards allowed graffiti writers to connect with one another, arrange collaborations and visits, and share tips and tricks.

Some of the old-school graffiti makers disdained such high-profile activities, maintaining that "true vandals" needed to keep a low profile for fear of prosecution. But the newer artists reveled in the chance to establish a global movement, to join the "classroom on the Net" that could show them how to emulate the South Bronx taggers who had started it all.

debates arose about what, exactly, constituted art. Could a Web page be art, with its mingling of images and texts? Could computer games be considered art?

ART AND CONTROVERSY IN THE LATE 1990s

Just as the decade opened with controversy about what was appropriate in art, so, too, did it end. Of particular note was the Brooklyn Museum of Art show, "Sensation: Young British Artists From the Saatchi Collection." This show, which began in October 1999, was combated not only by the usual decency groups, especially the Catholic League, but also came under fire by then-New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. The exhibit, first opened at London's Royal Academy in 1997, offered such viewings as Marc Quinn's self-portrait carved out of eight pints of the artist's own frozen blood and Damien Hirst's macabre work featuring such things as a bisected pig and a 14-foot tiger shark floating in formaldehyde. But the center of the controversy was Chris Ofili's stylized painting of the Virgin Mary, notable for the lump of elephant dung affixed to the portrait and the clippings from pornographic magazines surrounding it. Proclaiming the exhibit "sick," Giuliani announced that he would withhold the $7.2 million in city funding to the museum unless the show was cancelled. He also threatened to disband the museum's board of directors and filed a lawsuit on behalf of the city, which claimed that the museum had violated its lease.[3] The Brooklyn Museum countersued, claiming that the denial of funding was an infringement on free speech. Artists across the world and much of the mainstream press jumped to the museum's defense. Respected news commentator Hugh Downs reported that, although he found the show disgusting, it was neither his nor Giuliani's place to decide for others what was appropriate viewing. However, these legal matches (settled some months after the exhibit had closed in early 2000) had little effect other than to raise awareness of the show. Those putting on the show were well aware that controversy sells. Even the advertising seemed to bear this out. One poster, for instance, presented itself as a health warning: "The contents of this exhibition may cause shock, vomiting, confusion, panic, euphoria, and anxiety. If you suffer from high blood pressure, a nervous disorder, or palpitations, you should consult your doctor before viewing this exhibition." Such copy served a dual purpose, laying ground for the claim that no one who had viewed the exhibit had done so without full knowledge of the nature of its content, as well as enticing attendees with a lurid promise of forbidden sights.



Chris Ofili's *The Holy Virgin Mary,* created in 1996, a controversial painting of the Virgin Mary embellished with a clump of elephant dung and two dozen cutouts of buttocks from pornographic magazines, is shown at the Brooklyn Museum of Art in 1999, in New York City. AP Photo.

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2000s

Timeline

of Popular Culture Events, 2000s

2000

December 12: The Supreme Court votes 5–4 to halt presidential election recounts, essentially declaring Bush the winner.

Stock market jitters turn more widespread, signaling the end of the dot.com boom.

Computers around the world are infected with the "I love you" virus attached to spam e-mail.

Six-year investigation into the Clintons regarding Whitewater allegations ends with no indictments.

Presidential election pitting Vice President Al Gore versus Texas Governor George W. Bush gridlocked over turmoil regarding outcome of Florida vote. The recount is hindered by fraud allegations and legal wrangling. Bush later declared winner by 537 votes.

2001

September 11: Islamic terrorists under the direction of al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden hijack four passenger airliners in the United States. They deliberately crash them into the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. The fourth plane crashes in a rural area outside Shanksville, Pennsylvania, while thought to be headed for the White House or U.S. Capitol Building. The attack on the World Trade Center destroys the buildings and inflicts major damage to the surrounding areas. Some 3,000 people are killed overall.

October: There are national worries over anthrax scare after drug-laced letters sent to media and governmental figures.

December 2: The Enron Corporation files for bankruptcy in a spectacular flameout after years of winning critical acclaim from the media for its successes in corporate America.

George W. Bush is sworn in as nation's 43rd president.

President Bush advocates and Congress passes $1.35 trillion tax cut over 11 years.

In response to the September 11 attacks, the U.S. and British armies invade Afghanistan in October in search of bin Laden, to destroy al-Qaeda terrorist camps, and overthrow the Taliban government.

2002

March: Fox airs the show *Celebrity Boxing,* pitting celebrities against one another in the ring. The first program featured former child actors Danny Bonaduce versus Barry Williams and former Olympic ice skater Tonya Harding

versus Paula Jones, a woman infamous for alleging an affair with Bill Clinton.

October: Congress votes to authorize President Bush to use force, if necessary, to disarm Iraq.

Former president Jimmy Carter wins the Nobel Peace Prize.

In his State of the Union address in January, President Bush labels Iraq, Iran, and North Korea an "axis of evil" that threatens world peace.

Dave Thomas, founder of the fast food chain Wendy's dies. He had gained widespread fame from starring in the company's television commercials.

The Homeland Security Advisory System is introduced in March. The color-coded scale links the threat against the U.S. based on a five-point range, from red ("severe") to green ("low").

At the 74th Academy Awards, actress Halle Berry becomes the first African American female to win the "Best Actress" award.

Lisa "Left Eye" Lopes, a prominent female rapper and member of the hip hop group TLC, is killed in La Ceiba, Honduras, in a car accident while on vacation.

FBI agent Robert Hanssen sentenced to life in prison without parole for selling secrets to Russia over a 22-year period in exchange for money and diamonds.

Baseball great Ted Williams dies. After his death, his family battled over his remains, with his son eventually having the body placed in cryonic suspension.

A series of shootings take place in the greater Washington, D.C., area with 10 people killed and three more critically injured. The gunman is labeled the "Beltway sniper." Residents are urged to use caution and stay away from some areas. Two men orchestrated the attacks, which they had carried out earlier in the South and West. In total, they are known to have killed 16 people.

2003

February 1: The Space Shuttle *Columbia* explodes upon reentry. All seven astronauts inside are killed.

March: President Bush says in a primetime news conference that he is prepared to go to war against Iraq, with or without United Nations or other international support.

The U.S. launches a predawn missile attack in Iraq in March, targeting sites of "military importance," according to President Bush. Saddam Hussein appears on Iraqi television to denounce the attacks and rally his people.

Dixie Chicks lead singer Natalie Maines sets off a national controversy when at a London concert she exclaims that the group members feel "ashamed" that President Bush is a fellow Texan.

The DaVinci Code, a novel by Dan Brown, reaches the top of the best-selling fiction lists and stays there for three years. (The movie version is released in 2006, starring Tom Hanks.)

Allied forces rescue Army Pfc. Jessica Lynch, a prisoner of war held at an Iraqi hospital, who becomes a patriotic symbol.

After the fall of Baghdad and Tikrit, the Pentagon declares an end to major fighting in Iraq and begins withdrawing troops, warships, and aircraft from the Gulf region. In May, President Bush stands in front a banner announcing "Mission Accomplished."

President Bush signs $350 billion tax cut bill.

Federal and local authorities raid the BALCO offices owned by Victor Conte. The raid sets in motion the investigation of professional athletes with ties to BALCO.

2004

The CIA admits in February that no imminent threat from weapons of mass destruction existed prior to the 2003 invasion of Iraq.

The city of San Francisco begins issuing marriage licenses to same-sex couples.

Dove launches "Celebrating Curves" campaign, featuring real women as models in print and television ads, in contrast to young, beautiful, slender models that dominated most advertisements.

Former president Ronald Reagan dies in his Bel-Air, California, home at the age of 93.

The Boston Red Sox win the World Series. The victory breaks the supposed "Curse of the Bambino," said to haunt the franchise since it last won a title and then later sold the rights to Babe Ruth in 1918 to the New York Yankees.

After a long investigation and trial, a jury finds Scott Peterson guilty of the murder of his wife Laci and unborn son Conner. The case dominated the news headlines after Peterson reported his wife missing on Christmas Eve in 2002.

President George W. Bush is re-elected, beating John Kerry, the Democratic nominee.

Social networking Web sites Facebook and My Space are launched.

2005

May: W. Mark Felt reveals that he is the famous "deep throat" informant who leaked information to Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein regarding Watergate.

June: Pop singer Michael Jackson is acquitted of 10 charges, including molesting a child, conspiracy, and providing alcohol to minors, in a California courtroom.

July: Sandra Day O'Connor, the first woman on the U.S. Supreme Court, retires after serving for 24 years.

August: Hurricane Katrina ravishes part of Florida, Louisiana, and Mississippi. The storm surge causes the levees to break in New Orleans, resulting in widespread damage as 80 percent of the city is flooded. The Bush administration is criticized for its slow response and mismanagement of disaster relief efforts.

September: Millions of people are left homeless or displaced due to Hurricane Katrina. Thousands of stranded people are evacuated to the Astrodome in Houston and to other locations around the country. President Bush signs emergency $10.5 billion relief bill for the region.

The United States and other countries around the world donate supplies and assist with relief efforts in January after a tsunami devastates 11 Asian nations in late December 2004.

Jennifer Aniston and Brad Pitt announce their separation, setting off a popular news media frenzy.

NHL Commissioner Gary Bettman cancels the season after owners and players fail to reach agreement on a new contract and salary cap for players.

Lifestyle celebrity Martha Stewart is released from a West Virginia prison after serving a five-month sentence for lying to federal investigators about the questionable sale of stocks.

Terri Schiavo, a woman in a persistent vegetative state for 15 years, serves as a political lightning rod after her husband decides to remove the feeding tube keeping her artificially alive. While activists argue the morality of such a decision, the House and Senate vote to allow a federal court to rule on the case. Federal judge James Whittemore refuses to order that her breathing tube be reinserted. The U.S. Supreme Court does not hear the case. Schiavo dies on March 31, 13 days after the tube is removed. An autopsy revealed that she had no chance for recovery.

The House Government Reform Committee holds hearings to investigate steroids use in baseball. Ten players, including Mark McGwire and Sammy Sosa, testify.

Pfc. Lynndie England pleads guilty to seven criminal counts related to her role in torturing Iraqi prisoners of war held in Abu Ghraib.

Musicians in nine countries hold Live 8 concerts in July to raise money and awareness in the global fight against poverty in Africa.

The Colbert Report, a mock news show debuts, satirizing right wing news shows and general pomposity. It is a spin-off from another satirical news show, *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart,* and both are critical and popular successes, especially with young people.

2006

Former Enron executives Ken Lay and Jeff Skilling are convicted of conspiracy and fraud for their roles in the company's downfall.

For the first time in his presidency, President Bush uses his veto power, declining legislation that would have expanded stem cell research that uses federal financing.

Bob Dylan's *Modern Times* album debuts at Number One on the Billboard chart, his first work to hit the top spot since 1976's *Desire.*

The Democrats gain control of the House and Senate in the midterms elections.

Technorati, the first blog search engine, estimates that there are 28.4 million blogs online.

2007

April: Shock jock Don Imus sparks a national controversy after making derogatory racial remarks about the Rutgers University women's basketball team. The fallout includes Imus losing his CBS Radio and MSNBC television shows. However, by December he is back on the air with different networks.

Former vice president and senator Al Gore wins the Nobel Peace Prize for his work on global climate change.

After the Democrats win a majority of seats in the 2006 midterm elections, California Democrat Nancy Pelosi becomes the first woman Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Harvard University names its first female president when historian Drew Gilpin Faust takes over for embattled former leader Lawrence Summers.

Two articles by *Washington Post* reporters Dana Priest and Anne Hull investigating medical negligence at Walter Reed Army Medical Center in Washington set off a national controversy over treatment of returning and injured American soldiers who fought in Iraq.

A lone student gunman goes on a killing rampage on the campus of Virginia Tech University, killing 32 people.

The final episode of the HBO hit drama series *The Sopranos* airs. Fans and critics debate the open-ended finale.

Price Is Right host Bob Barker retires from the show at age 83 after 35 years of helming the show. Barker is replaced by comedian Drew Carey.

Apple Computer launches the iPhone, a high tech cellphone with a sleek black design and virtual keyboard that enables users to easily surf the Web and download music as well as actually make a telephone call.

"I Got a Crush . . . on Obama," a YouTube video posted by "Obama Girl" Amber Lee Ettinger, gains wide popularity. Although Barack Obama criticizes the video, it gets more than three million viewings by the fall.

A bridge spanning the Mississippi River outside Minneapolis collapses, killing 13 people and injuring hundreds more. The tragedy begins a national conversation regarding bridge safety and other problems with the country's infrastructure.

San Francisco Giants slugger Barry Bonds hits his 756th home run to pass Henry Aaron as the all-time home run king. Many consider Bonds's feat tainted by allegations that he used steroids.

Atlanta Falcons' star quarterback Michael Vick pleads guilty to charges of operating a dogfighting operation and participating in killing dogs.

Britney Spears lip-synchs and dances awkwardly through a live performance at the MTV Video Music Awards show. Her hopes for a "comeback" are foiled, but the shoddy performance keeps her in the celebrity news cycle.

Former football star and actor O. J. Simpson is arrested in Las Vegas and charged with robbery with a deadly weapon and other charges after attempting to steal some of his sports memorabilia items owned by a collector.

A panel of international experts upholds the decision to strip the 2006 Tour de France title from Floyd Landis, an American cyclist accused of doping violations.

Fueled by the Santa Ana winds, a wildfire rages across Southern California. The flames scorch more than 400,000 acres, destroy 2,000 homes, and force the evacuation of one million people before being contained.

2008

Presidential primary race gets officially underway with Iowa caucuses. Democrat Barack Obama and Republican Mike Huckabee win in Iowa. In the New Hampshire primary, Democrat Hillary Clinton is victorious, as is Republican John McCain.

Louisiana Republican Bobby Jindal becomes the first Indian-American governor in the United States.

President Bush proposes a $145 billion economic stimulus package in response to the sluggish economy, including the housing market crisis and rising oil prices. The plan features rebate checks for individuals. The House votes 385 to 35 in favor of the plan.

The Federal Reserve cuts interest rates by .75 percent, the largest single-day reduction in Fed history.

The Senate votes 81 to 16 in favor of the revised $168 billion stimulus package.

The Senate votes 68 to 29 to extend for six more years a law passed in August 2007 that permits government eavesdropping on telephone and e-mail conversations of American citizens and people overseas without a warrant. The bill also provides immunity to telecommunications companies that assist the government in its eavesdropping efforts.

A strike that began in November 2007 between Hollywood production companies and the Writers' Guild of America ends. The strike is estimated to have cost the industry more than $2 billion and forced an overhaul of the television season.

A student gunman opens fire on a classroom at Northern Illinois University, killing 6 students and himself and wounding 15 others.

Propelled by primary victories in Texas, Vermont, Rhode Island, and Ohio, John McCain appears to have won the Republican presidential nomination.

New York Governor Eliot Spitzer admits to his role in a prostitution ring and resigns from office. A former state attorney general, Spitzer had gained fame as an aggressive crusader against white collar crime.

Neil Diamond, age 67, becomes the oldest performer to reach #1 on the Billboard album chart with *Home Before Dark,* produced by music impresario Rick Rubin.

Citigroup Chairman Win Bischoff predicts that "we're through the worst" caused by the collapse of the subprime mortgage market. Citigroup, the largest bank in the United States, booked more than $40 billion in credit losses.

May: Myanmar is hit by a cylone, killing at least 84,000, with another 50,000 missing, and the province of Sichuan in Western China is hit by devastating earthquakes killing an estimated 80,000 people.

June: Barack Obama finally secures enough primary votes to be the Democratic nominee for the presidential election and the first African American to win from either party. Hillary Clinton concedes and campaigns with him to strengthen his support.

June: Floods in the Midwest cause billions of dollars in damages, severely damaging many towns, cities, and valuable farm land, with predictions of resultant higher food costs.

October: Congress approves, after first rejecting, a bailout package to buy up to $700 billion dollars in bad assets at financial institutions in order to stabilize markets, including preventing a massive number of home mortgages from defaulting.

On November 4, Barack Obama, the son of a man from Kenya and a woman from Kansas, wins the presidency of the United States.

Overview

of the 2000s

Google Nation

NICKNAME FOR THE DECADE, 2000–2008

In the twenty-first century, American popular culture is omnipresent. Sometimes it flows like a mighty river, slowly rolling along, but with powerful currents just under the surface. In other instances, pop culture spills over its banks, sweeping away everything in its path.

Popular culture comes alive at the juncture of the entwined forces of mass communications, technology, political systems, and the economy. The industry that developed to support and disseminate culture requires a seemingly endless supply of fact, fiction, gossip, illusion, and misinformation. Add a dash of national tragedy or smidge of political or economic intrigue, and the pot boils over. The popular culture machine shifts into high gear, whether that means the evening news team at ABC or a citizen journalist posting a grainy video on YouTube. The result of countless pop culture impressions over the course of a lifetime produces a permanently heightened sense of sensationalism, chased with healthy doses of societal angst.

The 2000s have been a decade of popular culture explosions, from the September 11 terrorist attacks and the nation's military response to natural and manmade phenomena, such as the devastation of Hurricane Katrina and Wall Street's implosion at the hands of the real estate mess. These are serious issues that forced action, reaction, and interpretation, all of which helped citizens comprehend the world around them.

After September 11, the somber national mood led some experts to declare the end of popular culture based on irony and satire. Others wondered if future films and television shows would ever be able to feature exploding airplanes or buildings. Over time, however, popular culture played dual roles: first, helping the nation mentally transition through the aftermath of terrorism; and second, calling into question the rationale for war and the long-term occupation of foreign nations. Perhaps this ability to examine the actions of the government and other institutions of power is the most positive aspect of popular culture. However, one could certainly argue that the fascination with pop culture diverts attention away from important challenges the nation faces and serves as a kind of placebo, enabling people to feel good about the world around them without really confronting issues directly.

Many contend that popular culture is about individuals from across the celebrity spectrum, perhaps mainly because people interact with it from the standpoint of their favorite actor, band, or television shows. Others counter with the notion that culture is actually about the larger influences that drive society, such as technology, government, economic structures, and national

ethos. For example, technology, economics, and innovation combine to produce culture-shifting products, such as the iPod and computers. These goods then set in motion a shift in popular culture as these products influence people far beyond their intended functions. In turn, users come to define themselves by them—the kinds of music they download, the movies they watch, and television shows they record via TiVo DVR. Each of these larger forces acts like the wind on our climate, transforming the weather without really being seen or even felt. All the roots of popular culture trace back to technology, governmental systems, economic influences, and culture.

TECHNOLOGY

Technology is a critical component of popular culture, weaving through virtually every aspect of society. Although the Internet is a major factor in how pop culture develops, technology goes beyond the Web. For example, plasma and high definition (HD) televisions are changing the way people watch programs and buy content. Cell phones seem to constantly evolve, not only getting smaller, but adding new capabilities that expand far beyond linking users by voice.

THE INTERNET

U.S. Internet activity reflects and expands on what is happening in the offline world. Perhaps one could argue that there really isn't even much of a distinction between the real world and the virtual world at this point. Unique visitors at political Web sites, for example, jumped 35 percent between December 2006 and December 2007 to 8.38 million. Furthermore, while pundits debated whether or not the nation sat in the midst of a recession, 31 percent more Web users visited online classifieds and career training and education sites over the same timeframe. In addition, Craigslist.org, which features both classifieds and job ads, increased unique visitors by 74 percent to reach 24.5 million.[1]

The search market continued to grow at an astronomical clip in 2007. Total searches eclipsed 113 billion for the year, with Google gaining a 56 percent market share. In December 2007 alone, Google recorded 5.6 billion searches, up 30 percent from a year earlier. Yahoo! sites accounted

LOVED AND HATED: CELL PHONES AND OTHER GADGETS

In the 1987 film *Wall Street,* Gordon Gekko, a Wall Street tycoon played by Michael Douglas, conducts his business on a mobile phone the size of a high school band's wood block, cementing in the minds of millions the notion that cell phones were synonymous with money and power. Fast forward just two decades later, and the cell phone has become as ubiquitous as a billfold, for many people, obsolescing the need for land lines altogether. Today's cell phone is also a computer, camera, stereo, and little black book filled with all the information that links human beings to society. Cells have permeated all classes and ages and have become boons in times of crisis. Everyone from elementary school children to octogenarians carry around their phones, and most take advantage of added features such as text messaging. Cell phones have become major players in the crisis narrative of modern times. Who can forget the calls from terrified students to their parents during the Columbine massacre? Or the tragic calls during September 11? Perhaps the only lamentable aspect of the cell phone age is the necessary evil of having to listen to the shameless caller who forgoes the etiquette of public space and bellows into his or her phone to the chagrin of everyone in the vicinity.

No doubt, like every other instance of conspicuous consumption, it's all about the image. Nevertheless, the age of personal gadgets is upon us, from hands-free devices that enable cell phone users to gesticulate in a full range of motions, to Blackberries, to GPS devices in cars, whose multifaceted functions would make the 1980s television character MacGyver drool (who was always scientifically inventive when getting out of tight spots). The positive side is that those in the know are walking information databanks, having instant access to the Internet, organizing applications, phone services, mapping services on the go, instant messaging, and camera applications.

for 2.2 billion, but it dropped 4 percent from its mark 12 months earlier.[2]

The downside of more widespread Internet activity is that the number of scammers and cyber criminals multiply as well. The battle against hackers and others who hope to exploit people's personal identity is like a vicious cycle, with government agencies, corporations, schools, and organizations spending greater time and effort putting up firewalls and installing antispyware software. The bad guys, however, are working just as hard to thwart these systems.

According to several observers, the number of records lost, such as credit card or social security numbers, increased 300 to 400 percent from 2006 to 2007. For example, the San Diego-based Identity Theft Resource Center estimates that the number of records compromised jumped from 20 million to 79 million over that period. One of the highest profile cases involved discount retailer TJX Companies, which admitted that hackers accessed some 46 million customer credit card numbers. After further examination, though, banks involved in this fraud estimated that the number of records actually reached 94 million. TD Ameritrade, the online broker, had its records hacked as well, resulting in 6.3 million customer files breached.[3]

DOT.COM "REVOLUTION"

The dot.com "revolution" referred to the period spanning from the late 1990s through the spring of 2000 when Wall Street, corporate America, the general public, and the media caught a wave of euphoria generated by the Internet and the use of advanced technology for business purposes. Numerous factors all came together to create an "Internet bubble" of market speculation and frenzied investment, primarily small investors who could use Web-based trading sites to easily buy and sell stocks online.

The ensuing stock market boom revolutionized the way businesses operated by providing the capital to invest in new technology. Perhaps more importantly, the dot.com revolution fundamentally changed the way people communicated through Internet-based technologies, such as e-mail, message boards, chat rooms, and others. Thus, despite the failure of most dot.com companies, the transformation continued through the use of technology and the Internet for business purposes.

In its broadest sense, the dot.com revolution served as a massive growth engine for the American economy. For the first time in recent history, the power and mystique of small, entrepreneurial companies began to dwarf that of established corporations. Given the public's willingness to invest in Internet-based startups, their valuations soared.

Finally given the chance at riches gained from stock options and participation in initial public offerings (IPO), workers flocked to dot.coms, despite the risk involved. When added to the possibility for quick riches, the quirky, decentralized culture of Web companies drew Generation X (born 1965 to 1980) workers in droves. The media added fuel to the mass exodus from the Fortune 500 by reveling in stories of office foosball tournaments and game rooms, company-sponsored espresso machines, and a constant state of business casual clothing. Tech entrepreneurs were also able to promote work as a way of achieving a more spiritual or fulfilling state, which appealed to the sullen masses of workers awash in endless rows of drab, gray cubicles in the nation's large companies. Startups were seen as anti-authoritarian and laid back, mirroring the lifestyle exuded in Northern California since the 1960s. Some of the early companies included: PayPal, pets.com, eToys.com, dot.com incubator Internet Capital Group, and a slew of service firms to publicize and advertise these entities, such as Organic Online, Scient, and USWeb/CKS.

Dot.com mania reached a peak in the late 1990s when venture capitalists started funding dot.coms based on the ability to take the company public, thus cashing in on the IPO shares. Seemingly ludicrous businesses started getting millions of dollars in seed money from a variety of investors, despite having little more than a bright idea. The list of now defunct dot.coms reads like a comedy sketch, ranging from fashion site Boo.com, which burned through its $135 million investment before declaring bankruptcy, to online toy retailer eToys, online newspaper LocalBusiness.com, and the self-descriptive FurnitureAndBedding.com.

Online grocer Webvan may be the biggest failure in Internet history, burning through an estimated $1 billion before shutting down.

Soon, large companies started to get in on the rush. Corporations such as America Online, Cisco Systems, Sun Microsystems, and Oracle began publicizing their Net wares and purchasing startups that could add innovative technology to their portfolios. Microsoft, which had been slow to grasp the importance of the Web, debuted its Internet Explorer, MSN Web sites, and an online service. Fortune 500 corporations also rushed to implement e-commerce capabilities, put up Web sites, and search for methods to sell their products and services online.

The dot.com revolution coincided with and was stimulated by the Year 2000 (Y2K) problem that gripped businesses worldwide. The necessity for purchasing and updating computer systems hinged on the belief that computers would not function properly when the New Year changed from 1999 to 2000. Although the switch did not cause global panic, greatly increased expenditures on corporate information technology systems added to the rationale for Internet spending.

DOT.COM BUBBLE BURSTS

The companies that flamed out at the tail end of the New Economy bubble were like kindling for the recession wildfire that gripped the United States at the dawn of the new century. Over the course of one month (March 10, 2000, to April 6, 2000), the NASDAQ stock market lost $1 trillion in value. The figure then jumped to nearly $1.8 trillion by the end of the year.[4] Then, a tsunami destroyed the dreams of many dot.coms in its wake and startled tech investors back to reality. For employees at startup companies, from the CEO on down, stock options ended up "under water," worthless scraps of paper that would never regain their luster.

Today, economists contend that people have seen the downfall coming sooner. Flying in the face of multiple warning signs, too many people still sought a shot at Web wealth and glory, unable to pass on the gamble, despite the long odds. Even after NASDAQ crashed in spring of 2000, investors rushed in to buy shares of depressed stocks, many of which would rebound slightly before falling for good. The media (fueled by business cable stations, like CNBC, which turned Internet CEOs into celebrities, and the plump, ad-soaked tech magazines) made folk heroes out of people like Amazon.com's Jeff Bezos and Yahoo's Jerry Yang. So many Internet legends were tales of rags-to-riches glory or college students coming up with an idea in their dorm rooms that, by focusing on them, the media made it seem easy.

By the end of 2001, thousands of dot.com companies went bankrupt and countless tens of thousands of employees lost their jobs. The massive failure of the New Economy and the subsequent trickle of new investments in technology companies, combined with corporate governance scandals and the September 11 terrorist attacks,

GOOGLE: SEARCH ENGINE AND ADVERTISING GIANT

Google is, by far, the most popular Internet search engine in the world, carrying a lofty 71 percent market share as of July 2008. That overwhelming lead (Yahoo! stands at a distant second with 19 percent), gives life to Google as a vehicle for advertising. In the 2006 fiscal year, for example, Google's ad revenues hit $10.5 billion. Advertisers buy space on Google search result pages based on user searches. Similarly, Google operates its own popular e-mail service (Gmail) and allows advertisers to buy space there with results often tied directly to the subject matter of one's e-mail messages.

For users of Google's search engine, the company's goal is to provide relevant ads that complement the search results. Google helps advertisers further target their ads to interested consumers. The advertisers pay for the space through an auction for certain keywords related to their products or services.

Several high-profile acquisitions allowed Google to extend its advertising prowess. For example, Google purchased YouTube in October 2006, for $1.65 billion, which helped the company become the leader in online video. In turn, Google gets to put its ads in front of YouTube's vast audience, which watches hundreds of millions of video each day.

sparked a recession that plagued businesses in the early years of the twentieth century. High tech centers, such as Silicon Valley, San Francisco, Austin, Texas, Washington, D.C., and New York were especially hard hit by the failure of the dot.com revolution.

Despite the meltdown, the high tech revolution continued, though on a more modest scale, as traditional businesses used e-commerce and the Internet to meld online and physical storefronts. Companies used Web-based services and technologies to become more efficient and profitable. It is nearly impossible to find an industry that has not been improved through Internet-based technology, whether it is in education and nonprofit organizations or financial services and manufacturing.

The dot.com revolution ended in early 2000, but innovation continued to propel companies into novel areas that mix business and the Internet. Figures released by the United Nations revealed that there were 655 million registered Internet users worldwide in 2002 and that global e-commerce topped $2.3 billion, doubling the figure from 2001.[5]

BIG MEDIA

The Internet did not remain the "Wild West" domain that many observers imagined it in its early days. Small companies and startups continued to drive innovation, but most often they would grow to a certain size and prominence, and then a large corporation would come in and gobble them up. In the new millennium, much of the consolidation took place among media conglomerates, which had the stock price and cash reserves to purchase upcoming technology-based firms. The trend continued from the mass empire building that took place in the wake of the Telecommunications Act of 1996, which loosened ownership regulations across mass media. With the federal government more lenient, large organizations had the freedom to buy up additional channels in various markets.

The traditional fear is that a handful of media moguls will wind up owning the majority of the voice that consumers hear across radio, television, newspapers, and the Web. Rupert Murdoch, the founder and CEO of the global corporation News Corp., is the living embodiment of critics' fears, owning Fox Broadcasting, the *New York Post,* London's *The Times,* and the *Wall Street Journal.* He purchased *WSJ* in December 2007 for $5 billion, adding its 2 million readers worldwide to his global news network.

While Murdoch's vast reach is symptomatic of the challenge of monopolistic ownership, harkening back to earlier barons, such as William Randolph Hearst, in today's media world, about a dozen corporations own roughly 33 percent of the nation's 1,400 daily newspapers, according to journalist Samantha Levine. The largest is Gannett Co., which owns *USA Today,* followed by the Tribune Company.[6] Gannett revenue surpassed $8 billion in 2006 among its 20 TV stations, approximately 100 daily newspapers, magazines, and Internet properties.

One of the most intriguing and mind-boggling media conglomerates is Time Warner. Through a series of high-profile mergers and acquisitions, the company built a network of television networks, a cable system, movie companies, magazines, and Internet companies. In 2006, the company ranked number one in the media business with $44.2 billion in revenues, up from $37 billion in 2005. Despite its size and reach, however, Time Warner never lived up to its $164 billion acquisition of AOL in 2001, ranking as the largest media deal in history.

By mid-decade, it became evident that the company, renamed AOL Time Warner, could not take advantage of or exploit the synergies inherent in the merger. Executives struggled to find a strategy. Not helping matters, the company combated the triple-whammy of an economic recession, the dot-com implosion, the terrorist attacks on America and the subsequent war on terror. No one cried crocodile tears for AOL Time Warner, though. Not when the combined entity dropped in value to become worth less than the sum of its own parts. Stockholders were left in the bag—they watched as more than $100 billion in shareholder value wiped off the board.

In 2008, media watchers project that new chief executive Jeff Bewkes will slice and dice the company, selling off many units and spinning off AOL. Drastic measures are necessary given that company

shares rose a meager 13 percent in the preceding five years. A former business exec at HBO, Time Warner's highly-successful premium cable network, Bewkes discussed his vision for the company, stating, "I believe strongly in trial and error, and Time Warner needs to move faster, take more risk, and change course more often."[7] The parts of the Time Warner puzzle most frequently rumored for sale are its cable business, AOL's access division, along with a significant number of magazines.

GOVERNMENT

If one thought in early 2000 that the polarizing force of the Clinton administration would dissipate and lead to a friendlier political atmosphere post-Clinton, they would have been sorely mistaken. The 2000 presidential election fractured the nation even further as Al Gore and George W. Bush squared off. The contentious environment peaked in the weeks after the hotly contested election, in which Gore won the popular vote by about 540,000 votes, but Bush won the Electoral College: 271–266.

The furor over voting ignited in Florida, where officials disputed the outcome of the election and who should win its critical 25 electoral votes. The inconsistencies in results included the now-famous "hanging chads," or partially punctured voting cards. In the end, the resulting court battles over recounts took 35 days past election day. In his first speech as president-elect shortly after Gore's concession, Bush said, "I know America wants reconciliation and unity. I know Americans want progress. And we must seize this moment and deliver. Together, guided by a spirit of common sense, common courtesy, and common goals, we can unite and inspire the American citizens."[8]

In the 2004 presidential election between President Bush and Massachusetts Senator John Kerry, both political parties and affiliated groups supporting them took part in a race that became increasingly divisive and mean-spirited. In the end, the election was again so close that one state determined the outcome. Ohio's 20 electoral votes went to President Bush, giving him a 286 to 252 win in the Electoral College, to go along with his 62 million to 59 million win in the popular vote (51 percent to 48 percent).

A personal bitterness developed between the two candidates, the political parties, and special interest groups that did not exist in the 2000 campaign. The supposed moral gulf between the two candidates fueled a great deal of this acrimony. Much of the rhetoric that developed during the contest centered on what would happen in the "war on terror" depending upon who won the election. Some of the barbs were direct, such as Bush's labeling Kerry a "flip-flopper" and "Massachusetts liberal." Both terms painted the challenger as someone who would not be tough enough to lead during wartime. Another example of the personal attacks that characterized the 2004 election is the work of a group called the Swift Vets and POWs for Truth. In a national television campaign, the members called Kerry's military service and combat medals into question. Summing up the Bush victory, historian Eric Foner said, "I suspect that the attacks of September 11 and the sense of being engaged in a worldwide 'war on terror' contributed substantially to Bush's victory. Generally speaking, Americans have not changed presidents in the midst of a war. The Bush campaign consistently and successfully appealed to fear, with continuous warnings of imminent and future attacks. Land of the free? Perhaps. Home of the brave? Not anymore."[9]

GEORGE W. BUSH

Rarely do historians garner the headlines the way Sean Wilentz did in early 2006 when he rhetorically questioned whether President George W. Bush could be considered "The Worst President in History" in a headline that appeared on the cover of *Rolling Stone* magazine with a caricature of the president sitting in a corner wearing a dunce cap. The Princeton University professor ignited a media frenzy, including countless blog posts and television appearances. Wilentz cited a 2004 survey of 415 historians by the nonpartisan History News Network (HNN) that revealed some 81 percent considered the Bush administration a "failure." And, as Wilentz notes, HNN took the pulse of America's historians prior to the "debacles over Hurricane Katrina, Bush's role in the Valerie Plame leak affair, and the deterioration of the situation in Iraq."[10]

The Plame affair, for example, occurred when Vice President Dick Cheney's aide Lewis "Scooter" Libby leaked Plame's name to newspaper columnist Robert Novak, who then revealed her as a

CIA officer.[11] Libby, as well as other administration officials, slipped the information to Novak in retaliation for the role Plame's husband, former ambassador Joseph C. Wilson IV, had played in a highly-publicized op-ed in the *New York Times* claiming that the Bush administration relied on shoddy information to support its theory that Iraqi officials purchased uranium from Niger. A jury convicted Libby, but others thought that the blame should have reached Bush strategist Karl Rove or other high-ranking members of the administration. President Bush commuted Libby's prison term in June 2007.

Wilentz's article and ensuing discussion point to Bush's role as a polarizing force in American society. Soon after the terrorist attacks on September 11, for example, the president received the highest approval ratings in history, reaching about 90 percent. As the Iraq war dragged on with no end in sight after 2006, his ratings dropped to historic lows, hitting 26 percent in mid-2007.[12] Wilentz sees the downturn as the culmination of Bush's "disastrous domestic policies, foreign-policy blunders and military setbacks, executive misconduct, crises of credibility and public trust." Moreover, the historian explained, "He has also displayed a weakness common among the greatest presidential failures—an unswerving adherence to a simplistic ideology that abjures deviation from dogma as heresy, thus preventing any pragmatic adjustment to changing realities."[13]

Despite his flagging numbers over his last four years in office, Bush remains upbeat and convinced of the correctness of his administration, from its handling of the economy to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. As he prepared for his final State of the Union address to Congress in 2008, Bush borrowed from the playbook of Ronald Reagan, another lame duck Republican president who faced falling approval ratings. Bush focused on what he still had left to accomplish, including a $150 billion economic stimulus package.[14]

While historians will debate the Bush presidency far into the future, they will be forced to acknowledge the wins in his early years in office, including tax-cutting measures and his support of the "No Child Left Behind" education plan. However, the narrow victory over Massachusetts Senator John Kerry in 2004 and the disastrously executed handling of the Hurricane Katrina disaster in the Gulf region in 2005 started a chain reaction that weakened public support for programs at home and abroad and enabled the Democrats to win back Congress in the midterm elections of 2006.[15]

The ultimate turning point for the Bush administration took place when the president ordered the invasion of Iraq based on what was later found to be faulty (and perhaps fabricated) intelligence that outlined Saddam Hussein's potential nuclear capabilities and the now-infamous "weapons of mass destruction," which could be turned on the United States. Many political and military experts believe that by drawing Iraq into the "War on Terror" and linking Hussein to Al Qaeda, Bush and members of his cabinet, including Vice President Dick Cheney and Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, took the country in a direction that committed America to a military quagmire that cost the nation more than $500 billion to conduct (as of March 2008). After the public learned of the faulty rationale for the war in Iraq and as further atrocities came to light, such as the torture of Iraqi prisoners in Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo Bay, Bush's approval ratings dropped like a rock.[16]

SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

In the blink of an eye, the terrorist attacks that took place September 11, 2001, transformed the Bush presidency. In responding to Al Qaeda and its leader Osama bin Laden, the president directed a massive retaliatory attack on Afghanistan to root out the terrorist group and topple its power.



President George W. Bush in the documentary *No End in Sight* (2007), which investigated the Bush administration's engagement in the Iraq War. ©Magnolia Pictures. Courtesy of Photofest.

The terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York took place on a beautiful morning, marked by clear blue skies and bright sunshine. No one could have imagined that on such a morning, 19 Al Qaeda operatives set out on four separate planes to launch a coordinated attack on New York and Washington, D.C. Before the morning ended, three planes had crashed into American landmarks, while another—potentially heading for the nation's capital—crashed in a Shanksville, Pennsylvania, field before it could reach its target. Nearly 3,000 people died in the attacks.

Aftermath

Immediately after the September 11 attacks, the nation turned more patriotic, while firefighters and police officials across the nation became heroic figures, lauded for their bravery and willingness to serve the nation. President Bush, with the backing of Congress, launched a series of military and economic programs designed to eliminate terrorist cells worldwide, particularly against members of Al-Qaeda and bin Laden himself. The efforts culminated in the October 2001 military invasion of Afghanistan and its Taliban government, known partners of the terrorists. Despite the success of the military operations and overthrow of the Taliban regime, however, the United States could not capture bin Laden.

The Bush administration also initiated a series of domestic security programs designed to ease the public's fear regarding future terrorism on American soil. The president authorized the creation of the Department of Homeland Security and named former Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge as its first leader. Next, the administration worked with leaders in Congress to pass the USA Patriot Act (2001), which gave the federal government far-reaching power to carry out surveillance activities to weed out potential terrorism threats.

Homeland Security officials began a national alert status indicating potential threats, ranging in colors from red (severe risk) to green (low risk).



A view of the twin towers of the World Trade Center burning on September 11, 2001. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Early in the system, the nation often found itself in orange (high risk) or yellow (significant risk) status. The new federal regulatory agency also set out to make the nation's borders safer, including its ports. Critics immediately questioned the resources it would take to inspect the millions of cargo containers arriving and departing the country's waterways. However, no terrorist activities have taken place in this area of potential weakness.

In response to the attacks, the nation rallied around President Bush, officials in New York, including Mayor Rudy Giuliani, and the families of victims there and in Washington. Both Bush and Giuliani made high-profile appearances at "Ground Zero," amid the remains of the World Trade Center. Ground Zero transformed into a sacred area, with visitors later flocking to the site to pay their respects. And, "United We Stand" became a rallying cry for Americans, as well as a variety of peace symbols, including a "Support Our Troops" ribbon affixed to automobiles.

In the immediate years after September 11, the anniversary of the event dominated the airwaves. Television programming came to a standstill and refocused the viewing public on the tragic day. In 2002, CBS aired a documentary filmed inside the World Trade Center on September 11, watched by more than 39 million viewers. "All broadcast and many cable networks tossed out their normal programming schedules (and their advertising) on the anniversary," explained journalist James Poniewozik. "As if supersaturating the airwaves—turning Sept. 11 into a virtual national holiday—could magically confine the terrible events to history, never to be repeated. There was mawkishness, anger, finger pointing, navel gazing, bathos, pathos—every possible response except forgetting."[17]

In response to questions about intelligence failures leading up to the terrorist attacks, Congress created a 10-member National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States in November 2002. The Bush Administration fought the creation of such a panel, though the president eventually signed the bill into law. On July 22, 2004, the group released its public report,[18] which created a media spectacle of finger-pointing and accusations. In preparing the report, the panel interviewed more than 1,200 people in 10 countries and inspected 2.5 million pages of documents, including classified national security briefs. The report recommended significant changes to the national security model, which included greater shared resources and interaction between agencies.

TIME MAGAZINE'S PERSON OF THE YEAR

2000 George W. Bush

2001 Rudolph Giuliani (Mayor of New York City)

2002 The Whistleblowers: Cynthia Cooper (Worldcom), Sherron Watkins (Enron), and Coleen Rowley (FBI)

2003 The American Soldier

2004 George W. Bush

2005 The Good Samaritans: Bill Gates, Melinda Gates, and Bono

2006 You (Internet contributions by the general public)

2007 Vladimir Putin (President of Russia)

In December 2004, the passage of the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act reorganized the American intelligence community, though critics have observed that the results of the bill have not fundamentally transformed the disparate groups for the better. According to Jack Devine, a former CIA acting deputy director of operations, the centralized power created by the bill diminished the role of the CIA, which he believes has actually weakened national security, despite the budget for security growing to $43 billion. More importantly, he said, American agents have not penetrated the terrorist organizations that pose the greatest threats: Iran, North Korea, Russia, China, and Pakistan.[19]

AMERICA AT WAR

On March 20, 2003, the United States and a multinational coalition force invaded Iraq with the intent of stopping Saddam Hussein's building of weapons of mass destruction, as well as the terrorism threats Iraq posed, which President Bush linked to the September 11 attacks. In May, aboard the USS *Abraham Lincoln,* the president declared victory in Iraq, a swift win in an overwhelming battle between good and evil. The rhetoric of the



A Marine shares some gum with children his patrol encountered in the Garmsir city district of Helmand Province in Afghanistan in August 2008. Marines have been training and conducting joint patrols with Afghanistan National Border Patrolmen to help prepare them to take over security operations once the Marines redeploy. Photo by Cpl. Alex C. Guerra. The U.S. Marine Corps Web Site. www.marines.mil.

event ran at an all-time high, given that Bush flew onto the aircraft carrier on a jetfighter and stood before a televised audience in a Navy flight suit with a banner in the background blazing the now infamous phrase: "Mission Accomplished."

The reality of the situation, however, turned, and the public realized that the country was far from finished in Iraq. Many political observers believe that the victory declaration touched off a downward spiral for the Bush Administration. According to one journalist, "As American casualties mount and bombs shake Baghdad, the image of Bush's flight suit strut under a banner proclaiming 'Mission Accomplished' is so discordant, his opponents believe, it said more about the administration's arrogance and incompetence than any stump speech could."[20]

According to a survey conducted by the Pew Research Center, some 72 percent of Americans viewed the military efforts in Iraq as the "right decision" in early 2003 and 88 percent saw the war going "very/fairly well." This early support is accentuated by the president's reelection in 2004 and the many symbols of national unity that sprung to life in support of the war, from patriotic "Support Our Troops" car magnets to a rise in the number of American flags purchased. In the post–September 11 world, no politician, civic leader, or business executive could leave the house without an American flag lapel pin.[21]

In the ensuing five years, more than 4,000 American soldiers lost their lives in the fighting, along with more than 29,500 wounded. Most of the last 1,000 to die were killed by an improvised explosive device (IED), the most sinister piece of jargon to emerge from the War on Terror. According to journalists Lizzette Alvarez and Andrew Lehren:

> The year 2007 would prove to be especially hard on American service members; more of

them died last year than in any other since the war began. Many of those deaths came in the midst of the 30,000-troop buildup known as "the surge," the linchpin of President Bush's strategy to tamp down widespread violence between Islamic Sunnis and Shiites, much of it in the country's capital, Baghdad. In April, May and June alone, 331 American service members died, making it the deadliest three-month period since the war began.[22]

The fallout from the War on Terror in both Afghanistan and Iraq continues to threaten the feelings of national unity experienced after September 11. Certainly, as the war grew more hotly contested, President Bush suffered an extraordinary drop in his personal approval rating. Furthermore, the Democrats were able to use discussion of a war with no end in sight to regain control of the House of Representatives and the Senate after the 2006 midterm elections. The Democratic Party's election triumph not only swept them into power, but led to the election of Nancy Pelosi as the first woman to serve as the Speaker of the House.

The national approval rating for the war in Iraq dropped to a low of 47 percent in February 2005 and remained below 50 percent until rebounding slightly to 54 percent three years later. In early 2008, some 48 percent of Americans surveyed declared that the war in Iraq was going very/fairly well, while the same number said that the effort went not too/not at all well. These figures indicate that the war in Iraq continues to be a divisive issue.[23]

Troubles for Vets Back Home

The challenges facing veterans who served in the war on terror remained virtually hidden after the warfare ensued. Most commentators remarked that the national feelings of patriotism resulting from the terrorist attacks would ensure that people would not treat these veterans with disdain, as many Vietnam vets were treated. In early 2007, however, *Washington Post* reporters Dana Priest and Anne Hull exposed the horrific treatment many wounded and ailing veterans received at the Army's top medical facility, the Walter Reed Army Medical Center in Washington, D.C. For penetrating the secretive world of the army facility, the paper received a 2007 Pulitzer Prize.[24]

The article by Priest and Hull provided graphic details of black mold, cockroaches, mouse droppings, rotten ceilings, and other horrible conditions, which caught the nation's attention. At the heart of the investigative work, however, stood a more sordid story of the neglect that faced the wounded soldiers, from bureaucratic logjams to overcrowded conditions that forced the less wounded to care for their more sickly comrades. According to the journalists, "The soldiers say they feel alone and frustrated. Seventy-five percent of the troops polled by Walter Reed last March said their experience was 'stressful.' Suicide attempts and unintentional overdoses from prescription drugs and alcohol, which is sold on post, are part of the narrative."[25]

Since the conditions at Walter Reed surfaced, veterans groups have kept up the pressure on the federal government. Two nonprofit organizations filed a class-action lawsuit that went to trial in April 2008 against the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs claiming that the federal agency is not doing enough to prevent suicide among returning soldiers or providing adequate medical care. Statistics that came to light during the pretrial investigation revealed that an average of 18 military veterans commit suicide each day, including five under VA care. In addition, a RAND Corp study released in early 2008 estimated that some 300,000 troops, or 20 percent of those deployed in the war on terror, suffer from depression or post-traumatic stress disorder after serving in Iraq or Afghanistan. In response, the VA counters that the number of claims have grown tremendously, from 670,000 in 2001 to 838,000 in 2007, primarily from veterans aging, not the current war efforts. Regardless of who wins the lawsuit, such claims continue to tug at the national consciousness and call into question the postwar status of the heroes who return home after serving overseas.[26]

HURRICANE KATRINA AND THE AFTERMATH

On August 29, 2005, Hurricane Katrina slammed into the Gulf Coast as a Category 5 storm. While

many areas of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama suffered mightily, New Orleans could not withstand the onslaught. Levees designed to protect the city broke, which inundated the area with devastating flood waters. An estimated 1,836 people died in the storm and its aftermath, which also caused $81.2 billion in damages, the most costly hurricane in the nation's history.

The national tragedy of Katrina soon took on a life of its own as a barometer of race relations in the United States. Critics quickly placed blame on the Bush Administration and Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) Director Michael D. Brown for not responding quickly enough to help those without the means to escape the waters.

As a result, desperate citizens, primarily African Americans, took shelter in the Louisiana Superdome—also called the crown jewel of the New Orleans skyline—which quickly became a cesspool of waste and sewage. More importantly, people died while at the Superdome. The city's poor who flocked there for relief had no food, running water, or air conditioning. The ill-equipped emergency shelter, like the nearby Convention Center, became a symbol of the storm's devastation and the Bush administration's failure to aid the people suffering in the drowned city.

The news media scurried to broadcast the lurid tales of mayhem amid the flooded ruins. The plight of disadvantaged African Americans left behind to virtually fend for themselves in the wake elicited a national outcry. Millions of viewers sat spellbound as the news filtered out of the city. Rapper Kanye West summed up the private thoughts many dared not speak publicly, proclaiming that "George Bush doesn't care about black people" on a nationally-televised hurricane relief program. Katrina put race back on the national agenda.

Unfortunately, many Americans are quick to dismiss racism as simply a defective character trait or a sign of overt stupidity. But many believe



Hurricane Katrina caused devastation across the Gulf Coast, especially New Orleans and the gulf towns of Mississippi. iStockphoto. ©Chad Purser.

CELEBRITIES AND HURRICANE KATRINA RELIEF

Hurricane Katrina destroyed the lives of many Gulf Coast residents. The national tragedy led to a series of high-profile benefits to raise money for relief efforts. Similar to the efforts after the terrorist attacks on September 11, celebrities responded to the call for help, donating both time and money to the cause.

Musicians from across genres participated in a series of benefit concerts. MTV held one of the star-studded events, showcasing the Rolling Stones, Neil Young, Kanye West, Paul McCartney, and the Neville Brothers. Others across the entertainment industry donated millions of dollars and created foundations to serve the Gulf region. Writer John Grisham donated $5 million to help rebuild Mississippi. Rapper David Banner started an organization, Heal the Hood. Actress Rosie O'Donnell pledged $3 million over three years to provide emergency child care services. Celine Dion and business partners, along with George Clooney, Nicolas Cage, and Oprah Winfrey's Angel Network each gave $1 million.

Celebrities were not above getting dirty either. Many went right to the ravaged areas and pitched in. Country music star Faith Hill and her superstar husband Tim McGraw loaded up her tour bus and a semi hauler with supplies and drove them to Mississippi. Actor Jamie Foxx and singer Macy Gray helped distribute clothes, food, and toiletries. John Travolta personally flew 400 tetanus vaccines to the survivors, while Sean Penn pulled victims from the floodwaters in a borrowed boat. Although there was some sniping at them for giving money or donating time and money simply to improve their images, in general, celebrities made the statement that they were genuine in helping the less fortunate and that they did not want it to appear that the nation forgot about the victims.

it runs deeper, straight to the heart of the country's national fabric. Historian John Hope Franklin told the Associated Press, "The New Orleans tragedy speaks in a loud but eloquent voice that racial inequities in the United States persist. As far as race in America is concerned, Katrina was just another example of the failure of the people of the United States to come to terms with a centuries-old problem . . . and make a forthright effort to solve it."[27]

The chaos in New Orleans revealed the depths of racism that exists in the United States, but many hoped the catastrophe would touch off a renewed national dialogue on racism and possibly eliminate it once and for all in the post-Katrina America. However, when the immediate chaos and governmental finger-pointing devolved into a post-storm bureaucratic nightmare of red tape, and the sensationalist images and stories disappeared, so too did the discussions of racism.

Some observers note that Americans are so ashamed of the heritage of slavery and the current state of those living in poverty that the nation can only examine race if it comes from the mouths of cartoon characters (think of Token Black, the African American on South Park), standup comics like Chris Rock and Dave Chappelle, or rap musicians. But though West's audacious claim touched off a media frenzy, frank dialogue never really materialized, and today, despite the fact that Barack Obama has been elected president of the United States, most observers believe that America still has a long way to go in solving race problems.

Looking back, the failure of a national dialogue regarding race proves West's point yet again. Race slipped from the national agenda in part because George W. Bush did not keep the issue at the forefront. Of course, politicians going back to the Founding Fathers have failed to adequately address race. Many argue that Bush had the opportunity to use the Katrina tragedy to reinvigorate the race discussion on a national level.

RACE IN AMERICA

Although President Bush is criticized for routinely flubbing multisyllabic words, he is a master of modern American corporate speak, in which a CEO is applauded for focusing on looking to the future without ever acknowledging current or past errors. For example, the president played up his post-Katrina discussions with NAACP CEO Bruce Gordon without conceding any slip-ups on the part of his administration: "We talked about the challenges facing the African American

community after that storm. We talked about the response of the federal government. And most importantly, we talked about the way forward. We talked about what we can do working together to move forward." At another point in the speech, he revealed the real reasons he finally addressed the organization: "You must understand I understand that racism still lingers in America. It's a lot easier to change a law than to change a human heart. And I understand that many African Americans distrust my political party. I consider it a tragedy that the party of Abraham Lincoln let go of its historic ties with the African American community. For too long my party wrote off the African American vote, and many African Americans wrote off the Republican Party."[28]

Political strategists assert that the black vote could be critical in the 2008 presidential race. However, Bush won the southern vote across the Dixie South (and subsequently both elections) by appealing to white southerners with coded language, including his "tough on crime" stance.

Despite his lip service and political pandering in this speech, Bush has done little to help African Americans. According to NAACP statistics, blacks are twice as likely to be unemployed compared to whites, significantly less likely to own homes (75 percent for whites compared to 48 percent for blacks), and have an average median net worth of $10,000 versus $81,700 for whites.

Many experts agree that a president who cares about African Americans would look out on the nation and be disgusted by what is happening in black communities. He would place race on the national agenda. If the weight of the office can push terrorism and security to the top of the agenda, then it can do the same for racism. Though the Bush administration has "czars" for everything from cyberterrorism, to AIDS, there's no czar for racism, no money behind completing the "unfinished story of freedom." The National Priorities Project estimates that the war in Iraq has cost more than $300 billion, yet poverty-stricken Americans at home slip further into despair.

But, as easy as it is to blame the president for the current state of racism in America, the lack of leadership within the African American community must be cited as well. The fact that West—a musician—stood as the most significant black political figure to emerge from the devastation in New Orleans reveals the paucity of leadership among blacks.



Barack Obama, elected president of the United States on November 4, 2008, from his U.S. Senate Web site.

Some observers are hopeful that Barack Obama, as president of the United States, will be able to put racism on the national agenda, though it is clear that dealing with critical economic problems, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and other urgent matters will take up much of his immediate focus. As a matter of fact, some analysts have criticized Obama for not taking a more direct stance on racism in the highly charged presidential campaign. Some believe that prominent black leaders, such as Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton, put too much faith in the political process. Like the American labor movement, African Americans since the 1960s have been co-opted by the Democrats, working with an organization that at times seems more concerned with winning office than standing up for ideals. There is merit in sustained voter registration drives and raising money for candidates, but many believe that these tactics have still not brought racism to the forefront.

Many are hopeful that, just by seeing an African American and his family in the White House,

racial barriers will become more eroded. Some, however, wonder when the next Martin Luther King Jr. or Malcolm X will appear. Neither of those leaders held political office or aligned too closely with a political party. They drew from religious backgrounds and followings but were able to bring their causes to the national stage.

It is clear to many that, for the good of the nation, racism must be quashed. Spike Lee's highly publicized *When the Levees Broke* documentary showed the nation that building a better world means retaining our collective humanity. Lee's provocative film revealed that, in today's polarized society, racial equality may seem out of reach, but it is an attainable aspiration. Although the decisive victory of Barack Obama belayed some of the fears that many white voters would not be able to bring themselves to vote for a black candidate, *New York Times* columnist Charles M. Blow talked about insidious racism in the summer of 2008:

> [In] a July *New York Times*/CBS News poll, when whites were asked whether they would be willing to vote for a black candidate, 5 percent confessed that they would not. That's not so bad, right? But wait. The pollsters then rephrased the question to get a more accurate portrait of the sentiment. They asked the same whites if most of the people they knew would vote for a black candidate. Nineteen percent said that those they knew would not. Depending on how many people they know and how well they know them, this universe of voters could be substantial. That's bad.[29]

THE ECONOMY

Innovation fuels America's power and culture. Yet, the constant demand for "more" and "faster" ratchets up anxiety as well. In the new millennium, general nervousness about the economy spreads a bit more each day. Signposts signal large problems on the horizon. Soaring gas prices, for example, serve as a daily yardstick. For sale signs and the empty homes they mock fill the nation's streets, cul-de-sacs, and suburban enclaves, constantly reminding hard-working (but scared) citizens that the other shoe could (and soon may) drop.

Despite individual stress, however, the country stands as the world's capital center. The United States is now in serious economic trouble, but when it is strong, people benefit across the board. The gain is felt across age, sex, demographics, and race. In 2007, for example, about 50 percent of all law and medical students were women, up from merely 10 percent in 1970. These kinds of socio-economic changes pull up the nation as a whole. Some 24 percent of adults in their prime working years live in households earning at least $100,000 annually. Between 1983 and 2004, median family net worth doubled from $49,700 to $99,300.[30]

On the downside, individual happiness has not kept pace with the technological innovation and abundance of consumer goods available.[31] In many respects, access and speed made life less enjoyable. Americans are not working fewer hours, living healthier, worrying less, or taking smaller quantities of medicines for smaller numbers of ailments. As employers search for ways to squeeze every penny out of overhead, increasing healthcare premiums for workers is an easy fix. By 2005, the average household spent $8,300 annually on health insurance and out-of-pocket health expenses annually.[32]

By mid-decade, many individuals and families floated their consumer habits on a sea of credit and debt. Historically low interest rates enabled homeowners to refinance, taking money out of their homes to use for other things, whether that meant renovations or buying a new plasma television. Across the nation, homeowners essentially gambled on pumped up home values and traded debt for greater debt, but at a lower interest rate. Banks and mortgage companies contributed to the system by offering sub prime loans and other creative financial packages that allowed people to buy a home with little money down and subsequent low payments over a set period of time. What many people did not realize, particularly those who are not financially savvy or have shaky credit reports, is that once the introductory period passed, the loans could increase significantly.

At the heart of the mortgage fiasco is people losing their homes, which, for most, is still synonymous with losing the American Dream.

Government reports indicated that, in the yearlong period from July 2006 to July 2007, foreclosures jumped 93 percent nationwide. Nearly 180,000 foreclosures took place in the latter month alone, a gaudy one filing for every 693 households. Nevada led the foreclosure market with one filing for every 199 homes. Taken as a whole, five states made up almost half the total foreclosures in the nation: California, Florida, Ohio, Michigan, and Georgia.[33]

Credit card debt also reached epidemic proportions in the new millennium. In the early 1970s, households carried about $600 in credit card debt in real dollars. In 2006, the average household balanced topped $7,300, a 1,200 percent increase.[34] Two years earlier, the Federal Reserve Board reported that revolving debt in the United States reached $800 billion, the majority comprised of credit card balances.

Recession Debate and the Teetering Economy

By late 2007 and early 2008, the subprime mortgage crisis placed an anchor around the neck of an otherwise teetering American economy already groping under the weight of a costly overseas war. Recession, the dreaded r-word, crept back into the national conscious. While the experts debated whether or not the country had already entered a recession or not, politicians devised stimulus packages designed to force spending money into the pockets of cash-strapped Americans. On a daily basis, the news never seemed to improve, ranging from massive layoffs at various global financial corporations to declining numbers of jobs created. People who turned to Wall Street for some indication of the nation's economic status found themselves in the midst of rollercoaster swings.

As with most aspects of popular culture, perception soon became reality. The more the media reported on the recession, the more steam the idea gained. People's fears about their jobs, the economy in general, and an unsettled situation in Iraq and Afghanistan made them apprehensive about spending money. Historically, when consumers turn off the spigot, the national economy is in big trouble. The gloomy national economic outlook forced President Bush to address the situation, stating, "Obviously the housing market is creating deep concern. And one of the real problems could be that if people, as a result of their value of their homes going down, kind of pull in their horns."[35]

A poll conducted by the Associated Press in February 2008 revealed that 61 percent of the public believed that the United States stood in the midst of its first recession since 2001. The facts provided evidence to the national mood. In 2007, the economy had its weakest year overall since 2002, expanding a mere 2.2 percent. The real estate fiasco triggered the anemic growth, with builders dropping their spending by almost 17 percent. People also took home less pay in 2007, with average weekly earnings actually falling 0.9 percent when adjusted for inflation.[36]

Despite mounting hard evidence, many economists joined President Bush in stating that the American economy was not in a recession. However, the threat of more fiscal challenges on the horizon led Congress and the president to work on an economic stimulus package that would provide tax rebates for individuals and tax cuts for businesses. In the rush to solve the nation's monetary problems, however, relatively few people questioned how we would pay for the $168 billion rescue package.[37]

The World is Flat

America remains the center of world finance, but its dependence on foreign nations to finance its growing national debt, Middle Eastern oil reserves, and Chinese imports, reveals the shaky nature of that position. *New York Times* columnist Thomas L. Friedman coined the phrase "the world is flat" to describe the consequences of globalization on the United States in his 2005 best seller The *World Is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century.*

After visiting India, Friedman realized that globalization provided global nations a level playing field economically and removed many barriers to foreign trade that previously existed. One of Friedman's examples is the outsourcing trend occurring in corporate America. Companies sent jobs to overseas knowledge centers, which saved

them money, instead of offering the same services using American employees. Companies like Dell, Microsoft, Citigroup, and many others outsourced IT and customer service functions to India, China, and other Far East nations. Despite the backlash against such practices, outsourcing provided a greater return on investment.

The International Association of Outsourcing Professionals estimated that American companies spent $4.2 trillion on outsourcing in 2006, up from $3.1 trillion just three years earlier. Obviously, with trillions of dollars being put into outsourcing, the trend is not going to stop. Rather, the question for U.S. corporations is how to best use it strategically. For example, some organizations are moving away from India, the traditional power base in the field, to places such as Russia, the Philippines, and Mexico. Any nation with a workforce strong in software and engineering and English-language skills is a potential hotbed for outsourcing.[38]

Enron and Corporate Crooks

From the mid-1990s until its financial collapse in late 2001, Enron stood as a darling of the business media, ranging from one of *Fortune* magazine's "World's Most Admired Companies" to a corporation studied in business schools nationwide for its innovation and success. Enron, led by chief executive Jeff Skilling and Chairman Ken Lay, also fooled finance professionals, receiving glowing reports from analyst firms that bought and sold enormous blocks of stock for investors, retirement funds, and 401Ks. Billions of dollars were at stake in these decisions, and Enron duped all the major players in perhaps the largest Ponzi scheme in history. Enron's stock, which, at one point, traded for $90 a share, plummeted to 50 cents a share, not really even worth the price of the certificate it would have printed on.

When the Enron collapse began, it unraveled faster than anyone could have imagined. Bankruptcy and mass layoffs took place quickly, while some employees lost their retirement funds in the meltdown. On May 25, 2006, a jury found Lay and Skilling guilty of conspiracy and fraud. For journalists Bethany McLean and Peter Elkind, who helped break the Enron fraud, the guilty verdicts had "positive implications," including offering "a measure of consolation—or retribution—for those employees who lost everything in Enron's bankruptcy. And it reinforces a critical notion about our justice system: that, despite much punditry to the contrary, being rich and spending millions on a crack criminal defense team does not necessarily buy freedom."[39]

At the heart of Enron's criminal activity was the deliberate manipulation of company stock to make the company more valuable on paper than in reality. Top executives then sold millions of dollars of essentially worthless stock for profit, when they knew the price was a sham. The unfortunate aspect of every underhanded financial plot is that someone is left holding the bag. In this case, it turned out to be Enron employees and investors.

The Enron scandal serves as the most shocking downfall in an era of high-profile corporate collapses. The others spanned a variety of industries and included some of the more prominent corporations in America. Like Enron, these were considered topnotch businesses. Accounting firm Arthur Andersen fell apart in the wake of serving as Enron's public accounting agency. Although the company collected revenues of $9.3 billion in 2001, some 85,000 Andersen employees either left the firm or lost their jobs in the downfall.

Adelphia Communications, founded by the Rigas family, grew into the fifth largest cable company in the United States. Members of the Rigas family hid debt and essentially allocated themselves millions of dollars in undisclosed loans. John and Timothy Rigas were found guilty of securities violations after federal officials determined that they stole $100 million in company money. Other stunning disintegrations included Tyco chief executive Dennis Kozlowski and WorldCom founder Bernard Ebbers. Both, seen as innovative leaders prior to the scandals, ended up in jail for bilking investors. Ebbers, for example, had $400 million in undisclosed loans.[40]

The outcome of Enron and other corporate shenanigans is that the public and government officials are less likely to give business leaders a free pass. In March 2008, the House Oversight and Government Reform Committee called executives largely responsible for the real estate bust to task for their roles in the crisis. Chief executives

testifying before the committee included Angelo Mozilo of Countrywide Financial, Stanley O'Neal, formerly of Merrill Lynch, and Charles Prince, formerly of Citigroup. Rep. Henry Waxman, D-Calif., chairman of the committee, called the CEOs to task for their lavish compensation packages.

In 2006, on average, these leaders at the nation's largest 500 corporations made $15.2 million. Countrywide, which is well-known for its television commercials and Web advertising pushing home financing, paid Angelo Mozilo a $1.9 million salary and $20 million in stock awards based on performance, while he sold another $121 million in stock options. This took place as the company lost $1.6 billion in 2007, and its stock dropped 80 percent. Mozilo told the committee, "As our company did well, I did well." Waxman viewed the disparity between company results and CEO compensation as "a complete disconnect with reality."[41]

The Workplace

Americans have a love-hate relationship with work and the workplace. From an early age, people are taught to strive for the "American Dream," which places notions of hard work and meritocracy at the heart of one's cultural being. On the flip side, however, the constant agonizing over work- and money-related issues produces a nation full of uptight employees, basically unhappy with their status, wages, and position within workplace politics. Ironically, work provides a route to happiness and material comfort, while at the same time shackling individuals to their jobs and limiting freedom.

Cubicles across the nation are littered with Scott Adams's Dilbert cartoons. Adams turned the "cubiclization" of the workplace into a multimillion dollar industry. In essence, people lampoon themselves by tacking up the Dilbert episodes that seem to mirror their own lives as workers, but also express a degree of personalization at the same time. Others load their office space with knickknacks. Outside of family photographs, tchotchkes, or knick knacks, are perhaps the most common feature in America's "cube farms." Many tchotchkes are adorned with the company logo, such as miniature desk clocks and acrylic plaques touting the latest inner-office recognition.

Retaining personal space within a corporate setting gives workers a feeling of empowerment in a somewhat dehumanizing and powerless aspect of their lives. Surrounding oneself with the merchandise covered in logos shows a sense of pride in where one works, but the tacky displays scream of a mutated individualism allowed within the structured corporate setting. The company owns the cube, but employees individualize it as it becomes an extension of who they are.

There may be no better indicator of the duality of the corporate world than e-mail, a piece of technology that has the potential to make one's job infinitely easier, but at the same time, adds additional work to already long weeks. Basex Inc., a research firm in New York, estimates that 35 million e-mails are sent each day, which take up 2.1 hours daily for white-collar workers. This drain costs businesses money. In total, some 28 billion hours annually are spent on e-mail, with a price tag of $650 billion. Other efficiency experts place the figures even higher, with studies reporting that corporate workers get 50 to 100 e-mails a day, some even placing the total sent daily at upward of 142 billion.[42]

Another technology that is actually sapping efficiency is online video. A study released in early 2008 by Nielsen Online revealed that online video sites, such as market leading YouTube and others, receive most use on weekdays at lunchtime, usually between 12 P.M. and 2 P.M. The number of online videos consumed during the workday is astronomical: YouTube users accessed 674 million video streams in January 2008, while Yahoo had 157 million, and Fox Interactive Media nearly 93 million.[43]

Carriage Services Inc., a funeral services company in Houston, for example, told *The Wall Street Journal* that it discovered some 70 percent of 125 workers in the company headquarters watched online videos about an hour a day. As a result, the information technology executive blocked access to both YouTube and MySpace. But Carriage Services is just one of many companies confronting workers' Internet usage while on the job. Most corporations implemented policies against using work computers for personal e-mail, instant messaging, streaming music, and accessing inappropriate content.[44]

Another organization, Catholic Charities of Santa Clara County in San Jose, California, blocked video access so its network would not crash, ultimately leading to costly computer outages and potential loss of sensitive information. "It's a real issue when a network can't handle demand," said William Bailey, the nonprofit organization's IT manager. "Too much media, particularly video, is usually the reason why."[45]

Across the nation in Atlanta, a mid-sized real estate company grappled with similar issues, but it decided to block video sites because of bandwidth concerns. Without blocking the sites, the company faced a costly network upgrade—a difficult expense to swallow during a challenging real estate downturn. The downside of such decisions, however, is that employees may actually turn against management, particularly if they feel entitled to visit these sites during lunch breaks. "I know our people will say we're acting like Big Brother," explained another IT administrator. "But those pipes belong to the company. If management says we need to protect our resources, then that's what happens."[46]

Downsized...

If the real estate collapse and credit crunch did not do enough to make Americans fearful, corporations added to their anxiety through downsizing. In February 2008, employers laid off 63,000 workers, the highest figure since 2003. However, in the perverse world of unemployment calculations, the national rate actually dropped from 4.9 percent in January to 4.8 percent, as the Labor Department does not count those individuals who simply drop out of the job search altogether or those people collecting unemployment checks. As a matter of fact, the national unemployment rate is further skewed by the simple quantitative formula used to establish the number. There is no system in place to measure the real loss of a middle manager in Cleveland who earns $85,000 annually versus the addition of a fast food clerk in Florida who makes $8.50 an hour.[47]

The industries suffering the most widespread losses indicate the state of the overall national economy: construction, financial services, manufacturing, retailing, and business services. The snowball effect of the housing crunch, combined with costly overseas wars, is stretching the economy's stability. In an increasingly unstable environment, executives react by cutting overhead, which usually results in massive job losses. Repeated efforts by the Federal Reserve to manage the economy, through interest rate cuts and other cash-infusion measures, have little consequence on individual households affected by layoffs, credit challenges, and real estate woes.

The February 2008 job cuts followed about 22,000 losses in the previous month, setting 2008 on a record course for layoffs. The last time the nation suffered back-to-back cuts occurred in May and June 2003. At that time, the United States struggled to regain its footing after the 2001 recession. The Federal Reserve predicts a difficult year for workers in 2008, estimating that the unemployment rate will jump to 5.3 percent, versus an average of 4.6 percent in 2007. These figures are low when compared to other difficult economic times in modern American history, but the jobless rate has taken on a more important psychological role in the 2000s. The panic that would ensue if the jobless rate reached double-digits, as it did in the 1980s, would devastate the economy and begin a spiraling effect that would choke off consumer spending and corporate expansion, thus resulting in further job losses and eroding confidence.[48]

Some observers view the actions taken by the Federal Reserve as ineffective. Steven Lehman, an analyst at Federated Investors, explained, "There is a profound lack of understanding of markets and economies, and there is still persistent lingering faith that the authorities effectively have a magic wand they can wave to make everything fine. Economies and markets do go down—particularly after a multi-decade credit boom."[49]

LIVING CONDITIONS

In the 2000s, much of the national conversation about living conditions takes place in the context of marriage and the family. The public debate regarding gay marriage, for example, is wrapped within a wider discussion about marriage in general. Much of the talk follows a pessimistic viewpoint, either lamenting the decline of traditional marriages or questioning how the

union can retain its sanctity, given the possibility of non-traditional marriages.

In 2007, a survey conducted by the Pew Research Center showed that the public's perception of a happy marriage changed dramatically from an earlier study done in 1990. The most telling information is that the perception of kids as a source for marital bliss dropped significantly, from 65 percent in 1990 to 41 percent in 2007, ranking eighth out of nine categories. At the top of the survey were faithfulness (93 percent) and a happy sexual relationship (70 percent). Interestingly, sharing household chores ranked third, reaching 62 percent, versus 47 percent in 1990. Some 53 percent of respondents claimed adequate income as a necessity in a successful marriage.[50]

The Pew researchers considered the 24-point drop in the children question and the jump for more day-to-day activities indicators of an overall shift in the way people view a happy marriage. When it comes to children, people are more open to unwed couples raising kids, adoption, and blended families than at any time in the past. "In the United States today," the report said, "marriage exerts less influence over how adults organize their lives and how children are born and raised than at any time in the nation's history."[51]

Picking Apart the Generations

Americans often define themselves (or are defined by cultural critics, corporations, marketers, and other entities) by generation. The 2000s are noted for two interrelated events: the start of retirement for Baby Boomers and the coming of age of Generation eXposed (also known as Generation Y or Millennials) group. In 2008, the first wave of Baby Boomers (born between 1946 and 1964) turned 62 years old, while the early Echo Boomers (born between 1977 and 1994) turned 31.

The sheer size of these generations spurs much of the resulting national culture, from what products are manufactured and marketed to the kind of television shows and films that get aired. Some 78 million people were born during the Baby Boom alone. The echo boom that defines their children refers primarily to the period between 1989 and 1993 when birthrates eclipsed 4 million per year.[52]

In some cases, it seems as if entire industries are devoted to selling to one of these two age groups. Certainly much of the television lineup, from the major networks to specialized cable stations, is geared toward these demographic segments. For example, TV shows like *The Office* and *How I Met Your Mother* appeal to and focus solely on Echo Boomer audiences, while *Without a Trace* and *CSI* are designed to attract all audiences, but they are favorites of older Baby Boomer audiences.

Recent studies reveal that Baby Boomers watch more television than younger segments of the population. In 2006, adults aged 45 to 64 watched 37 hours and 38 minutes of television each week. In contrast, those between 18 and 34 tuned in for just over 27 hours. For marketers, the positive aspect of this information is that Baby Boomers often watch shows targeted at younger viewers, such as *Grey's Anatomy* and *Desperate Housewives*.[53]

The power of the Boomers is in their immense size (nearly 24 percent of the population, or about 78 million) and their buying power (estimated at $3 trillion). Most of the nation's political and corporate leaders fall into this category, such as Hillary Clinton and Bill Gates. Marketing efforts at treating the demographic like one big happy family do not work, though. Marilynn Mobley, senior vice president at Edelman, a communications firm that conducted an extensive study of Boomers, explained, "Baby boomers have always been considered the 'me-generation,' and that doesn't change with age. We're still just as self-centered, and we want things very customized."[54]

Using Technology

One of the most glaring disparities between older and younger people is in how they use technology. In general, for someone in their later fifties or sixties, just being online is a sign of being hip, whereas for someone under the age of 25, sending e-mail is somewhat passé, as is waiting for more than a couple seconds for a Web page to load. Furthermore, while some people still resist owning a cell phone, the number of those holdouts is rapidly decreasing. It seems as if everyone, whether a senior citizen or middle school student, is connected.

One of the common denominators, according to journalist Chad Lorenz, is e-mail. In his interactions with a younger niece, it dawned upon him that e-mail, what seems like a necessity for

those older than 25, really is not part of younger people's lives. His niece, "was too busy sending IMs and text messages to bother with e-mail," he explained. "That's when I realized that my agility with e-mail no longer marked me as a tech-savvy young adult. It made me a lame old fogey."[55]

For a generation of people raised (and raising themselves) on Facebook and MySpace, e-mail simply is not fast enough and requires too much work. While older people are firing away at their keyboards, the typical 20 year old is writing on a friend's Facebook wall, texting via cell phone, all while blogging on WordPress. According to Lorenz, teens are sending about 50 messages a day via cell phones, while being logged in to Facebook and/or MySpace during all hours outside of school. "When everyone's online," he said, "kids never have to leave the company of their pals. If you're not constantly plugged in, they say, you start to feel left out."[56]

One could merely chalk this behavior up to teens being teens. Is there really a difference between chattering away on Facebook and talking for hours a day on the telephone, like older people did when growing up? There is a reflective quality of e-mail that is falling by the wayside. Certainly composing an e-mail should not be equated with writing the next great American novel, but it is more serious and considerate than its cheap brethren the text message, with its clipped content and reliance on shorthand.

Another disconnect that younger users face is transitioning from the dorm room to the workplace, where e-mail still dominates. It is not like a young employee can simply turn on an understanding of etiquette when it comes to communicating with coworkers and bosses. One of the cutting-edge tools that Google introduced to combat this challenge is Gmail, which mixes e-mail with IM. This may be a future state for corporations as they cope with young workers who feel e-mail is too archaic to be part of the workplace of tomorrow.

The New Religious Zeal

Religion plays a critical role in American popular culture, just as pop culture exerts a significant influence on religion. On the conservative side, pop culture is something to be derided for its Hollywood (read "bad") morals and permissiveness. On the left, religion is the culprit, a codeword for the "simple" and unsophisticated people that some liberals look down on. Undeniably, both conservatives and liberals make assumptions about the spirituality of the other based more on stereotype than experience. And, like any issue that it can exploit, the mass media uses religion as a tool to sell television programs, newspapers, and magazines.

The most comprehensive information available about religion in the United States comes from the 2008 Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life *U.S. Religious Landscape Survey,* based on interviews with 35,000 American adults. The report indicates that the primary characteristics of American religion are fluidity and diversity. Some 28 percent of those surveyed left the faith that they were raised in and either chose another affiliation or left religion altogether. The number jumps to 44 percent if those who switched groups within Protestantism are included.[57]

Some 16 percent of people claim that they are unaffiliated with any particular faith, including 25 percent of those aged 18 to 29. These figures are surprising if one were to follow the political discussion of religion and its consequences on voting. Liberals paint a portrait of extreme right wing religious zealots running the Republican Party, while that side sees the left as godless. In fact, only 4 percent of those surveyed fall into the agnostic (2.4 percent) or atheist (1.6 percent) categories.[58]

Interestingly, the other major tenet of American religion is its fluidity. According to the study, "Constant movement characterizes the American religious marketplace, as every major religious group is simultaneously gaining and losing adherents. Those that are growing as a result of religious change are simply gaining new members at a faster rate than they are losing members." For example, the Catholic portion of the adult population has been around 25 percent for the past several decades. However, the undercurrent is those who have left the Catholic Church. Some 33 percent of those raised in the faith no longer describe themselves as Catholics. The survey explained that "roughly 10 percent of all Americans are former Catholics." The losses do not look more severe because of the large number of immigrants coming into the United States who are Catholic.[59]

Advertising

of the 2000s

A century ago, advertisers plastered American towns and cities with signs, billboards, and brand names. It seemed as if every square inch of downtown areas contained some directive to potential buyers. Advertisers hoped to entice dollars away from consumers who, perhaps for the first time, had disposable income and sought new products designed to make their lives easier. At that time, a horse-drawn buggy with the Wrigley logo and slogan painted on the side was cutting edge innovation. Direct mail, such as the Sears catalog, served as the ultimate wish list for millions of families nationwide, particularly those isolated on farms and in rural communities. The advertising profession grew out of this need to connect consumers with goods.

Leap ahead a hundred years, and the lives of consumers are filled with similar forces—a constant barrage of commercials, billboards, ad banners, and displays in a multitude of mediums. The primary difference is that physical space is only one dimension of the way advertisers currently ply their trade. Just like in the earlier days, advertisers use the advanced technology at their disposal to reach consumers, through television, radio, film, and the Web. Today, advertising is part of the larger discipline of marketing or branding, representing the ubiquity of organizations, products, and services to consumers and organizations.

In the 2000s, businesses and manufacturers do not want people to simply buy products; rather, they want to form relationships with consumers, which will keep buyers returning again and again to trusted goods and those who provide them. Marketing is at the heart of building this relationship, whether it is redesigning a package to represent a product's place in the market or expounding on a company's social responsibility via a blog. Due to its influence and reach, advertising is a central function in marketing and branding.

DEVELOPING VALUES

Popular culture, technological innovation, and the power of the corporate world are the driving forces that dominated American life for the last 150 years. Standing at the intersection of the three and propelling them deep into people's daily lives is marketing—the umbrella term used to describe the communication fields of public relations, advertising, and marketing. Marketing has served as an important catalyst for the seismic societal transformations that have taken place in modern America, walking hand-in-hand with the nation's increasingly consumer-oriented culture. Because corporations speak to the public primarily through communications campaigns, advertising, public relations, and marketing play

ADVERTISING SLOGANS OF THE 2000s

"Can you hear me now?," Verizon, 2002

"I'm lovin' it," McDonald's, 2003

"Think outside the bun," Taco Bell, 2001

"What can BROWN do for you?," UPS, 2002

"Dude, you're getting a Dell," Dell Computers, 2001

"What happens in Vegas, stays in Vegas," Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority, 2004

"Life tastes good," Coca-Cola, 2001

"An Army of One," U.S. Army, 2001

"Army Strong," U.S. Army, 2006

"Look who we've got our Hanes on now," Hanes, 2005

a critical role in determining how people build their personal value systems.

Historically, the tendency has been to look at marketing as a corporate evil. The idea that companies push unnecessary or unwanted products on an unsuspecting public to gain profit seems wholly un-American. Acknowledging the fact that advertisers have a hold over the public somehow robs people of their autonomy or individuality. In addition, the omnipresence of marketing campaigns also works in favor of its critics. Spotting advertisements in poor taste or as being ineffective is an easy task, and the criticism of such work is an industry in itself. The monetary figures involved in orchestrating campaigns also make them convenient targets. One critic, historian Robert W. McChesney, said, "Modern marketing is clearly the greatest concerted attempt at psychological manipulation in all of human history."[1] He cites the advent of guerrilla marketing in the early twenty-first century as especially egregious. Guerilla marketing is the deliberate attempt to create a relationship with a consumer without that person knowing they are being marketed to, usually via grassroots, low-cost efforts, although the advent of social media sites enables large corporations to launch these campaigns through MySpace, Facebook, or other channels.

However, a deeper analysis of marketing reveals that there is also an educational aspect of the field that enables consumers to make informed, intelligent decisions about the products they purchase. In today's electronic age, for example, public relations keeps the lines of communications open between companies and the public (especially shareholders). Though the system certainly is not perfect, considering that scandals such as Enron still take place, imagine the corruption if public companies were not required to report important financial information like quarterly earnings. While corporations made this type of financial information available in earlier eras, in the new millennium, it is more readily accessible via the Internet than in previous eras, including the 1990s. Corporate marketing is a polarizing topic, but it deserves a broader examination, especially as it relates to how people use this influence to determine their own world views.

In the past, one could argue, elites drove much of the interaction between marketers and the public. Interestingly, however, the pervasiveness of Internet technology is significantly transforming the way the two sides deal with one another. Social media Web sites, such as MySpace, Facebook, and YouTube, have given consumers more power to choose the way they want to interact with those attempting to sell products or services to them. As a result, corporate America is scrambling to find ways to engage people via these channels.

Shaping Values

Turning on the television for five minutes or glancing through ads in a magazine, one finds countless examples of marketers attempting to dupe consumers. The most egregious examples seem to be diet- or health-related. The bold print or voiceover pushes a consistent message: "Take this pill and you'll become the thin, beautiful person you've always dreamed of being. You'll live a healthier, happier life, and people will love you."

The cultural historian Christopher Lasch chalked this thinking up as an addiction to consumption. In his view, advertisers solidify and expand the public's desire for acquiring goods, which makes them feel like they are important, worthy, and accomplished. According to Lasch,

"Consumption promises to fill the aching void; hence the attempt to surround commodities with an aura of romance; with allusions to exotic places and vivid experiences; and with images of female breasts from which all blessings flow."[2]

Advertising exists, in other words, to transform people into shopping machines, hell bent on erasing their insecurities through the power of acquisition. Critics of marketing pose a simple question: How can people develop a sense of value or their place in the wider culture if they are little more than ad-driven, brainwashed zombies? According to McChesney, "What such a commercial culture tends to produce—and what the avalanche of commercialism encourages—is a profound cynicism and materialism, both cancerous for public life."[3]

What has changed most dramatically since Lasch's era is that consumption has been subsumed by the public's celebrity obsession. The idea that everyone rightfully deserves their bit of fame is nearly universal in twenty-first century America. Marketers tap into this idea, presenting people with the image of a better, more beautiful self hidden somewhere behind the curtain while they trudge through their daily routines without any of the glamour they view thousands of times a day.

Whether portraying the latest age-resistant facial cream or a new, must-have luxury SUV, advertisements pull at a vein of insecurity that runs deep into the American psyche. While the results of this mindset are numbing, like the plethora of reality television shows and hundreds of millions of user-generated videos uploaded to YouTube, MySpace, and a host of smaller social media sites, the impact on popular culture cannot be understated. Despite the popularity of reality television shows, such as *Survivor* and *American Idol,* many contend that these programs are little more than extended commercials and opportunities for seemingly ordinary people to become celebrities. Mark Burnett, the powerful producer of *Survivor,* said that he viewed the show "as much as a marketing vehicle as a television show."[4]

Obviously, despite its long existence at the heart of popular and corporate culture, advertising is much maligned. The field is besieged by an age-old question: is advertising a good or bad thing for society? The notion that advertising influences the way people shape their values and the culture as a whole is now universal. What has changed in recent times is that messages are less likely to be completely driven from the top (agencies/corporations) down. Ideas, issues, and cultural meanings that bubble up from below, such as consumer-generated commercials and content strongly influence how marketers speak to their audiences.

Marketing as Public Education

Advertising's pervasiveness, in some respects, actually opens doors to public discussion about marketing efforts and one's place in the larger world. People use ads as a barometer for assessing their own values and roles as citizens. Consumers may also receive a useful information from companies through marketing campaigns. Bank of America, for instance, launched a new product in January 2005 called SafeSend that enabled Hispanic customers to remit money to Mexico free of charge. Previously, Hispanic consumers had to use costly payday loan establishments or wire transfers to send money back to Mexico, which topped $20 billion in total in 2005.

In examining Burrell Communications, a large African American-owned advertising firm, communications scholar Irene Costera Meijer sees client work that uses "positive realism" to show black consumers a view of life that is purposely thoughtful, engaging, and well-rounded. A McDonald's ad created by Burrell that showed a successful black father visiting his child's school, for instance, provides "a new story of responsible black male citizenship that can be a source of inspiration and guidance for men and women, whites and blacks."[5]

Meijer sees advertisements like this as providing a positive social impact. She explained that marketers should consider using positive images "that create so-called win-win situations, images which are good for the market and can change people's ideas about themselves and hopes for society."[6] According to Meijer, advertising can provide valuable stories of what it means to live the good life, which are otherwise hard to find in mainstream media channels. "Such stories should

be seen as part of the wide array of practices and technologies with which individuals nowadays have to constitute their sense of self as—among other things—citizens of ever expanding communities."[7]

Of all the disciplines falling under the marketing umbrella, none is more essential to the education process than public relations. As a business function, public relations is driven by the bottom line, but professionals, as opposed to charlatans who do little more than produce spin, fluff, and puffery, conduct themselves ethically. Their goal is to inform consumers about the products and services of their clients. Public relations perhaps shines brightest in crises situations, when public education is most critical. The most important crises that public relations professionals handle deal with community disasters, such as plane crashes, fires, explosions, and major workplace accidents.

Public Reaction, Interaction, and Action

Unlike any other sporting event on the planet, the Super Bowl showdown is a spectacle of epic proportions. Interestingly, many viewers don't even care about the football game itself; they tune in to watch the commercials. The Super Bowl is advertising's main annual event. The buzz about the ads grows to a fever pitch each year, particularly when the price tag is revealed. In 2008, a 30-second commercial spot cost $2.7 million.[8] The stakes are high for the corporations willing to hand over that kind of money.

Before the Internet, Super Bowl ads were the hot topic at offices nationwide on Monday mornings, but the impressions had to be drawn from memory of the evening before. Marketers ran their commercials and then waited to get public reaction, perhaps from the morning newspaper. Cultural elites pushed their efforts at the public and received praise or criticism from media elites, like columnists or television news reporters.

With the Internet, however, groups of friends can gather around a computer screen and watch the advertisements over and over again, focusing on each one's strengths and weaknesses. They can also read countless blogs about the winners and losers, or post their own thoughts. The Web also provides greater reach for activist groups and industry watchdogs. Suddenly, ordinary people had a hand in determining the success or failure of commercials.

In 2007, Masterfoods' Snickers Super Bowl spot drew fire from gay rights groups for depicting two burly mechanics accidentally kissing, then reacting by doing "manly" things to prove their straightness, like ripping out chunks of chest hair. Almost instantly, activist groups, such as the Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation and the Human Rights Campaign, condemned the campaign, which they claimed promoted violence against homosexuals. These groups also criticized a Snickers Web site that ran alternative commercial endings and showed professional football players jeering as they viewed the ad. One ending featured the mechanics hitting each other with wrenches after the inadvertent lip lock.

Years ago, Snickers may have been able to wait out the criticism or quietly cancel the campaign. The fallout may have been minimal. However, the firestorm spurred by the ability for people to watch and re-watch the commercials via the Web forced the company to shutter the commercials and the accompanying Web site. In addition, the brand ignited a public relations nightmare. Mike McGuire, research director at Gartner, said, "For good or ill, the Internet dramatically increases awareness and reach. That's difficult to control and can be very dangerous."[9] The Snickers commercial withdrawal clearly shows that the Internet has changed the way people interact with marketers. Consumers use blogs, Web sites, and videos or podcasts to respond to marketing campaigns directly and may draw audiences as large as or larger than the campaign itself.

There is an important link between the marketing message and consumer reaction, interaction, and subsequent action, but it is not straight cause and effect. Advertising scholar Jerry Kirkpatrick said, "Advertising can make consumers aware of needs, it can stimulate their wants, it can stimulate demand, and it can make it possible for consumers to enjoy a greater and wider range of tastes. But tastes, needs, wants and demand all originate within the consumer."[10]

The real mystery seems to be where the original thoughts regarding tastes, needs, wants, and

demand came from. These ideas are derived from a complex system of establishing one's world view, as much from parents, family members, and friends, as from mass media channels. Jib Fowles sees popular culture playing a critical role: "Based on their exposure to, and discriminating appropriation from, the advertising/popular culture mix, people are then able to purchase the items that give off desired symbols."[11] The flow of information goes both directions—from marketers, to consumers, and vice versa.

In reviewing historical case studies on marketing successes and failures, scholar Robert F. Hartley accepts that advertising's value is difficult to determine. Nike's use of celebrity endorsers, ranging from Michael Jordan to Tiger Woods, produces a Nike culture that permeates society, while other celebrity pitch campaigns that use those successes as a guide flop unceremoniously. Hartley sees the ultimate power resting in the hands of consumers. "There is no assured correlation between expenditures for advertising and sales success," he said. "But the right theme or message can be powerful. In most cases, advertising can generate initial trial. But if the other elements of the marketing strategy are relatively unattractive, customers will not be won or retained."[12]

SOCIAL MEDIA TRANSFORMATION

Technology forces change across society. Often, corporations are at the helm, pushing innovations out into the wider public. Sometimes, a groundswell of popularity surrounding a new technology bubbles up from below, propelled by users, before the business world leaps in and attempts to monetize the innovation. This age-old chicken-or-the-egg scenario dominates consumer culture, asking: What came first, the new product or the basic want/need for the innovation? In today's tech-heavy environment, the Internet (particularly the Web 2.0/social media craze) is intensifying the push/pull nature of consumer marketing.

Since launching in 2004, more than 100 million people have joined MySpace, a Web site that enables users to create their own personalized Web page filled with music, pictures, and messages. Each day, it receives one billion page views, making it one of the top Internet properties in the world. In July 2005, News Corp. CEO Rupert Murdoch bought MySpace for $580 million, at the time a staggering figure, but now what looks like a bargain.[13]

MySpace fills an interesting void. The site allows anyone with computer access to become the star of their own show, a kind of mini-celebrity, attracting friends, who are then listed on one's page. Journalists have dubbed the most popular users "MySpace celebrities," with some people acquiring more than one million friends. Many of these Web friends actually equate more directly as fans, thus the impulse to have as many as possible. Almost like an exaggerated, online version of the high school cafeteria, MySpace provides otherwise ordinary people with a taste of being a celebrity. Individual users then become their own brand with friends serving as their enduring fans.

MySpace is also increasingly commercial, not only as a place for marketers to interact with massive numbers of consumers, but for people to find content, whether a video from a little-known indie band or last week's episode of *24*. Part of the plan to make MySpace profitable is to build out its advertising function. A number of national advertisers are signed with the site, including Coke, Honda, and Procter & Gamble. An ad on the homepage runs at roughly $500,000 a day. Countless corporations have their own MySpace pages, which cost $100,000 or more, including Wendy's and Unilever. Several companies have already run successful viral marketing campaigns on MySpace. P&G, for example, launched a "Miss Irresistible" page for a new Crest toothpaste and drew almost 40,000 friends and more than three million page views.[14]

In October 2006, search engine behemoth Google made headlines by purchasing one-and-a-half-year-old YouTube for $1.6 billion. Though at the time wildly popular among teenagers and Web-savvy hipsters, YouTube was certainly no household name. Critics scoffed at the steep price and wondered if the tech geniuses at Google had finally made a big mistake. Since then, YouTube shows no signs of slowing down. In July 2006, more than 1.6 million U.S. visitors watched 21 million video streams per day. Google, however, is still trying to determine how to make the site profitable.

Given YouTube's vast reach and popularity, marketers have searched for ways to join the phenomenon. At this stage, though, the results have been mixed and point to a dramatic change in the way people will accept or reject advertisements. The strongest indication is that it will be on their own terms, not those dictated by the elites running advertising agencies or television networks.

For example, Unilever launched its Dove "Real Beauty" campaign, using real women as models, rather than the typical supermodel or actress that most beauty campaigns employ. As part of the campaign, the company placed a video, "The Evolution of Real Beauty," on the site in October 2006 that was an instant hit. The short ad became one of the most popular YouTube videos of all time, drawing more than 1.8 million views. However, Unilever's next attempt at creating social media buzz for Dove Cream Oil Body Wash fizzled. Unilever bought space for the video on YouTube's front page, which guarantees a large number of hits, but negative reactions ensued, including rebuttal videos discussing how the company does not understand the concept of user-generated video.[15]

The Dove success and failure left marketers shaking their heads and forcing them back to the drawing board in hopes of finding a better way to build brand equity. The challenge is that social media audiences are fickle and have a finely-tuned marketing meter. They are quick to label promotional videos "unauthentic" and stand up for the unwritten code that guides such sites. For corporations, viral marketing is a dicey proposition. Companies like Unilever, Coke, or Microsoft spend billions to build their brands. A great deal of equity can vaporize quickly when something like the Dove campaign goes wrong.

A surprising success that points to the breakdown of the wall between marketers and consumers is the user-created commercial. For example, in late 2006, Chipotle Mexican Grill ran a 30-second commercial contest for college students, offering $40,000 in prize money. The company posted the two winning entries on YouTube and received 17 million viewers the first month. Because Chipotle targets 18 to 34 year olds, the YouTube exposure hit their primary audience.[16]

Ultimately, what high tech has done is further remove marketers from what they most covet—control. Once a message reaches cyberspace, the corporation/agency no longer wields power over it. Web savvy consumers satirize ads, develop their own competing messages, and discuss its content without the originator having much, if any, recourse. A mocking image of a corporate logo or unintended use of a product sent out over YouTube or MySpace damages the efforts taken to build the brand. The popularity of these social media sites almost ensures an audience. For some videos that get the magical viral marketing bump, the number of viewers is staggering.

In late 2006, someone leaked a video to YouTube of a Bank of America employee singing a parody of the U2 song "One," but with the lyrics changed to reflect the Bank of America/MBNA merger. The over-the-top shtick and impassioned performance carried the video to Web screens worldwide. No one knows how many views it received, but estimates place it in the tens of millions range. Some even thought that Bank of America purposely leaked the video to create viral buzz. Regardless of how it came into the public eye, the resulting chatter had little to do with the bank's then-marketing slogan "Higher Standards."

While the available technology gives consumers greater control over how companies market to them, marketers are exploring ways to use social media to develop deeper relationships. One company, Utah-based Blendtec, a maker of high-powered blenders, created David Letterman-like videos of founder Tom Dickson blending a variety of odd items, like marbles and golf balls. Dickson's online grinding of an iPod alone garnered more than 3 million views. The media soon picked up on the company, which received press coverage and a feature on NBC's *Today* show. According to author Paul Gillin, "Online video is the most cost-effective tool ever invented to test and refine ideas and messages. If you're lucky, it may be a bonanza of free publicity."[17]

Gillin believes that public relations practitioners need to concede control if they want to use social media effectively, something that marketers are loath to do. "Once you put your video online, you've lost control of it. People will copy it, modify it, mash it up and have their way with it," he said. "Accept this, and don't try to control what they do. On the contrary, resolve to learn from

the changes they make, because there may be a better product or marketing opportunity hidden there."[18]

Consequences

The age-old argument about marketing's role in society is too simplistic in today's media-saturated environment. The interaction between the public and marketers has consequences for society and democracy at large. Neither side can stand on the sidelines and cast stones at the other. Both the traditional corporation/agency (sender) and audience (receiver) of marketing campaigns play a role in determining how the information fuels the creation of values and culture. As shown above, even the idea of the sender-receiver relationship has undergone tremendous change as the Internet transcends boundaries.

Make no mistake, though, marketing is at a crossroads. Technology places more power in the hands of the people. This may make each person a kind of mini-activist able to reach mass audiences in reply to a campaign; a kind of ultra-democracy, where individuals truly work together within campaigns. In the future, perhaps the best scenario is that marketers will view the public as equal partners in the process. Consumers certainly have the tools at their disposal to prove that they are no longer brainless sheep being fed by marketing elites. Communications scholar Jib Fowles said, "Advertising is not a hail of commercial barbs inflicting damage on huddling consumers and their culture. Advertising is a buffet of symbolic imagery that advertisers hope will prove tempting and lead to the more difficult exchange of money for goods."[19]

Interestingly, the democratization of marketing via the Internet has made the relationship Fowles describes both more tenuous and intimate. Consumers—much more astute than commonly perceived—wander up to Fowles's buffet cautiously and take what they think they need based on deep-rooted values that have, in some way, been shaped by witnessing a lifetime of marketing campaigns. A person can use technology (i.e., TiVo) to either avoid many of the marketing messages being pushed at him or her, or choose his or her own method of interaction (i.e., YouTube). The realization must be made, however, that almost everything a person knows or cares about has been filtered through a marketing medium.

POLITICAL ADVERTISING

The prevailing wisdom of American politics is that campaign spending is at the heart of getting elected. The largest chunk of the money raised goes directly into advertising. While the new millennium brought Web-based advertising and marketing to the fore, hundreds of millions of dollars are still spent on television ads. As a result, political candidates place more emphasis on their Web sites, MySpace accounts, and other innovative (and less expensive) tools to reach out to voters, but also still rely heavily on television.

With Senator John McCain wrapping up the Republican nomination early, his campaign staff kicked fundraising into overdrive without actually having to spend that much on costly ads. In March 2008, for example, McCain raised $15.4 million. Although he trails the Democratic candidates greatly in terms of finances raised, his lock on the nomination means that he spent only $277,000 on TV ads between March 18 and April 16. In contrast, Senator Barack Obama spent $11 million on TV advertisements over the same timeframe, while Senator Hilary Clinton spent $4.5 million. The Obama campaign raised some $40 million in March, 2008, down from $55 million the previous month. Officials from the Clinton camp estimated that it raised $20 million in March.[20]

2004 Presidential Campaign

The most intriguing aspect of the 2004 presidential contest between George W. Bush and John Kerry is that there may never be a full accounting of the money spent on the battle. Journalist Chuck Todd said, "Billions of dollars were spent . . . on advertising, polls, mailings and campaign stops." Doubtless, as Todd explained, much of that money went toward advertising. The efforts to pay for the campaigns benefited from a change in finance law that allowed individuals to donate $2,000 per candidate, up from $1,000 in earlier elections.[21] While the public money

a candidate collects is subject to election laws, the "soft money," or funds from private organizations, such as labor unions, veterans groups, and others, is what makes tallying a total nearly impossible.

One research agency estimated that television ad spending for the presidential campaign from March 3 to October 28 rang in at $575 million, or about $2 million spent for each of the 270 electoral votes needed for victory. More than half the TV money went to five key states: Florida, Iowa, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. In Ohio, for example, with 20 electoral votes in the contest, the television figures equated to the Democrats spending nearly $3.4 million per electoral vote and the Republicans $1.8 million.[22]

2000 Presidential Election

Republicans enjoyed a 2-to-1 cash advantage in the 2000 presidential campaign, which they used to bolster advertising in key battleground states. In response, labor unions and liberal organizations increased their spending. The soft money financed a great deal of the election efforts. One research firm estimated that the major political parties raised a combined $393 million in soft donations in 1999 and 2000, with the Republicans accounting for about $214 million and the Democrats $179 million. In contrast, traditional donations accounted for another $430 million, with the Republicans outpacing the Democrats at $275 million to $157 million.[23]

With pollsters predicting that the 2000 presidential election would come down to the wire, both parties increased last-minute television ad spending. The Republicans spent $10 million in Pennsylvania, Florida, and California, while the Democrats allocated $9 million. With dozens of states in the balance—from Washington to Arkansas—both parties upped spending significantly, in addition to the various outside groups pushing for their respective candidates. The AFL-CIO spent $46 million on political activities to get out the vote for then-Vice President Al Gore, while the U.S. Chamber of Commerce raised $25 million to campaign for then-Texas Governor George W. Bush. Campaign finance experts predicted that the total combined spending for the presidential and Congressional races would exceed $3 billion.[24]

MEGA AGENCIES

Shockingly, a mere four multinational conglomerate advertising agencies—Omnicom, Interpublic, Publicis, and WPP—control more than 50 percent of the ad revenues worldwide. The reason for this is due to the fact that each one of these mega-firms owns dozens of smaller agencies (ranging from ads, to public relations and boutique firms), which conduct business under their own name. For example, the St. Louis-based public relations agency Fleishman-Hillard is owned by Omnicom, as is its competitors Brodeur Worldwide, Ketchum, and Porter Novelli. The consolidation that occurred over the last decade makes this new big-agency era completely different than in the past. The range of choices has diminished, which plays into the public mindset that a small number of nefarious firms control the means for selling goods to innocent consumers.

An unsuspecting business owner, without knowing the background of a firm, might believe that it is a local or regional agency, when in actuality, it is a subsidiary of one of the giants. In many cases, whenever a new business pitch occurs, different firms owned by the same mega-agency are competing against one another to win the business.

Omnicom

The 1986 merger of BBDO, Doyle Dane Bernbavck, and Needham Harper formed Omnicom. That year, combined company revenues hit $754 million. By 2006, the conglomerate posted worldwide revenue of $11.4 billion and a net income topping $864 million. About 43 percent of total revenue came from traditional advertising media, 36 percent derived from customer relationship management, another 10 percent from public relations, and 11 percent from specialty communications.[25]

The particular talent of the ad firms within the Omnicom umbrella is creativity, demonstrated by BBDO Worldwide, DDB Worldwide, and TBWA Worldwide consistently ranking as the top three most-awarded agency networks

globally. Omnicom also benefits from having the resources to invest in cutting edge technology, increasingly demanded by its corporate clients.

At a New York industry summit in December 2007, Omnicom chief executive officer John Wren discussed innovative work conducted for corporate clients GE, Target, and Mars that shows the way traditional advertising is changing in the wake of the Web. Rather than talk about television commercials, Wren pointed to efforts that stretched across media channels, including video clips and Web sites.

For example, ad firm BBDO built a Web site (www.becomeanmm.com) for Mars's M&M candies that initially enabled users to insert real photographs into pictures with the brand's animated characters. From there, the site morphed into a place to play online games, make movies, create new animated characters, and send online greeting cards. The highlight of the "Inner M" campaign was that consumers could create an M&M of themselves, virtually melding into the Mars brand. This kind of cross-channel work points to a new kind of advertising that uses technology to extend a consumer's time with the brand. Wren told *AdWeek,* "We earn our fees working for clients by doing what we've always been doing and by pushing it through all sorts of media."[26]

Even a multinational conglomerate like Omnicom faces potential challenges. The firm earns nearly 50 percent of its revenue from its 100 largest clients. The loss of several of these, combined with general global cutbacks, could dampen future growth. Geographically, Omnicom generates about 54 percent of its revenue in the United States, with about 21 percent generated in Europe, 11 percent in the United Kingdom, and the remaining 14 percent in other markets, such as Asia.[27]

The mega agencies face a future that will most likely reward them for their size and scope, but perhaps also penalize them as well. The news media has responded to the threats it faces from declining readership and classified revenues by retrenching—shifting focus to hyper-local stories and programming. If this movement continues to develop, it is hard to imagine that the big firms will be able to compete in smaller locales scattered all over the nation and all over the world. In the mega agencies' favor, however, is that the transition to interactive, Web-based communications provides them with a way to use their resources to adapt. In addition, the mega agencies have the ability to go out and purchase the kind of expertise needed to thrive in a changing marketplace—in the form of hot startups, innovative firms, and local communications leaders, if necessary.

CELEBRITY ADVERTISING

The most enticing combination of popular culture and celebrity fascination takes place in advertising. Big money, iconic consumer brands, and famous individuals mean serious consequences for all parties involved. In the new millennium, celebrity advertising is growing more important. Even the stars themselves, who once shied away from shilling products in the United States, realize that serving as a spokesperson can have benefits in expanding one's own "brand." For example, this kind of thinking takes into account the entire Nicole Kidman brand, or all the aspects of the actress's star power, from films and modeling work to appearances and product endorsements.

Tiger Woods is one of the world's top celebrity pitchers, hawking everything from luxury Tag Heuer watches and Gillette razors to Gatorade Tiger sports drink and his own line of Nike golf clubs and accessories. Other top celebrity spokespeople include Kidman, Jessica Simpson, and Justin Timberlake. Some celebrities are less likely to appear in a commercial, but will still be heard; for example, George Clooney lends his voice to promote Budweiser.

A change in the 2000s is that advertising agencies, companies, and celebrities now view the relationship as a partnership, each hoping to benefit from the association with the other. Bill Cosby and Michael Jordan served as early innovators in this regard. Consumers actually liked them more after seeing them in commercials, whether for Gatorade or Jell-O. "Over the years, the trend has slowly shifted from using models to celebrities to endorse products because, regardless of what's going on in the world of luxury, celebrities sell," explained Ryan Schinman, president of Platinum Rye Entertainment, a firm that negotiates talent buys for companies and advertising agencies. "Of course, each celebrity has their own



Nicole Kidman is among the many celebrities who lend themselves to promoting products. Here she enters the Academy Awards ceremony in 2002. ©AMPAS/ABC. Courtesy of Photofest.

characteristics, so their image and lifestyle has to be in tune with the brand. Some are hits, some are misses."[28]

Kidman's work with Chanel No. 5 symbolizes the way a celebrity can transform a brand. The company made the actress the face of the fragrance in 2004 for $12 million. She later starred in a commercial directed by filmmaker Baz Luhrmann, shot for an estimated $46 million, making it one of the most expensive ads in history. The gamble paid off, however, when revenues jumped 16 percent after Kidman joined. Her appeal as a celebrity opened the fragrance to a different, younger demographic and translated into sales. The partnership certainly has a significant financial component, according to journalist Nicola Ruiz, "Endorsement money is key to a star's bank account. Celebrities, many of whom make between $10 million and $20 million for months of work on a movie set or while on a yearlong concert tour, are cashing in on ad campaigns that can pay as much as $3 million for a day's work."[29]

Another indicator of America's star-craze is that even most bad publicity doesn't really hurt the products the celebrities promote. A 2006 survey by the Luxury Institute revealed that 42 percent of respondents said that a damaged celebrity image would have no negative effect on future purchases. Perhaps this rationale explains why infamous celebrities, such as Pamela Anderson, Paris Hilton, Martha Stewart, and others continue to receive endorsement deals even after their reputations have hit the skids.[30]

THE FUTURE OF ADVERTISING

Although advertising and marketing play a critical role in getting products and services in the hands of consumers, advertising is still at the mercy of broader financial considerations, such as the looming recession late in the decade. As businesses respond to the growing crisis in the consumer real estate industry, many are pulling back ad expenses. This decision, however, is fraught with complications. For many executives, the move to Web-based ads is a way to hit their target demographics, but this comes at the expense of traditional mediums, such as newspapers, magazines, and radio.

According to Robert J. Cohen, senior vice president and director of forecasting at Universal McCann, ad spending reached $283.9 billion in 2007, a less than one percent gain over the previous year. This increase is the smallest since a recession rocked the industry in 2001. Between 2005 and 2006, for example, ad spending growth reached nearly four percent. If there is a bright spot in the storm, Internet expenditures grew by 20 percent from 2006 to 2007.[31]

Another bonus for the advertising industry is the dual-headed monster of the 2008 primaries and presidential election and the Summer Games Olympics in China. Steve King, worldwide chief executive at ZenithOptimedia, estimates that the Olympics will add an additional $3 billion in the global ad economy. He also sees another $2 billion derived from spending by the political candidates.[32]

Ultimately, corporations will push into every area they can if they feel that it will help them build the brand or sell products. Some of the iconic brands attempting to sell via social media sites have nothing to do with the Internet, such as Pepperidge Farms cookies, but that does not mean savvy marketers won't attempt to use new technology. Pepperidge Farms targeted women in its online campaign, emphasizing a message that cookies help women reconnect with their friends. On the other side of the spectrum, underwear and clothing company Jockey focused on young men. These disparate examples provide a glimpse into the future of advertising, one in which the push of an ad is replaced by the lure of a conversation and the excitement of interaction.

Architecture

of the 2000s

Architecture is towering skyscrapers of twisting steel, gleaming glass facades stretching over multiple stories, and a rainbow of colors, shapes, and designs used to make buildings interesting. From another viewpoint, architecture is how a home fits into a subdivision, the type of roofing materials used based on locale, and the size of individual rooms. In other words, architecture encompasses a wide variety of topics that influences people's lives each day, ranging from their own home or apartment to the buildings where they work, shop, eat, and go for entertainment.

The biggest news in architecture in the 2000s was the explosion of the real estate market. As interest rates fell to historic lows, suddenly people all across the nation could buy and/or build their dream homes. Architects and homebuilders responded by changing the way residential homes looked. Big was in: great rooms, large chandeliers, oversized entryways, multi-car garages, giant picture windows, and other features dominated the "McMansions" of the day.

Then the real estate market crashed back down to earth and effectively took the national economy with it. What seemed like a minor correction in 2005 and 2006 suddenly took on epic proportions. The fall triggered widespread alarm and cast a shadow on every industry even loosely affiliated with real estate.

As the decade nears its end, no one is confident that the real estate business will turn around any time soon. Optimists point to 2009, but as each succeeding month reveals more mortgage defaults and foreclosures nationwide, the scenario looks worse and worse. Other observers predict that the housing market will never recover or gain back the value it lost in 2007 and 2008. Certainly, there are millions of Americans experiencing foreclosure, bankruptcy, and increased debt that are barely holding on. Some of these people will never recoup their losses or rebound from the black mark this debacle has placed on their credit history.

TRENDS

The United States is not one big architectural science lab churning out the same products over and over again. Instead, trends unfold regionally, meaning that what is taking place in New York may or may not resonate in Los Angeles, Atlanta, or Boston. What one is more likely to find is diversity and micro-trends based on a variety of factors, from the local economic picture to population density. As a result, Pittsburgh's focus may be on redesigning part of its waterfront based on new professional football and baseball stadiums being built, while San Francisco's

efforts may concentrate on new public spaces and museums.

While celebrity architects, such as Frank Gehry and Renzo Piano will always attract international attention and significant media coverage, in most markets it is the smaller design firms that act as change agents. These local and regional architects are the ones designing and building new public buildings, educational centers, company headquarters, and perhaps most the most influential architectural work, people's homes and apartment buildings.

Thus, there is a balance in American architecture between the big-name architects usually working in the large metropolitan areas and the lesser-known activities taking place in the rest of the country. However, even within these categories, important influences cross boundaries, so one finds Gehry designing a new business school at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland and a building spree taking over Clearwater, Florida, which is changing the way people interact with the waterfront and beaches. In Los Angeles, local architects and designers are recreating the city's former industrial areas, while at the same time, celebrity architects work on iconic public and private buildings.

City Trends

Many cities in the United States face a similar challenge: how to deal with the limitations of expansion. The large urban centers across the nation were built on waterways and at transportation hubs that now limit how they grow. For example, Los Angeles's problem in the new millennium is urbanism. People continue to move into the city, but L.A. can no longer continue to gobble up surrounding areas, and its western edge is the Pacific Ocean. Consequently, the city is redefining itself and taking measures to confront these challenges.

In a city notorious for sprawl, L.A. is taking steps to reconnect people. One effort involves studying potential mass transit options that will alleviate the traffic on the intricate highways surrounding the city. Another involves creating shared spaces, such as the plaza at the Nokia Theater, which allows for interaction and spontaneous growth.

Chicago, arguably the birthplace of the modern skyscraper and stomping grounds of Frank Lloyd Wright, confronts a series of urban issues that have little to do with big name architects. Rather, the city is in the midst of building community-centered projects, such as John Ronan's Gary Comer Youth Center. These buildings must take into account the needs of a diverse clientele who have specific needs.

According to journalist Blair Kamin, another problem Chicago and other cities across the nation face is the boom in often drab condominiums. "These are the buildings that are killing cities," he said, "and giving us this problem of density without urbanity."[1]

Tremendous growth in Atlanta forced city planners and developers to react to the city's changing face. The trendy Buckhead area, which used to be a near-suburb, essentially morphed into another part of the city. A local developer, Novare Group, purchased a nine-acre site in the area to build retail stores, offices, and luxury condos. Catherine Fox, an architecture critic and journalist, said, "The architecture isn't great, but the project shows the ambitions of the developer."[2]

While many cities struggle with confronting transportation issues, Atlanta is building BeltLine, a 22-mile transit line that will wrap around the city, connecting 45 neighborhoods. Included in the transit system are a series of parks, bikeways, and plazas. Developers are gobbling up areas near BeltLine, which holds great potential in revitalizing the already rejuvenated city core. "The BeltLine could become the city's civic symbol, linking the past and present even as it shapes the future," Fox explained. However, she is concerned: "There is no coherent design vision. The question now is: Will the BeltLine be more than just a transportation project?"[3]

As of early 2008, BeltLine is in the midst of a $60 million capital campaign to raise money toward its projected $2.8 billion price tag spread over 25 years. However, the Georgia Supreme Court ruled that school property tax money could not be used in building the transit system, eliminating $850 million that city officials expected to come from future school taxes. Atlanta Mayor Shirley Franklin and other civic leaders remain committed to the BeltLine, but the court decision makes implementation more difficult.

Homeownership Trends

The Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University assesses the nation's housing situation with support from a variety of public and private sources, including the National Association of Home Builders, Freddie Mac, and the National Association of Realtors. Despite the gloomy news emerging from the real estate meltdown and credit crunch, it expects the long-term growth of homeownership between 2005 and 2015 to reach about 19.5 million units, compared to 18.1 million between 1995 and 2005. The factors contributing to this growth range from projected healthy income growth to the influx of immigrants and resulting boom in their native-born children.[4]

While the forecasted figures are encouraging, the report's analysis of housing affordability is not. In a single year, the number of households that spent more than 30 percent of total income on housing jumped by 2.3 million. Overall, in 2005, some 37.3 million households fell into this category, creating a new record. Once similar figures are released for the years since then, that record will surely fall as well. The simple fact of the matter is that income growth for most Americans cannot keep pace with home expenses, including insurance, taxes, and other components that make up the monthly mortgage payment.[5]

On the positive side of the equation, time is on the side of the housing market. In the next decade, Baby Boomers will enter a phase when many will purchase second homes, and the Echo Boomers (born 1981 to 2001) will recharge the market as they enter their prime home buying years. Immigration is expected to continue its growth patterns, and the offspring of recent immigrants will look to their slice of the American dream. In the new millennium, immigrants accounted for 14 percent of purchases, while another 18 percent of foreign-born renters stand poised to enter the real estate market.[6]

The real estate boom that ended in the mid-2000s essentially put a halt to the nation's rapid economic growth since the 2001 recession. According to the Harvard study, "The drop in home building was so drastic that it shaved more than a full percentage point off national economic growth in the latter half of 2006. As a result, residential fixed investment went from being a significant contributor to growth to a major drag on the economy."[7]

In attempting to find some way to benefit from the downturn, homeowners took advantage of low interest rates to refinance in 2005 and 2006. Some 85 percent of people who refinanced did so to draw cash out of their homes, the highest level witnessed since the 1991 recession. Between 2001 and 2005, home equity money grew by 31 percent, reaching $10.9 trillion. In the same period, investment and improvement figures jumped 23.6 percent to $228.2 billion. These numbers indicate that, while people realized that the housing meltdown prevented them from selling their homes, those with steady, secure incomes could use low interest rates to either remodel or refinance. However, if housing continues to depreciate, these options will not be factors for many households.[8]

REBUILDING AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTER

The terrorist attacks on September 11 destroyed one of the world's most recognizable buildings. The battle over what would replace it captured imaginations, eventually turning into the biggest prize in the industry. However, the decision regarding what to build on the World Trade Center (WTC) site also turned into a focal point of criticism and contempt. Acrimonious negotiations between local and regional authorities further delayed building. Over time, however, the controversy diminished, and construction began in late 2006 on the $2.4 billion, 1,776 foot Freedom Tower structure, scheduled for completion in 2012. The rest of the World Trade Center site includes four additional skyscrapers (Towers 2, 3, 4, and 5), the National September 11 Memorial and Museum, the World Trade Center Transportation Hub, a retail hub, and performing arts center.

Designed by David M. Childs of famed architectural firm Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, the Freedom Tower will be a 2.6 million square foot building that replaces the double towers of the original WTC with a single spire. The new building will feature a 50-foot-high public lobby rising up from the plaza level, followed by 69 office floors that lift the elevation to 1,120 feet. There

will be a symbolic metal-and-glass parapet at 1,362 feet and 1,368 feet, the heights of the original twin towers. "The tower is an open, welcoming building that both radiates light and is filled with light. Our design team has achieved our goal of creating a great urban place—a building that serves the people who work in it, welcomes those who visit it, and plays an integral and vibrant role in the city that surrounds it," Childs said.[9]

WTC developer Larry A. Silverstein assembled a world-renowned team of architects to design the buildings and grounds of the site. Lord Norman Foster is designing Tower 2, while Lord Richard Rogers (Tower 3) and Fumihiko Maki (Tower 4) lead the efforts on the other primary skyscrapers. Michael Arad is designing the WTC Memorial, while Frank Gehry is heading work on the World Trade Center Performing Arts Center.

Emotions still run high concerning the design and construction on the site of the terrorist attacks. *The New Yorker's* Paul Goldberger calls the World Trade Center redesign at Ground Zero "a sad story." Rather than appeal to the sanctity of the area, he said, "In many ways, it merely reflects where we are today. It's a commercial development, not a civic place. And it isn't effective urban design." Goldberger sees the challenges with Ground Zero as emblematic of larger problems faced in the architectural profession today. He calls it, "withdrawal, even abandonment, of large-scale planning by the public sector." Corporate partners quickly step into the void, and in many cases, enable the private sector to overtake projects, ultimately deciding what gets built. "At the end of the day, it's not real planning," Goldberger said. "What we're seeing is the development of parallel infrastructures—one built by the private sector, and one by the public. I can imagine a time in the future when some people might have little interaction with the public infrastructure."[10]

One of the most critical challenges for the new WTC is safety, the same issue that confronts architects and designers worldwide in the post–September 11 era. Skyscrapers and other significant buildings serve as primary targets for terrorists. According to journalist Nicolai Ouroussoff, the new Freedom Tower represents the need for safety in a world filled with possible horrors, explaining that it "rests on a 20-story, windowless fortified concrete base decorated in prismatic glass panels in a grotesque attempt to disguise its underlying paranoia. And the brooding, obelisk-like form above is more of an expression of American hubris than of freedom."[11]

OFFICE SPACE(S) AND SKYSCRAPERS

People continue to be fascinated with the majestic buildings and skyscrapers business leaders build in homage to their companies (and often themselves). Complicit in these striking structures are the superstar architects that turned into celebrities over the last several decades. Leading the pack is Frank Gehry, who rose to international prominence with the design of buildings worldwide, including the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain. As a matter of fact, Gehry arguably stands as the most famous living architect in the world in the late 2000s.

The famed designer's influence is seen nationwide in buildings that highlight curved features, warped steel, and extensive use of glass. The focal point of Gehry's buildings, such as the Peter B. Lewis Building (2002) at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio, showcase intricate ribbon patterns, which some observers liken to an exploding wrapped present. The beauty of a Gehry design is its ability to make brick, concrete, and glass come alive with a lightness that seems impossible. The sloped exteriors and bold uses of curves are Gehry's signature designs, so now clients who hire him expect that they will get the full Gehry treatment. On the flipside, however, the trademark style has led some critics to say that he just repeats his design of the Guggenheim over and over.

In the new millennium, Gehry's international acclaim led to projects across the globe. In the United States, he began the decade with the Experience Music Project in Seattle. Gehry designed another high profile venue in his home area, the Walt Disney Concert Hall (2003) in Los Angeles. On December 6, 2006, California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger inducted Gehry into the California Hall of Fame.

In 2007, the IAC Building opened along the West Side Highway in New York City; it was



The Walt Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles, designed by famed architect Frank Gehry. Sony Pictures Classics/ Photofest. ©Fernando Gomez. Courtesy of Photofest.

Gehry's first building in the Big Apple. As the corporate headquarters for the e-commerce conglomerate run by media mogul Barry Diller, the building reflects the cutting-edge nature of the Web giant, which includes Expedia.com, Ask.com, LendingTree, and HSN. The corporate interior of the building provides a view of the Hudson River, accentuating the waterfront appeal so desired by corporate bigwigs.[12]

From a distance, the IAC Building looks as if it is shimmering up out of the ground like sheer curtains blowing in the wind, but at the same time, it features a solid rectangular foundation that exudes strength. On closer inspection, the initial understanding of the building's compact power is underscored by its sloped and angled framework, so bent and at odds with the eye that one can hardly imagine that its underbelly is concrete.

FABRICATING "URBAN" CENTERS

Nostalgia for an imagined past drives much of the current architecture, particularly when it involves public spaces. One trend playing out across the nation is the movement to build urban-looking downtowns in suburban settings to mimic the appearance of an urban setting. These faux urban environments, often called town centers, are designed to provide consumers and/or residents with a feeling of a downtown center, yet within the safety net of the suburbs.

In Tampa, for example, many of these fake towns are actually disguised shopping malls, built to resemble quaint downtown areas. Typically, these centers are created near large (often gated) housing developments in the well-to-do suburbs, thus providing easy access to shopping, dining, and entertainment for the residents of the subdivision. Some have a small-town feel, while others are clearly derivative of Bourbon Street in New Orleans. Actually, many resemble a scene from Universal Studios or Disneyland.

In Lakewood, Colorado, the shopping center is dubbed a "lifestyle center," what journalist Jamie Reno called, "an idealized vision of an urban streetscape, with 22 open-air blocks of cafes, performance spaces, offices, housing, parks, and, of course, chain stores familiar to anyone who's spent

time in the Galleria (can you say Sharper Image and Victoria's Secret?)."[13] Lakewood happened to be just one of several hundred such lifestyle centers going up around the nation, stretching from Washington, D.C., to Phoenix. The trend is pushed by large shopping mall developers to appeal to Baby Boomers, who are nostalgic for urban life, as long as it's in the safe confines of suburbia.

Otay Ranch Town Center opened near San Diego in Chula Vista, California, in late 2007 and drew a crowd of 80,000. The lifestyle center featured an outdoor fireplace, kids' areas, and a dog park, along with a slew of shopping outlets. Built by mall developer General Growth Properties, Otay Ranch also has a code of conduct that prohibits skateboarding, swearing, spitting, and congregating in large groups. In other words, restrictions designed to eliminate behaviors people do not like about city life. A man who bought a condo at the California site explained, "It gives you the feeling that you're in a city, but you don't worry about the drunks on the streets."[14]

The town center movement in the Pittsburgh region takes nostalgia one step further: building a small town feel within already preexisting small towns. In the suburbs east of the city, developers are building new communities that offer people an escape from modern life's hustle and bustle. Audrey Guskey, a professor at Duquesne University in Pittsburgh, explained: "Everyone is so busy in life—there's so many things to do—that people just want to have that community, that place to go, somewhere like *Cheers,* where everyone knows your name." Guskey views the town center movement in a positive light, saying, "A trend like this is perfect for Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh's like a small town, and people in this area like the feeling of being a part of a community. It's a fun trend . . . a great trend."[15]

In Irwin, a Pittsburgh suburb, the town center work focuses on revitalizing the business district using grant money that city planners hope will enhance the area and attract new businesses. Some of the decisions involved are aesthetic, such as installing all underground wires, thus eliminating potentially unsightly overhead lines. Others require more effort, like devising strategic plans that will attract younger residents. In Plum, a suburb spread out over 29 square miles, a town center built from scratch would draw the community together in ways never before possible. "I really think people are looking for that," said Rich Hrivnak, Mayor of Plum. "They want that sense of community. They want that one place they can go and come together as a community. I think of like Mayberry, with a town hall, an area with a quaint feel to it."[16]

THE AMERICAN HOME

Owning a home remains a fundamental tenet of the American Dream. Historically low interest rates and creative adjustable rate mortgage loans in the early part of the decade gave Americans the opportunity to purchase homes in record numbers. As more financiers artificially pumped money into the real estate market, the value of homes jumped, enabling even more refinancing and cashing out to occur. Often, people used the money to finance improvements or as a down payment on a second home or larger house in a better neighborhood. Either way, the increase in values, combined with low interest rates and creative financing, served as the tinder for the real estate fire sale taking place in the latter years of the decade. Despite the challenges people faced, homes still serve as an aspiration or statement of one's standing. Moreover, housing remains a critical component of the popular culture landscape.

In the early 2000s, people did not have to surf Internet realty sites or wait for the homes section of the Sunday paper to imagine living this fantasy. Instead, they could flip to any number of television programs and channels, such as *Trading Spaces* and *HGTV,* which featured young hip designers, planners, builders, and architects ready to help them vicariously realize their homeowner dreams. For those who preferred glossy magazines, they could visit the newsstand and pick up trendy remodeling and building magazines, like *Cachet, Real Simple,* and *Dwell.* Hundreds of other regional and city-specific home and luxury magazines gave everyone access to the notion that a home can be a piece of art, while still being functional and fun.

The TV shows and magazines brought the notion of upgrading and remodeling to the masses.

Also contributing to the craze, big box remodeling stores, such as Lowe's and Home Depot, became destination spots for weekend handymen and women, running seminars on topics from installing granite kitchen counters to upgrading bathroom fixtures.

The focus on remodeling served as a cornerstone of the housing craze leading up to the subprime mortgage meltdown later in the decade. The value of homes rose sharply as demand outstripped supply. Many millions of homeowners refinanced to take advantage of the low rates and used the cash from the transaction on their homes. This translated into room add-ons, upgrades across the board, and other additions.

While all these large forces swirled through the minds of homeowners and those attempting to buy into the American Dream, the idea of what a home meant changed after the September 11 terrorist attacks. Suddenly, the magical feeling of safety sleeping in one's own bed took on new urgency. According to journalist Bill Saporito, "The national tragedy of 9/11 reinforced a trend that was already under way: the home is not just everyone's castle, it's becoming a resort, an island of comfort in an ocean of insecurity. It's command central for the modern family in all its configurations, the place to huddle, socialize and strategize in an increasingly complex world."[17]

The renewed desire for safety and tranquility away from the chaotic nature of daily life increased the popularity of communal spaces where families could congregate. Floor plans for both pricey homes and those more modest in scale included great rooms, large, high-ceilinged rooms that were centrally located and viewable from several other parts of the house, most importantly the kitchen. Also, more builders included office spaces in new homes, providing residents with the option to work from home.

With families thinking about safety and togetherness, the kitchen served as the hub of activities,



A typical upscale kitchen in the 2000s: granite countertops, shiny stainless steel expensive appliances. Courtesy of Shutterstock.

after decades of secondary status in most housing designs. Kacey Fitzpatrick, a home designer and consultant based in California, called the kitchen "the meeting place, the eating place, the social gathering place, the communications exchange," adding that "the new layouts reflect the inherent need of family members to be near the headquarters."[18]

In previous decades, great bathrooms or additional square footage topped the homeowner wish lists. In the 2000s, however, gleaming, full-of-ego kitchens replaced those desires. Normal people who rarely cooked compared to their parents' generation suddenly had to have a Sub-Zero refrigerator and Viking Range. Designers knocked out walls to open the newly-luxurious kitchens up to the living or great room, usually adding a breakfast nook that enabled additional gathering opportunities.

The other trend in the American home during the decade transformed the master bedroom into a dazzling suite, with adjoining exercise rooms, sitting areas, computer areas, and multiple walk-in closets. Showers in the master bathroom also benefited from the opulence, with state-of-the-art showerheads and other gadgetry that changed bathing from a necessity to something fun, akin to an art form.

DESIGN

Economic prosperity and design walk hand-in-hand. The financial boom that occurred during the early years of the new millennium not only pumped money into the coffers of people in the upper income brackets, but also provided more disposable income in general. Suddenly, wealth meant more than being rich—appearing "wealthy" became the aim. People across economic groups wanted to seem well-to-do, whether that meant buying similar fashions as they saw on television or owning the same kind of sub-zero refrigerator as a celebrity.

Corporations recognized the public's fascination with wealth and eagerly stepped in to provide both real luxury items and faux knockoffs, depending on what individuals could spend. In one sense, wealth equaled democratization, giving more people access to items they deemed important. However, the fixation also turned the nation away from the more fundamental ideas of what constitutes a good life and replaced them with an obsession with money and fame.

In 2000, *Time* magazine dubbed America's obsession with faux wealthy style the "design economy." Explaining the term, it stated, "[Design] is the crossroads where prosperity and technology meet culture and marketing. These days, efficient manufacturing and intense competition have made 'commodity chic' not just affordable but also mandatory. Americans are likely to appreciate style when they see it and demand it when they don't, whether in boutique hotels or kitchen scrub brushes." According to Dziersk, president of the Industrial Designers Society of America, "This is the new Golden Age of design." Approximately 20 percent of the $6 trillion Americans spent on consumer goods in 1999–2000 went into purchases for their homes.[19]

An interesting aspect of the democratization of design is that people with money to burn did not necessarily buy designer name products in droves, like they did in the Wall Street-fueled 1980s. Instead, they attempted to fill their supersized homes with kitschy items that expressed some level of individuality. As a result, designers and manufacturers designed items that represented certain ideas that people then bought to say something specific about themselves. For example, Apple introduced personal computers with splashes of color, replacing the staid beige traditionally used for monitors. Stores like Ikea and Pottery Barn mass produced home décor options, but offered enough varieties that shoppers felt that some degree of personalization and customization, yet at a more modest price. "Manufacturers recognize that consumers are looking for more than functional benefits," said Barry Shepard, co-founder of SHR Perceptual Management, the design consultancy that helped conceive the Volkswagen Beetle. "A product that matters needs to say something about the person who owns it."[20]

After decades of losing out in discount pricing wars with Wal-Mart, Target changed course and became the "it" store of the 2000s based on the seemingly simple notion that offering less expensive designer knockoffs would attract consumers.

The company launched product lines with famous designers such as Michael Graves, Isaac Mizrahi, and Mossimo Giannulli, which overhauled Target's reputation almost overnight.

Larger, Eco-Friendly, and Bold

Interior design in the late 2000s takes its cue from the larger culture, particularly the green movement and a desire for eco-friendly products. Popular trends include expanding the boundaries of the home outside the traditional interior space, filling homes with earth-friendly products, and using colors and patterns that represent a Californian or Southwestern flair.

Nationwide—even in cold climate regions—people are dressing up outside areas and essentially turning them into extra rooms. The focal point for many of these, just like the traditional home, is the kitchen. As a result, people are installing large, high-powered stainless steel grills that dwarf the kitchen stove, as well as outdoor fireplaces that are used for both atmosphere and cooking. Others purchase outdoor stoves and actually use it to replace their one inside. Cathy Whitlock, an interior designer in Nashville, said, "This trend to indoor-outdoor living seems to be going strong. I notice more and more homeowners wanting screened-in porches, particularly with outdoor fireplaces."[21]

The furniture used to decorate newly-minted outdoor living rooms is considerably upscale when compared to the weaved plastic and aluminum chairs and billowy lounges most people grew up with. Designers recognized the need for more luxurious outdoor furniture and responded with bright colors, use of tiled tabletops, and soft fabrics and cushions. In terms of the color palette of outdoor furniture, varieties of green (celadon to avocado) are popular. Many consumers are also turning to more natural sun shades, which combines one's desire to live a green lifestyle with the necessity for shielding outdoor sitting areas.

The move toward eco-friendly consciousness is one of the central themes in popular culture in the new millennium. The totality of the movement ranges from using natural fibers in pillows, to adding recycled materials to concrete and drywall. Consumers' demand for attractiveness in green living led many producers to reinvent their products for the new century. For example, GE and Sharp created new solar panels that do not detract from the picturesque nature of a home. Rather than sit on top of shingles, technological advances and a better understanding of today's customers enabled builders to streamline them into the roofing system seamlessly.[22]

Remodeling Meltdown

The remodeling boom that took place in the years leading up to the real estate meltdown seems like a distant memory in 2008. Across most of the nation, people are growing more cautious about big expenditures, even those at the top of the economic ladder. Wealthy homeowners are usually the last to halt remodeling projects because they have more disposable income and can weather financial instability better than those squeaking by or living month-to-month. As a result, some areas are bucking the trend and still have big-ticket remodels on the books. The Tampa-St. Petersburg area is one example of a region getting hit hard by the real estate crash, yet plowing money back into high-end homes.

According to Kermit Baker, director of the Remodeling Futures Program at Harvard University, people usually begin remodeling as soon as they buy a new home. Therefore, with less houses being sold, remodeling is taking a hit. Another critical factor is home value, which also drops during a period where inventory exceeds demand. Homeowners face little incentive to pump money back into their places when they do not foresee getting a substantial return on investment. Finally, the fact that home equity lines of credit and other loans traditionally used for remodeling are harder to get is swaying people away from such projects.[23]

In 2006, the residential remodeling industry hit $228 billion, a figure that doubled the total from the mid-1990s. In the South, remodeling projects jumped from $1,131 in 1996 to $1,566 in 2006, a 44 percent increase. Baker's research predicts that the remodeling industry will continue to drop at an annual rate of 2.6 percent through 2008.

A more concrete example comes from Home Depot. The giant hardware chain reported its first annual revenue decline, dropping from $79 billion in 2006 to $77.4 billion in 2007. Daniel E. Ashline, who owns a remodeling company in St. Petersburg, Florida, said, "Things are not as robust as they were 18 months ago. It's not like it was . . . 2005 was still good, and 2006 was better, but last year was just even. This year, we'll do 70 percent of what we normally do." Other Florida remodeling firms report sales drops of 50 percent and laying off workers as a result.[24]

Books

Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics of the 2000s

In 2000, after a disappointing theatrical run in which it made only $37 million (compared to production costs of $63 million), *Fight Club* came out on DVD. Released in two editions, the set revolutionized the medium because director David Fincher supervised its production, including now-commonplace "extras," such as commentary tracks, deleted scenes, and other special features. The immediate popularity of the DVD led to the film becoming an instant cult classic. All over the nation, actual fight clubs sprang up based on the popularity of the movie.

More importantly, the success of the DVD turned Chuck Palahniuk, author of the *Fight Club* novel, into a cult figure in his own right. Based on word-of-mouth popularity and a crazed fan base tuned into every known detail about him and his work on the Web, Palahniuk transformed from former diesel mechanic to one of the hottest writers in the world. Fast forward to 2007, with the release of *Rant: An Oral Biography of Buster Casey,* and Palahniuk's 10 books have sold more than three million copies.[1]

The hub of Chuck-related activity turned out to be "The Cult," his official Web site, created and run by Dennis Widmyer since 1999. Early in its existence, the site featured news and interviews with Palahniuk. However, members of The Cult soon took on more cultish activities (in some instances, peacefully replicating "Project Mayhem" from *Fight Club*), such as guerrilla marketing techniques in major cities around the nation, to publicize his books. As a result, the author scored a string of *New York Times* best sellers.

Palahniuk is one of literature's central figures in the new millennium, not only for his sales and dark subject matter, but also for the way he grew from unknown to global superstar. His upward trajectory is a combination of movie adaptation, quirky subject matter that appeals to readers across the spectrum, Internet mania, and highly effective marketing. Palahniuk, though now going on a decade of unparalleled success, represents the forces that come together in the twenty first century to propel winning writers into another stratosphere. There must be a mix of word-of-mouth marketing, Internet hype, differentiated content, and some modicum of luck. Palahniuk is a popular culture phenomenon in his own right, perhaps, in some circles, more famous than some of the celebrities that starred in *Fight Club,* except, of course, Brad Pitt. (See Entertainment of the 2000s.)

This chapter examines the literature of the new millennium—both epic, bestselling works and the highbrow fiction reserved for English literature graduate classes. Included is a discussion of the many forces that turn seemingly ordinary writers (fiction or nonfiction) into pop culture icons.

FICTION

Harry Potter Mania

No one could have predicted the worldwide phenomenon the Harry Potter books would set off when virtually unknown British author J. K. Rowling published the first book in the seven-novel series in 1997. By 2004, *Forbes* magazine estimated that Rowling parlayed the Potter fame into a billion dollar enterprise complete with movies, tie-in products, toys, and a variety of other related products. During the height of the series and subsequent films, the release actually led to increased business in affiliated industries. Observers estimated that the Harry Potter brand name is worth $15 billion.[2]

Warner Bros. is an example of Potter's influence in other media. The company benefited from the $2 billion the first two movies grossed worldwide. The fifth film, "Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix," drew $44.8 million on its Wednesday release, then the highest first-day sales figure in history. The summer blockbuster then went on to make a whopping $140 million in its first five days. The movie company plans to release the final film for the last book in two parts in the summers of 2010 and 2011.

Online bookseller Amazon.com also benefited both financially and in its branding efforts from the scope of the Potter series. The site allowed consumers to pre-order the last book, *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows,* in February 2007, and the book shot to the top of its bestselling titles some five months prior to publication. Amazon then partnered with the U.S. Postal Service and UPS to ship 1.3 million copies on its release date under unusually tight security measures. Potter mania grew to white-hot intensity, and the bookseller did not want to allow early copies to make their way into the public spotlight.[3]



Actor Daniel Radcliffe portrays boy wizard Harry Potter in *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone* (2001). Warner Bros./Photofest. ©Warner Bros. Courtesy of Photofest.

The Harry Potter phenomenon not only made Rowling rich and increased the profits of many partners tied to the brand, but the wizard also had a broader cultural impact, most notably increasing literacy rates among children. A 2006 report issued by The Kids and Family Reading Report and publisher Scholastic revealed that the series helped get more kids reading for fun and do better in school. Some 65 percent of respondents claimed that they performed better in school since starting the series, which 76 percent of parents also said. "Only once in a lifetime does a children's literary phenomenon like Harry Potter come along," said Lisa Holton, president of Scholastic Book Fairs and Trade Publishing. "Harry Potter has become part of our culture, and what it has done so magically is to prove that even in the digital age, well-written books are and will remain a great source of enjoyment and enrichment for adults and young readers."[4]

The Da Vinci Code

While Harry Potter received more media attention over a longer span, Dan Brown's *The Da Vinci Code* (2003) stayed parked atop the best seller list. In 2004, Brown's publisher, Random House, brought out a "Special Illustrated Edition" of the book, which also saw sales skyrocket. By mid-2006, more than 60.5 million copies were in print.

Few could have predicted such stellar heights for Brown, a moderately successful thriller writer up to that point in his career. *The Da Vinci Code* centers on Harvard professor Robert Langdon's investigation into a murder at the Louvre Museum in Paris. There are several secret societies involved, including the Roman Catholic Opus Dei.

Of course, any book that becomes so intimately ingrained in the popular mindset is also going to be turned into a movie. The big screen

adaptation, directed by Ron Howard and starring Academy Award-winner Tom Hanks, debuted in May 2006 to decidedly mixed reviews. Still, the movie grossed $224 million worldwide its opening weekend. Over the next six months, the film drew $758 million.

Best Sellers

The book section of a Costco store is a sight to behold for book lovers. Seeing a couple hundred copies of a single popular title under one roof is like entering a fantasy world. Then, realizing that there are dozens of titles and hundreds of paperbacks available, one simply swoons. The discount price is the icing on the cake.

The person responsible for the Costco book section is its book buyer, Pennie Clark Ianniciello, According to one publishing insider, Ianniciello "has an uncanny knack for leading customers to buy books, for molding their taste. She seems to know what they'll enjoy discovering." Along with the traditional big name writers, the Costco team picks cookbooks, children's books, coffee-table books, reference works, and others that may appeal to the company's sometimes-quirky clientele.[5]

For admirers, the upside of discount retailers, such as Costco and Sam's Club, is that they make books affordable and available. For many people, the option of going into a bookstore, which houses hundreds of thousands of titles, and browsing around the stacks, simply rings too closely to forced library days at schools. Critics contend that big box bookstores, discounters, and online mega sites have too much control over what America reads. In cahoots with a small handful of publishing conglomerates, the booksellers more or less select which titles to get behind . . . and push hard.

On any given week, the likes of James Patterson, Stephen King, John Grisham, Danielle Steel, Nicholas Sparks, and Harlan Coben battle for the spot on the national best seller lists. Increasingly, these name brand authors live and die by the blockbuster mentality adopted by the movie and music industries. They release their books in hopes that the first week out scores that number one placement.

Each of Harlan Coben's books fight for the top of the best seller lists. Once a year, he publishes one thriller. It debuts at number one or somewhere near the top. The process is like clockwork. His novels are plot-driven. "I start with an idea, not a character," he explained. "I write about people who are living right, and wrong still finds them." This seemingly simple formula leads the reader on a wild ride, with multiple twists and turns, the book equivalent of riding a great rollercoaster ride.[6]

Book critic Chuck Leddy describes American's literary culture as "schizophrenic" because observers routinely criticize books that sell millions of copies or show up on the best seller lists for somehow being naturally inferior based on popularity. On the other hand, the title "artist" is reserved for the select few who have been deemed worthy by a select group of prize jury participants or members of university English departments. "Elitist prejudice against genre fiction is undemocratic and unfair—and misses the truth that genre writers have as much artistic aspiration as literary authors," Leddy said. "The schizophrenia that has fostered the false dichotomy between art and commerce should end. Commercial success isn't a curse, nor obscurity a perverse badge of honor."[7]

Literary Fiction

While the notion is that literary fiction does not sell, 2007 saw numerous critically-heralded books climb onto *The New York Times* Best Seller List. Some of the notable titles include: Michael Chabon's *The Yiddish Policeman's Union;* Ian McEwan's *On Chesil Beach;* Norman Mailer's *The Castle in the Forest;* and Ann Patchett's *Run.* Still, the market for literary fiction is shrinking as the nation continues its digital transformation. The squeeze is felt by publishers, agents, and writers themselves, who increasingly find difficulties getting published or noticed in a world filled with multiple James Patterson novels on the best seller list.

According to journalist Rachel Donadio, "The pride and joy of publishing, literary fiction has always been wonderfully ill suited to the very industry that sustains it. Like an elegant but impoverished aristocrat married to a nouveau

riche spouse, it has long been subsidized by mass-market fiction and by nonfiction ripped for the headlines. One supplies the cachet, the other the cash."[8] As a matter of fact, the entire publishing system seems built to keep most novels from selling well, focusing on timing and volume first and foremost. This is strikingly ironic considering that the entire industry is built on sales. Like movies, DVDs, and music CDs, books destined for the best seller lists are shipped in huge quantities to satisfy the needs of the large retail chains. Grassroots marketing efforts and attempting to build an audience over time are tactics that used to work, but have lost their footing in the 2000s.[9]

In 2005, for example, nearly half of the literary fiction sales came from the top 20 books. This means that fewer literary works sold many copies at all, even from those with faithful fans and a minor following. Some established writers are pulling out all the stops to bolster sales. When promoting *The Plot Against America* in 2004, Philip Roth appeared on the *Today* show and PBS's *NewsHour,* his first American TV appearances since 1968. Even with the television tie-in, most observers believe that Roth's critique of the Bush Administration is what helped the book sell so well (more than 415,000 copies).[10]

Michael Chabon

Michael Chabon has the look of a serious writer—tall, with piercing blue eyes, and dark curly hair—though he could probably also pass for a former actor or musician. When he talks about writing, his face gives way to a radiant smile and a kind of deeply intellectual look around his eyes, adding gravitas to his voice. He is the type of person who really *listens* to a question, and then answers with wit and thoughtfulness, more interested in the interplay than just using it as a dramatic pause to hear his own voice, like so many successful people today. What is more important (even in our media frenzy world) is that Chabon backs it up with enormous talent. His accolades grow with each subsequent novel and include a then-record highest advance ever given for a first literary novel ($155,000), as well as the granddaddy of them all—the Pulitzer Prize in 2001 for his novel *The Amazing Adventures of Kavalier & Clay.*

Chabon's first novel, *The Mysteries of Pittsburgh* (1988), won him widespread acclaim as a kind of late 1980s Fitzgerald, even though he was only several years out of undergraduate work at the University of Pittsburgh and fresh off an MFA at University of California, Irvine. After a collection of short stories came out, however, Chabon stalled for a handful of years on a novel that he just couldn't finish. His frustration grew into the wonderfully quirky *Wonder Boys* (1995), later adapted into a critically-acclaimed movie starring Michael Douglas and Tobey McGuire, released in 2000.

The same year the film came out, Chabon published *The Amazing Adventures of Kavalier & Clay.* Set in the World War II era, the main characters—a Jewish Czech artist named Joe Kavalier and a Jewish American writer named Sam Klayman—create a comic book in the "Golden Age" of the industry, *The Escapist,* which draws on their fascination with real-life escape artist Harry Houdini. Using pieces of the real lives of many of the comic book industry's founders, Chabon tackles ideas about patriotism, Jewish folklore, exploitation, and discrimination. The big themes addressed in the novel, combined with Chabon's lush style, certainly led to the award, one of the most prestigious prizes a novelist can earn.[11]

Since winning the Pulitzer, Chabon has published two other adult novels: *The Yiddish Policeman's Union* (2007) and *Gentlemen of the Road* (2007), a novella *The Final Solution* (2004), and a young adult work, *Summerland* (2002). He also put out a collection of nonfiction essays and pieces in 2008, *Maps and Legends.* Like many fantastic American writers before him, Chabon ventured into the gates of Hollywood, pitching several movie ideas. The comic book aspect of *Kavalier & Clay* earned him greater credibility, as well as his association with director/producer Scott Rudin, who adapted *Wonder Boys* for the silver screen. He wrote for the 2004 sequel *Spider-Man 2,* which grossed more than $783 million worldwide.

Literary Lions

While highbrow critics lament the popularity of lowbrow novels and trashy autobiographies

that capitalize on the often-fleeting fame of the latest sensational news story, many of the writers that have dominated the last four or five generations continue to pour out critically-acclaimed novels that provide insight into the American soul. Norman Mailer, who died in late 2007, published *A Castle in the Forest* earlier that year, which reached best seller lists nationwide. John Updike continues his prolific production, averaging a novel every other year, from 2000's *Gertrude and Claudius* to 2008's *The Widows of Eastwick*. In the decade, he also published a book of poetry, several short story collections, and two books of nonfiction.

Mailer's death marked one of many that slowly thinned the ranks of the nation's literary greats. Kurt Vonnegut, Hunter S. Thompson, Saul Bellow, and Susan Sontag also all died in recent years.

Although the dons of the American writing community keep in the public eye, many have taken on a quieter tone, which is a far cry from the situation at the beginning of the 2000s. The decade began with Tom Wolfe chiding John Irving, John Updike, and Norman Mailer. He labeled them "the Three Stooges" and Mailer and Updike "two piles of bones." Wolfe's attack centered on what he viewed as his fellow writers' unwillingness to address the world around them, that they were navel-gazers, wrapped up in their own lives. Wolfe, on the other hand, advocates a new brand of realistic fiction, like the kind written by Sinclair Lewis in the early years of the last century. The feud continues, albeit less dramatically, and with each new publication, the authors take another jab at one another.[12]

Many of the nation's literary lions gained new readers after being named selections of the Oprah Winfrey's Book Club. Toni Morrison had three books highlighted by Oprah, while a select handful of writers had two novels climb the best seller lists after being spotlighted by the powerful talk show personality. Others who benefited from the Oprah touch included such acclaimed writers as Jane Hamilton, Maya Angelou, Barbara Kingsolver, Joyce Carol Oates, and Cormac McCarthy.

Winfrey's impact on publishing in the late 1990s through the new millennium cannot be understated. "It's not true that Oprah Winfrey's book club was the most important development in the history of literacy," explained journalist Richard Lacayo with tongue firmly in cheek. "For instance, there was the invention of the written word. Then there was movable type. So, Oprah comes in third. But no lower, at least not in the opinion of publishers and booksellers, who binge every month on the demand for whatever title she features on her show." Lacayo believed that Oprah's pick had the power of making serious fiction as popular as professional wrestling.[13]



Oprah Winfrey is seen on her television program holding her new book club pick *The Road,* by Cormac McCarthy. AP Photo.

With more than 25 million viewers who hinge on her every word, Winfrey continues to exert considerable force in publishing. In 2002, for example, when she shuttered the Book Club for a year, claiming that she could not keep up with the demands of a monthly pick, book experts thought it might spell doom for the industry. Upon returning the following year, Winfrey picked classic literature, beginning with John Steinbeck's *East of Eden*. As a result, the book spent weeks atop the *New York Times* paperback best seller list.

NOTABLE BOOKS

Harry Potter series, J. K. Rowling (U.S., 1998–2007)

Artemis Fowl, Eoin Colfer (2001)

Seabiscuit: An American Legend, Laura Hillenbrand (2001)

Fast Food Nation, Eric Schlosser (2001)

The Lovely Bones, Alice Sebold (2002)

The Purpose Driven Life, Rick Warren (2002)

The Nanny Diaries, Emma McLaughlin and Nicola Kraus (2002)

Hoot, Carl Hiaasen (2002)

The Da Vinci Code, Dan Brown (2003)

Eragon, Christopher Paolini (2003)

The Kite Runner, Khaled Hosseini (2003)

The Time Traveler's Wife, Audrey Niffenegger (2003)

The Jane Austen Book Club, Karen Joy Fowler (2004)

The Mermaid Chair, Sue Monk Kidd (2005)

Freakanomics, Steven D. Levitt and Stephen J. Dubner (2005)

An Inconvenient Truth, Al Gore (2006)

A Thousand Splendid Suns, Khaled Hosseini (2007)

In 2006, after being named an Oprah pick, author James Frey admitted that his book *A Million Little Pieces* contained half-truths and fabrications about his years as a recovering addict. He appeared on the show to apologize, and Winfrey, according to one journalist, "turned on him with calculated efficiency, using him to mop up the floor and clean up her reputation at the same time."[14] Many observers were in Winfrey's corner, as the pick helped Frey sell about 3.5 million copies.

In true digital age fashion, investigation Web site the Smoking Gun (www.thesmokinggun.com) exposed Frey's exaggerations, which Winfrey and others initially discounted. As more allegations came to light, however, the insurmountable mountain of evidence against Frey forced Winfrey and others to change their tunes. The Frey controversy followed on the less damaging scandal in 2001 when Winfrey chose *The Corrections* by Jonathan Franzen. He criticized some of her picks and asked that the Book Club stickers be removed from his book. Some observers saw Franzen's post-pick criticism as a way to generate further publicity (and sales).

NONFICTION

The combination of the war in the Middle East, an unpopular president, a general celebrity obsession, and the nation's diet and self-help craze propels the nonfiction market. In any given week, the books topping best seller lists range across these topics, from celebrity memoirs to investigative pieces that promise to go inside the war machine guiding the war in Iraq. The *New York Times* even began an advice list to shuffle these titles into their own category. The advice list is dominated by authors like Rhonda Byrne (*The Secret*), Joel Osteen (*Your Best Life Now*), and Deepak Chopra (*The Third Jesus*).

War Books

The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan generated enough books to fill a small library. Part of this glut resulted from journalists being embedded with troops in Iraq. The combination of on-the-ground reporting and the fascination with the war propelled many of these books. Another set of them came from Washington insiders, those with access to administration and military sources. The big change in terms of the publishing industry is that the more people who bought war books, the quicker publishers would get them out. Some books presented events that happened six to eight months previously. The hotter the topic, the quicker the book got into print.

The attraction of military books is obvious and continues a trend that takes place after each war, particularly with soldier memoirs. Journalist Chris Ayres, who wrote a book based on his experiences embedded with the Marines, said, "When you actually stand back a few paces, you see the absurdity of the embedded scheme, the horrible

accommodations, the terror of being there, and the strain it puts on your psychology."[15]

MAGAZINES

A trip to the local Borders or Barnes & Noble bookstore reveals the power of magazines in the new millennium with shelves hundreds of feet long stretching entire walls displaying nothing but magazines. On closer inspection, it is almost impossible to imagine a consumer's niche that is not filled by some title, from *American Heritage* to *The World of Interiors.* One finds dozens of magazines devoted to home improvement, celebrity gossip, self-improvement, sports, and other interests, let alone the seemingly endless collection of Sudoku and crossword puzzles. Experts estimate that about 17,000 special interest consumer magazines exist in the United States today, and 22,000 total.

Magazines play a central function in mass media in the 2000s for the same reason they have for 200 years: people are interested in good content that is specific to their interests, and advertisers want to get their ads in front of those readers. The average magazine reader is educated and upscale, which is an attractive audience for advertisers. People even like magazine ads. A 2005 survey revealed that 61 percent of magazine readers view ads positively, while 48 percent claimed that the ads actually added to their enjoyment. In 2004, the top five consumer magazines with the highest advertising and circulation revenue were *People* ($1.27 billion), *Sports Illustrated* ($1.03 billion), *Time* ($1.02 billion), *TV Guide* ($918 million), and *Better Homes & Gardens* ($888 million). The top five advertiser categories were automotive, apparel and accessories, home furnishings and supplies, toiletries and cosmetics, and drugs and remedies.

The same forces that influence newspaper readership in terms of technology and the Internet are impacting magazines. One would be hard pressed to find a mainstream magazine that does not have an online edition. Many publishers, such as Rolling Stone and Time, offer additional content via the Web, as well as more interactive features and downloads of exclusive material. Internet Webzines are another compelling form of magazine that are vibrant in the new millennium. The satirical fictional news site *The Onion,* for example,

WORDS AND PHRASES

adorkable
adultalescence
-alicious
Axis of Evil
BFF (Best Friend Forever)
belly shirt
blog, blogger, blogging
bridezilla
chatiquette
crackberry (derogatory term for the addictive nature of a Blackberry device)
crunk
Facebook
fake bake (artificial tan)
fauxhawk (miniature, more styled Mohawk acceptable in some workplaces)
ginormous
Google
Googlegänger
Ground Zero
hook up (casual sex)
IM (instant messaging)
it is what it is
mashup
muffin top
off the hook
Pfish
pimp (verb meaning to dress up or make flashy)
Podcasting
"red is the new black," and similar (i.e., "fifty is the new forty")
shoe bomber
thugged out
tight (adjective to describe something cool)
tramp stamp (tattoo)
truthiness
waterboarding
Wi-Fi or WiFi

is a popular destination, though it started out as a free newspaper in Madison, Wisconsin, in the 1980s. Still available in print by subscription, most readers access it through its free, advertising-supported Web site.

NEWSPAPERS

The first decade of the new millennium brought significant change to the newspaper industry. On one hand, large publishers gobbled up smaller newspapers, as a wave of consolidation increased the reach of corporate conglomerates. At the same time, newspapers watched as readers increasingly turned to online sources for news. Many experts wondered if the influence and power of the Internet would ring the death knell for print newspapers. However, in response, newspapers brought out online editions and transitioned greater resources to the Web.

While pundits wrestle with the idea of newspapers disappearing, there are still some 9,800 newspapers in the United States, with a combined circulation of 56 million. If one counts the number of consumers who read the paper but did not actually purchase it, the number of readers jumps to 132 million daily and about 200 million each week who read weekly papers. Interestingly, about 77 percent of the nation's newspapers are weekly editions, which reveals a changing trend among newspapers in the 2000s: a push for hyper-local coverage, which differentiates print news from online sources.

The newspaper industry is also confronting changing demographics, particularly larger ethnic readerships. For example, Hispanics represent America's fastest-growing minority group. As a result, Spanish-language daily newspapers increased readers dramatically in the last three decades. In 1970, they had 140,000 readers, but today, that number skyrocketed to surpass two million. Hispanic readers are also loyal to their papers, which entices advertisers. Between 1990 and 2000, advertisers increased ad spending in Spanish-language dailies by 565 percent.

The biggest news of the new decade, though, is technology. How newspapers will make money from their online arms remains a critical issue, but there is no disputing the importance Web operations play in today's media landscape. All one needs to do is look at the way Web traffic to newspapers and news organizations spikes whenever there is a local, regional, or national crisis. Consumers understand that they can get breaking news from these sources.

A concern that keeps newspaper executives up at night is the exodus away from print by younger readers (who advertisers covet). A 2005 survey revealed that only 19 percent of those 18 to 34 years old read the daily newspaper, but 44 percent get their news from the Web. Many online news operations have combined with television stations to converge the best aspects of each medium into one powerful Internet news provider. The advent of blogging is also empowering online news organizations by giving readers additional methods of interacting with reporters and columnists.

Blogs

The intersection of technology and demand for 24-hour-a-day news combined to make blogs an important part of the nonfiction world in the 2000s. Blogs started as a type of online diary that enable the writer to post and publish almost instantly, but they have become more than diaries, with postings related to news, critical commentary on anything (usually, the nastier, the better), gossip, and all kinds of creative writing. Equally important, blogging involves receiving and responding to reactive or related comments to the original blog. With the advent of easy-to-use blogging tools, millions of people joined the online community. In recent years, users have added voice-based entries (dubbed podcasts) and video-based ones (vodcasts). In late December 2007, there were about 112 million blogs.

Much of the blogosphere is akin to digital diaries, family albums, and pages dedicated to celebrity or band worship. However, others have taken the medium more seriously, elevating it to a new mass media channel. Andrew Sullivan (www.andrewsullivan.theatlantic.com) and Arianna Huffington (www.huffingtonpost.com) are examples of mainstream journalists who used blogging to expand their reach. In addition to the online-only blog groups, virtually every newspaper and magazine has a cadre of designated bloggers who write exclusive or syndicated material for them.

Entertainment

of the 2000s

In 2008, the New England Patriots carried a perfect regular season mark into the Super Bowl, television's biggest annual event, against the underdog New York Giants. The Patriots attempted to become the second team to ever finish undefeated. Star quarterback and budding pop culture icon Tom Brady led the Patriots. In the weeks leading up to the game, however, Brady filled more airtime, column inches, and computer screens for dating Brazilian supermodel Gisele Bündchen than his play on the football field.

The media frenzy chronicling what seemed like virtually every moment of the hoopla sparked even greater public interest. Money flowed into the tills of the gambling houses in Las Vegas, while global corporations placed their own bets by snapping up commercial time during the game at a whopping $2.7 million per 30-second spot. The American culture machine and the hyper capitalist system hummed as one.

The Retail Advertising and Marketing Association estimated that Americans spent $10 billion preparing for the big game. That figure includes the 3.9 million people who bought a new television, along with another 1.8 million new pieces of furniture. In response, companies such as Circuit City offered special incentives to pry people's money from their pockets. The retailer, for example, guaranteed delivery and installation for anyone purchasing a 32-inch or larger TV by the Wednesday before the Super Bowl. Anyone suffering from later delivery received a $50 gift card for their troubles.[1]

On the way to the coronation of the Patriots as the greatest team in NFL history, a stumble occurred . . . an unfathomable hiccup: the Giants scored in the game's closing minutes to upset New England, 17–14. While the sportswriters raced to rewrite their columns and come up with hyperbole big enough to capture the enormity of the victory, television aficionados soon learned that 97.5 million viewers in the United States watched the game, making it the second most viewed show in television history, behind only the 1983 *M*A*S*H* series finale. Television retained its hold on the national psyche.[2]

The super performance of the 2008 Super Bowl is not the only example of the way the performing arts steer popular culture, especially television and movies. For example, reality television first transformed its industry, and then swept through American culture as more and more people grew fascinated with the chance of becoming a celebrity. YouTube and MySpace enabled users to upload videos of themselves—a form of instant television—that actually gave them a platform for celebrity. Who could have imagined that a video of someone dancing to 1980s hits or wildly

HDTV MAKES LIFE BETTER

High-definition television (HDTV) is revolutionizing the quality of television programming sent into homes. HDTV has double the resolution of conventional broadcasts, which equates to a clearer, more detailed picture. The technological innovations over the last decade have led to HDTV becoming the standard television transmission system.

On February 17, 2009, HDTV becomes the standard for every TV station in America when television stations stop broadcasting on analog airwaves. Digital broadcasting allows broadcasters to offer improved picture and sound quality and additional channels. When the transition is made, all televisions must be HDTV-capable, or they will become obsolete. Analog TVs will need converter boxes to transform the HD signal for older TVs. The federal government and local broadcasters are spending millions of dollars to explain the change to consumers.

The picture quality is the factor that makes HDTV better. Lines that run horizontally make up the resolution (measured in progressive scan, with most HDTV sets running 1080p, the so-called true HD format), providing a crystal clear picture. HDTVs have either Plasma or LCD (liquid crystal displays) monitors. All HDTVs are widescreen (a 16.9 ratio, like films at the theater) and have superior stereo qualities (Dolby surround-sound) compared to analog televisions.

singing off-key could lead to a form of fame and/or infamy?

As the decade progresses, traditional television shows made a comeback, but many rely on increased violence and gruesome scenes to draw viewers. It seems as if the boundaries have been eliminated in the 2000s. Then, just as it seemed a new era had dawned on the small screen, the Writers Guild of America went on strike, which placed the new television season in jeopardy and forced the networks to fill airtime with repeats, mid-season replacements, and reality shows.

In the movie business, studios grew even more reliant on blockbusters to carry the industry. For most big money flicks, opening weekend determines success or failure. In addition, more movies feature computer-generated graphics, revolutionizing the way people see films. At the same time, studios developed new and interesting ways to tie in films to other products, saturating the market with toys, clothing, video games, and an endless number of trinkets designed to help sell films. From a pop culture standpoint, these attempts are a fascinating aspect of the intersection of technology, media, and culture in the new millennium.

TELEVISION

Simultaneously, technology put televisions on steroids and shrunk them to sizes only considered worthy of science fiction in the not too distant past. In fact, it is difficult to even define what a television is in the new millennium. Is a person's video iPod a TV? What about one's computer screen? Do we need a new name for these devices that reflects their mobility? Regardless, viewers are increasingly turning to places away from home or outside the living room to watch television programming.

What remains constant is that television is a central component of American popular culture. The age-old debate about the merits or lack thereof (education versus entertainment) in watching TV continues in some segments of society. Many people even claim to never watch television, a kind of badge of honor worn by people one might meet in San Francisco or New York. For the rest of us, television serves a variety of purposes, from simple entertainment and news-gathering to education and even mindless background noise.

Since the beginning of the 2000s, the percentage of households with a television has held steady at 98.2 percent, or some 100.8 million in 2000 and 112.8 million in 2008. The growth aspect within homes is the length the television stays on, in 2006 topping out at 8 hours, 14 minutes daily. When broken down by gender, one sees that the average male watches about 4 hours, 35 minutes each day, while women view 5 hours, 17 minutes. Neither teens (3 hours, 22 minutes) nor children (3 hours, 26 minutes) watch as much as the average adult male or female.[3]

Advertising on television is another growing aspect. From 2000 to 2006, ad volume jumped from $60.3 billion to $71.9 billion. The latter

RADIO DEBUTS OF THE 2000s

"The Savage Nation with Michael Savage" (2000): strongly worded, frequently over-the-top right-wing opinion.

"The Sean Hannity Show" (2001): politics, call-in questions, and interviews hosted by the conservative commentator.

"The Laura Ingraham Show" (2001): political and current-events commentary with a satirical conservative take, featuring listener call-ins and guests.

"The Glenn Beck Program" (2002): conservative commentary, humor, and discussions of political and social issues.

"The Radio Factor with Bill O'Reilly" (2002): political talk with a conservative bent from the TV personality Bill O'Reilly.

"The Thom Hartmann Program" (2003): guest experts and listener call-ins on politics, economics, education, and social issues with a progressive point of view.

"The Clark Howard Show" (2003): consumer advocacy and money-management advice from the author and entrepreneur.

"The Alan Colmes Show" (2003): liberal commentary on politics and current events, hosted by the Fox News Channel's resident progressive.

"The Al Franken Show" (2004): comic Al Franken's satire, discussion, and commentary on the news of the day, with a left-wing slant.

"Theme Time Radio Hour" (2006): Bob Dylan-hosted satellite radio show exploring American music styles with a thematic approach.

figure represents more than 25 percent of the total advertising volume in the United States ($281.7 billion). Of the top 25 advertisers on television in 2006, the first five are automotive companies: General Motors Corporate Dealers Association ($528 million), DaimlerChrysler ($501 million), Ford Dealers Association ($439 million), Toyota Dealers Association ($384 million), and Honda ($377 million). Only AT&T cracked the top 10, placing sixth at $293 million.[4]

The Super Bowl remains the most costly advertising venue each year. The average 30-second commercial spot in prime-time on a major network, however, is creeping higher as the decade progresses, from about $82,000 in 2000, to $118,000 in 2007. Survey information confirms that the companies spending on television are benefiting. Some 81.8 percent of adults aged 18 and older feel that TV advertising is "most influential" versus newspaper (6.6 percent), radio (4.5 percent), Internet (3.7 percent), and magazines (3.5 percent).[5]

According to Susan Cuccinello, senior vice president of research at the Television Bureau of Advertising, "Television reaches more of an advertiser's prospects each day than any other medium, and adults spend significantly more time with television than with other media, in almost every major demographic segment." Not only is TV where adults say they learn the most about products and brands, but television still ranks as people's "primary news source, and as their primary source for local weather, traffic and sports news."[6]

The Magic of *American Idol*

Although it is difficult to fathom, *American Idol* almost never made it on air. Pitched in the early part of the decade to all the network stations by co-creators Simon Fuller and Simon Cowell, the execs all passed. Even Fox, which eventually picked up the show, gave the idea tepid interest early on. If it weren't for the intervention of Elisabeth Murdoch, daughter of News Corporation founder and CEO Rupert Murdoch, who loved the British version (*Pop Idol*) of the show, *American Idol* may never have existed. She urged her father to buy the rights to the show, and the rest is television history.

The real stars of *American Idol* are its judges: British record executive Simon Cowell, former pop star and choreographer Paula Abdul, and American producer Randy Jackson. Each judge plays an archetypical character. Cowell is the sarcastic, mean judge, while Abdul quirkily acts as the nice one, and Jackson is the outgoing, gregarious member. The chemistry between them propels the show, in addition to the showmanship of host Ryan Seacrest.

While the music takes over as the series progresses, the real star of stars is Cowell. According to journalist Bill Carter, Cowell transformed



Host Ryan Seacrest announces Kelly Clarkson's victory over Justin Guarini on the season one *American Idol* finale on television (2002), from left, Ryan Seacrest, Kelly Clarkson, Justin Guarini, Brian Dunkleman. FOX/Photofest. ©FOX. Courtesy of Photofest.

into a celebrity based on his work on the British version of the show, becoming "one of the most talked-about cultural figures in Britain in the winter of 2002. He was a tabloid newspaper's dream: seen by millions every week on television, saying something outrageously quotable ('You're a disaster.'), doing something unconscionably cruel (several young women left the auditions convulsed in tears after hearing his corrosive assessments of their talents) and tirelessly promoting his program (by doing every sort of interview in print and on television and radio)."[7]

In the first season of *Idol,* Cowell let loose, telling one contestant to get a lawyer and sue her vocal coach, while others were frankly labeled pathetic, horrible, and awful. His acerbic wit, mixed with genuine enthusiasm when they uncovered a talented singer, turned Cowell into an instant hit. Ten million people watched *American Idol* its first night and the second eclipsed 11 million. More importantly for Fox, the show topped the charts for viewers aged 18 to 34, the prime television demographic. According to journalist Ken Barnes, "It's conceivable that *Idol* may have ended up a middling success without the unprecedented candor and (at times) brutal wit he directs at contestants. No other vaguely similar show had such a consummate dasher of dreams, and none since has been able to duplicate the effect. (And how they have tried!)[8]

The Unreality of Reality TV

Imagine a 1 in about 20 shot at winning $1 million. The only catch is that you have to live in a desolate location, find your own food and water, and compete in physical and mental challenges. Not

only does this include building shelter and gathering food (or facing hunger), but it could involve standing in the punishing sun on a small platform for as long as possible, wrestling in a pit of muck, or any variety of trivia challenges. As is now well-known, to win *Survivor,* a person must simply "outwit, outplay, and outlast" the other contestants.

When CBS launched *Survivor* in June 2000, no one predicted that the show would change the face of television for the rest of the decade. *Survivor* was not the first "reality" TV program. That honor is difficult to ascertain. One could argue that Allen Funt originated the genre with *Candid Camera,* while some would peg it to the series of wacky game shows of the 1950s, such as the decades-long running *Truth or Consequences. Survivor,* created by former British Army soldier Mark Burnett, caught the nation's attention, and each subsequent week, the excitement grew. As more viewers tuned in, the media picked up the trend and fed the hunger with countless articles, updates, and special sections. The Internet added to the anticipation. Web sites devoted to the show sprouted up, while others posted supposed spoilers or insider information claiming to know who would win. Certainly, the notion that "regular people," not actors, would win the $1 million played into the public's curiosity.[9]

Some 6,000 people filled out applications to appear on *Survivor* before that first season. CBS then added to the marketing effort by holding auditions in cities where it had stations, including Los Angeles and New York. The idea that something potentially dangerous might take place on the tiny island where the contestants were stranded added to the public fascination with the premise. Burnett also picked 16 players that mixed across demographic segments and backgrounds. "The early wave of media attention to the show paid off for CBS," explained journalist Richard M. Huff. "The network sold all of the advertising time on the show to eight companies—before the first episode aired."[10]

Interestingly, *Survivor* went head-to-head against ABC's immensely popular game show



The contestants row ashore on the fifth season of *Survivor: Thailand,* 2002. CBS/Photofest. ©CBS. Courtesy of Photofest.

Who Wants to Be a Millionaire, hosted by Regis Philbin. Although *Survivor* lost that night, the hype led to an even larger audience the next week, some 18.1 million viewers. Hosted by Jeff Probst, the reality program became a runaway hit, and it forced people across the nation to make sure they were home in time to watch. Internet sites and Web reports added to the popularity, as well as newspapers covering *Survivor* as if it were a sporting event. The most interesting marketing tactic CBS employed shrouded the outcome and events leading to up to it in mystery. The network threatened anyone who gave away secrets with a $5 million lawsuit and forced contestants to stay quiet until after the finale by withholding pay until the season ended.[11]

When Richard Hatch, an openly homosexual corporate trainer, emerged from the first season as victor, America had the role model for its first reality show villain. Hatch proved to be a master manipulator, and the audience both loved and hated to watch him pull the strings of other contestants, such as Rudy Boesch, a 72-year-old former Navy SEAL. Hatch stood as a fitting winner because much of *Survivor's* appeal came from the way people related their own lives to the antics players went through during the game. "A show's fundamental meaning must dovetail with the dominant meanings of its audience for it to be compatible with the lives of its viewers," explained media scholar Derek Foster. "As a microcosm of American values . . . *Survivor* . . . reflected and reinforced the Horatio Alger theme of the self-made individual whose hard work and self-reliance will invariably triumph in the face of adversity."[12]

As *Time* magazine noted shortly after the show's debut, *Survivor's* popularity prompted the rise of what it called voyeur television (VTV):

> Despite *Survivor's* gross-outs, its dark premise and its wall-to-wall cheesiness—the faux-Lion King sound track, the "tribal councils" held in what looks like a Holiday Inn Polynesian lounge circa 1963, the somber narration of Jeff Probst, former host of VH1's *Rock 'n' Roll Jeopardy!* and challenger to Regis for luckiest-man-in-America status—despite all this, viewers have embraced the desert-island soap with fascination and bemused contempt.[13]

NOTABLE TV SHOWS

Alias
The Amazing Race
American Idol
Cold Case
C.S.I.: Crime Scene Investigation
The Daily Show
Dancing with the Stars
Everybody Loves Raymond
Friends
Heroes
Law & Order franchise
Lost
The Office
Sex and the City
The Sopranos
Survivor
24
The West Wing
Who Wants to be a Millionaire
Will & Grace

A Time/CNN poll from mid-2000 revealed that 31 percent of adults would allow a reality television show film them in their pajamas, 29 percent kissing, 26 percent crying, and 25 percent having an argument. Only 8 percent said that they would be taped naked, while 5 percent said having sex. One wonders if the latter figures wouldn't be much higher in 2008.[14]

Cable Television

The economic woes facing consumers in 2007 and 2008 led to the unthinkable: people actually ditched cable television. True, some decided to move to satellite television for premium access, but cable companies across the country report losing subscribers to the bad economy. Comcast, for example, lost more than 73,000 customers in the first three months of 2008, while 21,000 dropped Time Warner Cable. In contrast, DirecTV and

Dish Network gained a combined 320,000 customers in the same timeframe. Most troubling for the big cable companies is that the difficult financial picture is leading to cutbacks in the ancillary services they offer, such as high-speed Internet and cable-based phone systems.[15]

At the same time, there is little love lost between most consumers and their cable television providers. Most operators have a virtual monopoly over their service area, so people are forced to accept whatever outrageous rate hike the company sends their way. In New York City, for example, Time Warner instituted a 9.6 percent hike, while Cablevision increased 4.7 percent. At the same time the bills increased, city officials reported that consumer complaints against the two cable companies jumped 41 percent. In most of the cable business, customers expect poor service, delays, incomprehensible bills, and outages. Despite the technological advances made in the industry, many basic challenges remain to be solved.[16]

While consumers balance cable bills with their other monthly expenses, the quality of television programming is getting stronger as the decade advances, particularly when considering the handful of acclaimed series running on the cable networks. Journalist Tim Goodman sees the storytelling element of TV setting it apart from other mediums, explaining, "Television is also different from film in that the storytelling is alive, the series are evolving (or devolving, as the case may be), and opinions can change with the content. A film tells a story in two hours or less most of the time and then history judges it. A television series tells 13 or 22 hours of a story and then comes back to do it again the next year—and if there's a noticeable drop-off in quality, then the critical perception also evolves (or devolves)."[17]

Not so many decades ago, Americans were happy with fewer television channels and whatever the major networks put out each year. Fast forward to the new millennium, however, and those antiquated ideas are out the window. Today's television landscape is crawling with niche channels that specialize in everything from specific college football conferences to an all-day menu of home improvement shows.

In the 2000s, the hottest commodities on cable TV have been the premium series, such as *The Sopranos* (HBO), *Deadwood* (HBO), *Sex and the City* (HBO), *Dexter* (Showtime), and *Weeds* (Showtime). In addition, basic cable stations are making their mark with original series, including *Mad Men* (AMC), *Breaking Bad* (AMC), *Monk* (USA), and *Psych* (USA).

Cable network executives realize that fewer consumers turn to them to see movies, as access to first-run films spans mail-order, the Web, demand television, and DVD rentals. As a result, they turn to original series to attract new viewers, even if such programming can be costly. Tony Vinciquerra, President and CEO of Fox Cable Networks, said, "Original programming helps build a brand." On Fox's FX channel, this idea worked on the back of critically-acclaimed shows, such as *The Shield, Rescue Me,* and *Nip/Tuck*. HBO built the blueprint for these networks by proving that viewers would tune in (and pay for) good shows on a premium channel. The basic cable networks are replicating that strategy and have the added benefit of drawing advertisers through commercials.[18]

Bringing in viewers and advertising dollars is critical, as production costs are increasing by about 10 percent per year. Dramas on basic cable run about $1 million per-episode, while costs at pay channels can be in the $3 million range. Marketing budgets are also increasing because it takes greater (and more costly) effort to reach potential viewers who are spending time online or playing video games.[19]

The Networks

With basic and premium cable networks upping the ante in both quality and quantity of shows, the networks have had to respond with better programming. However, like the cable networks, they have also relied heavily on reality shows to offset costs. As a result of the necessity for better quality, the networks produced shows such as *CSI* (CBS), *Heroes* (NBC), *24* (Fox), *Desperate Housewives* (ABC), *Grey's Anatomy* (ABC), and *Law & Order: SVU* (NBC). These shows feature strong writing, quality cinematography, and filmic production.

At the same time quality must be increased, the cost of network television is skyrocketing, probably the latter following from the former.

TOP ACTORS

Cate Blanchett, 1969–
Orlando Bloom, 1977–
Nicolas Cage, 1964–
Jim Carrey, 1962–
George Clooney, 1961–
Russell Crowe, 1964–
Tom Cruise, 1962–
Johnny Depp, 1963–
Leonardo DiCaprio, 1974–
Will Ferrell, 1967–
Tom Hanks, 1956–
Angelina Jolie, 1975–
Nicole Kidman, 1967–
Keira Knightley, 1985–
Heath Ledger, 1979–2008
Tobey Maguire, 1975–
Helen Mirren, 1945–
Brad Pitt, 1963–
Natalie Portman, 1981–
Will Smith, 1968–
Ben Stiller, 1965–
Hilary Swank, 1974–
Naomi Watts, 1968–
Reese Witherspoon, 1976–
Renée Zellweger, 1969–
Catherine Zeta-Jones, 1969–

ACADEMY AWARD WINNERS

2000 Picture: *Gladiator*

Director: Steven Soderbergh, *Traffic*
Actor: Russell Crowe, *Gladiator*
Actress: Julia Roberts, *Erin Brockovich*

2001 Picture: *A Beautiful Mind*

Director: Ron Howard, *A Beautiful Mind*
Actor: Denzel Washington, *Training Day*
Actress: Halle Berry, *Monster's Ball*

2002 Picture: *Chicago*

Director: Roman Polanski, *The Pianist*
Actor: Adrien Brody, *The Pianist*
Actress: Nicole Kidman, *The Hours*

2003 Picture: *The Lord of the Rings: The Return of the King**

Director: Peter Jackson, *The Lord of the Rings: The Return of the King*
Actor: Sean Penn, *Mystic River*
Actress: Charlize Theron, *Monster*

2004 Picture: *Million Dollar Baby*

Director: Clint Eastwood, *Million Dollar Baby*
Actor: Jamie Foxx, *Ray*
Actress: Hilary Swank, *Million Dollar Baby*

2005 Picture: *Crash*

Director: Ang Lee, *Brokeback Mountain*
Actor: Philip Seymour Hoffman, *Capote*
Actress: Reese Witherspoon, *Walk the Line*

2006 Picture: *The Departed*

Director: Martin Scorsese, *The Departed*
Actor: Forest Whitaker, *The Last King of Scotland*
Actress: Helen Mirren, *The Queen*

2007 Picture: *There Will Be Blood*

Director: Ethan and Joel Coen, *There Will Be Blood*
Actor: Daniel Day-Lewis, *There Will Be Blood*
Actress: Marion Cotillard, *La Vie en Rose*

*Highest grossing, as of December 31, 2007.

Jeff Zucker, President and CEO of NBC Universal outlined some of the challenges the networks face in trying to find programs. "Last year, the five broadcast networks spent more than 500 million dollars…more than half a billion dollars…on development of new series, scripts and pilots," Zucker said. "Some 80 pilots were made. Next fall, or whenever the next television season begins, at most eight of those series will return. 1 in 10. And of those eight, none could be considered a big

success." In an era marked by increased competition for advertising dollars and viewer eyeballs, the old models no longer work as well for the major networks, Zucker's call to arms notwithstanding.[20]

Another jolt to the network model is that digital video recorder (DVR) technology enables viewers to bypass commercials, the lifeblood of the television economic model. Many observers see the DVR as just another innovation that provides the consumer with greater power than previous eras. "The amazing variety of choices consumers have today has important implications for consumer behavior. It's a shift from habit to choice…to individuals making choices when and how to consume media," Zucker said. "There is less and less habitual plopping down in front of the TV—and more and more media consumption made by conscious choice. This is a new kind of appointment TV, but where the appointment is made by the viewer, not by the network scheduling department."[21]

Watching Online

Technology plays a critical role for television, not only in its continuing central role as furniture in one's living room, but in expanding the ways people can watch their favorite programs when they are away from home. More frequently, primetime television viewing is occurring via the Web and

NOTABLE MOVIES

Almost Famous (2000)
Cast Away (2000)
Erin Brockovich (2000)
Traffic (2000)
Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone (2001)
The Lord of the Rings: The Fellowship of the Ring (2001)
Shrek (2001)
Monsters, Inc. (2001)
Ocean's Eleven (2001)
Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets (2002)
The Lord of the Rings: The Two Towers (2002)*
My Big Fat Greek Wedding (2002)
Spider-Man (2002)*
Star Wars: Episode II–The Attack of the Clones (2002)
Finding Nemo (2003)
Pirates of the Caribbean: The Curse of the Black Pearl (2003)*
Mystic River (2003)
Shrek 2 (2004)*
Spider-Man 2 (2004)*
The Passion of the Christ (2004)*
The Incredibles (2004)
Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban (2004)
Fahrenheit 9/11 (2004)
National Treasure (2004)
Forty-Year-Old Virgin (2005)
Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire (2005)
Wedding Crashers (2005)
Brokeback Mountain (2005)
Star Wars: Episode III–Revenge of the Sith (2005)*
Night at the Museum (2006)
Cars (2006)
The Departed (2006)
The Devil Wears Prada (2006)
Dreamgirls (2006)
Pirates of the Caribbean: Dead Man's Chest (2006)*
Spider-Man 3 (2007)*
300 (2007)
Hairspray (2007)
Juno (2007)
Superbad (2007)
Transformers (2007)
The Dark Knight (2008)
WALL-E (2008)

* Highest grossing as of December 31, 2007.

on smaller screens, such as cell phones and iPods. This move forces the major studios to rethink their use of technology and how to interact with consumers who want more of this programming.

Like other forms of online entertainment, once the brush fire has been lit, a raging inferno is soon to follow. The future of television viewing online already has role models for its growth based on what happened in the music industry. When consumers felt that they could get the content for free, they flocked to legal and illegal sites to access what they wanted.

According to Solutions Research Group, about 80 million Americans watched a TV show online, some 43 percent of the total online population. This is a significant increase over the 25 percent that claimed they viewed a show on the Web the year before. Perhaps more telling, and pointing to the future of primetime TV, some 20 percent of respondents said that they watch television via the Web weekly.[22]

One in five visitors to major network Web sites said that they did so to watch a specific show. However, the results of the specific shows they tuned into online do not automatically conform to the demographics one would imagine. Some of the top TV shows viewed on the Internet include: *Heroes, Grey's Anatomy, Dancing with the Stars, CSI, House,* and *Gossip Girl.*

Many online television viewers turn to the network Web sites to avoid commercials, though more skipping through ads is still done via a DVR. Examining the top 20 prime time shows, the study found that a whopping 55 percent of the shows were time shifted by DVR or by viewing online. Some 65 percent of DVR users say that they always skip commercials, up from 52 percent the previous year.[23]

FILM

In 2008, the Academy Awards turned somber with dark films winning major awards, as well as the actors and actresses who starred in them. *No Country for Old Men,* Joel and Ethan Coen's story of a battle resulting from a drug deal gone bad, won the Oscar for best picture. Daniel Day-Lewis won best actor for *There Will Be Blood,* his portrayal of a ruthless oil tycoon. In discussing the somber tones of the awards, two journalists noted that the contest turned into "a tug of war over sensibilities: Academy voters were being asked to choose between the nihilism of 'No Country for Old Men,' in which the serial killer prevails; the hopeful spunk of 'Juno,' in which a pregnant teenager forges her own solutions; or, perhaps, a saga of childhood betrayal and lives destroyed, in 'Atonement,' set against the backdrop of British retreat in the early days of World War II."[24]

In many instances, the tone of Academy Award-winning films either represents the feelings of the nation or counters the prevailing mood. The 2008 batch clearly struck a dark nerve in America's thinking, about itself, the ongoing overseas war,



Poster art for the hit teen movie *Superbad* (2007). It, along with several other successful comedies of the decade, such as the *Forty Year Old Virgin* (2005) were directed, written, and/or produced by Judd Apatow. Columbia Pictures/Photofest. ©Columbia Pictures. Courtesy of Photofest.

SPIDER-MAN

Spider-Man (Peter Parker) is a comic book superhero residing in the Marvel Universe. Created in 1962 by writer-editor Stan Lee and artist Steve Ditko, his first comic book appearance came in *Amazing Fantasy* #15. Since then, the character developed into one of Marvel's most popular and marketable figures—an American icon and global commodity.

The comic books spawned three blockbuster movies, numerous combined animated and live-action television series, and countless video games. His likeness can be seen on action figures, other toys, clothing, school supplies, house decorations, coffee mugs, breakfast cereal and candy, electronics, automobile accessories, and even human tattoos. The Spider-Man property single-handedly reinvented comic books in the new millennium after decades of relative obscurity.

The *Spider-Man* movie (2002), starring Tobey Maguire, broke box office records, becoming the highest grossing film of the year. The film earned nearly $115 million during its opening weekend and became the quickest to reach $100 million, doing so in only three days ($821.7 million worldwide). *Spider-Man 2* premiered two years later and made $783 million worldwide. Although released to mixed reviews in 2007, *Spider-Man 3* is the top-grossing of the series, earning $890.8 million worldwide.

There is too much money being made from the films to rule out further sequels. Early rumors indicate that *Spider-Man 4* will be released in 2010. Until then, Spider-Man fans can get their Spidey fix on the myriad of monthly comic books and endless array of products that feature the iconic character.

and the impending economic troubles facing the nation. For viewers, the difficulty is tuning into the Oscar telecast when such intense films are honored. In 2006, for example, when *Crash* won the best picture award, less than 39 million people watched. The 2008 version, hosted by *The Daily Show* star Jon Stewart, attracted a mere 32 million, earning the distinction of the least-watched Oscars ever.

Many experts attribute this disconnect to Hollywood snobbery, the awarding of movies that fewer and fewer people want to see. Journalist David Carr explained, "While there is much to be admired in the five Best Picture nominees, all told, they have pulled in around $313 million so far at the box office, a few million less than 'Transformers' did alone."[25]

DVD Sales

Innovation enabled DVDs to relegate VHS tapes to history's dustbin. In the new millennium, purchasing a movie on VHS seems archaic and perhaps most often done by those looking through a remainder bin at a big box superstore or on a dusty shelf in a used bookstore. However, the next iteration is on the launch pad—the high-definition DVD—which may someday destroy the traditional DVD business, which currently accounts for about 60 percent of studio profits. Sony introduced the Blu-ray disc, which has been named the industry standard. But, rather than cheer on this new innovation, studio executives worry that the hit the DVD business will take is going to disrupt their profits.

In 2007, for example, DVD sales in the United States fell 3.2 percent to $15.9 billion, the first time in the history of the business that sales dropped year-over-year. Adams Media Research anticipates a further decline in 2008 and 2009. Although the Blu-ray high-def disc is a formidable foe, the real challenge for DVD sales is competition with technology companies. Apple now offers movie downloads on iTunes, while broadband communications companies that pipe entertainment into people's homes are testing movie downloads. The threat is so steep that the movie studios responded by providing consumers with a digital file when they purchase a DVD. The file lets users burn the movie to a computer or transfer it to their iPod.[26]

George Clooney

Tom Hanks, Charlize Theron, and Johnny Depp are a few of the many fine actors and actresses working in the new millennium. Of this illustrious list, though, George Clooney may just



Actor George Clooney at the Golden Globe Awards televised in 2006. NBC/Photofest. ©Chris Haston. Courtesy of Photofest.

be the most important, not only for the kinds of films he has made, but as a throwback to a nostalgic age when those on the stage were charming, yet rugged; graceful, yet stereotypically manly. In recent years, Clooney used his star power to rally support for the struggling people of Darfur. In December 2007, he won a Summit Peace Award from the Nobel Peace Prize Laureates. In early 2008, officials at the United Nations appointed Clooney a U.N. peace envoy, recognizing his commitment to the region.

Clooney spent the years just prior to the new millennium (1994–1999) playing Dr. Doug Ross on *ER,* the highly-acclaimed television series created by bestselling writer Michael Crichton. After leaving the series to pursue movie work full-time, Clooney acted in a series of successful films, from the Coen Brothers' depression-era romp *O Brother, Where Art Thou?* (2000) to a trilogy of Las Vegas Rat Pack movies: *Ocean's Eleven* (2001), *Ocean's Twelve* (2004), and *Ocean's Thirteen* (2007).

Moving back and forth from blockbuster star to more serious roles, Clooney starred as a CIA operative in *Syriana* (2005), which won him an Oscar as best supporting actor. Journalist Caryn James places Clooney's star power at the nexus of his onscreen stardom and activism. She sees his popularity in this ability to "raise a question with an old-fashioned ring—'What's the right thing to do?'—and apply it to issues that are totally of the moment." As a result, she explained, "he avoids preachiness because his films don't pretend to answer tough moral questions; they simply insist the questions are worth asking."[27]

Clooney possesses the uncanny ability to be one of only three men to ever be named *People Magazine*'s Sexiest Man Alive twice (1997 and 2006), while also tackling parts that transform his handsome features into a kind of vulnerability or everyman. He is able to come off as overtly modest on one hand, but then own up to his stardom the next, and audiences love him for it even more. In *Michael Clayton* (2007), Clooney plays a faltering lawyer whose world is unraveling. In January 2008, he received a nomination for an Academy Award for Best Actor for it.

Brangelina: The World's Hottest Couple

The multimedia revolution sparked by the Internet made celebrity watching a 24-hour a day spectacle. Regardless of how much gossip, rumor, and misinformation is spooned out to the American people, it just seems as if they cannot get enough. Brad Pitt and Angelina Jolie symbolize the transformation in celebrity coverage, from media and photographers following them around when new movies came out to an environment where nothing is off limits. However, given the current craving for illicit gossip, it seems appropriate that Pitt and Jolie met while shooting the move *Mr. and Mrs. Smith,* while they were still both the Mr. and Mrs. in another relationship.

Prior to his relationship with Jolie, *Friends* sitcom star Jennifer Aniston and Pitt had a highly-public marriage, seemingly creating America's "perfect couple." The rumors of tryst between

Jolie and Pitt began in late 2004, on the set of the action movie they starred in as a married couple, secretly assassins, who are hired to kill each other. Shortly after the public announcement about his separation from Aniston, the weekly tabloids and Web sites buzzed with news of Pitt and Jolie. Then, the new couple took a very public vacation together in Africa, where photographers caught them frolicking in the surf and Pitt playing with Jolie's adopted son Maddox.[28]

In the ensuing years since they got together, Pitt and Jolie continue to dominate the tabloids and entertainment gossip. In what seems like collusion, since all the celebutainment magazines appear to feature the same stories each week, the couple lives in the public eye. In this age of media sensationalism, each photo of one of them alone is interpreted as a soon-to-be breakup or the end of their fairytale life. The headlines predict a marriage one week, a split the next, and constantly ponder the fate of poor Aniston, America's jilted sweetheart.

If there is a hidden benefit to the high-octane merger of two mega brands like Pitt and Jolie it is that the social justice causes they work for get more attention. Both entertainers have led efforts to gain recognition for conditions in Africa. Closer to home, Pitt started the Make It Right foundation to rebuild homes in New Orleans's ravaged Lower Ninth Ward. The organization teamed with 13 architects to design and then rebuild 150 houses with state-of-the-art features, such as solar heat and light, 5-foot elevated first floors, while in some designs, the homes even float. Pitt and Jolie also moved into a residence in New Orleans to keep the media spotlight on the city as it rebuilds in the deep wake of Hurricane Katrina.[29]

Pitt used his star power to coordinate rebuilding efforts after growing frustrated with the slow response of the national and local governments. After contributing $5 million of his own money to the cause, Pitt reached out to foundations, corporations, and other individuals to help. He explained his reasons for getting involved, saying, "I've always had a fondness for this place—it's like no other. Seeing the frustration firsthand made me want to return the kindness this city has shown me."[30]

Failure of Iraq Films

"Failure" is a stark word that boldly defines itself in its brashness. One need not ponder long and hard about what failure is. The word is tied to the American Dream so closely that we all know failure when we see it, touch it, or brush up against it. To say that films playing on the post–September 11 terrorist attacks and subsequent overseas wars have failed is to accuse them of not helping define what life should be like in this new age; rather, it says they merely play on patriotic stereotypes and racial intolerance.

On the surface, one could reject this notion of failure by pointing out that *United 93* grossed some $43 million after being made for just $15 million. This kind of limited viewpoint, though, just says that people are interested in the post–September 11 world, not that it has really transformed their lives. As journalist James Poniewozik explained, "saying that 9/11 has entered pop culture is not the same thing as saying that 9/11 has changed pop culture." He points to the Bush Administration for downplaying the force of the new world order on ordinary people. "The Administration's message to citizens since the attacks has been, believe that 9/11 changed everything when it comes to foreign and domestic policy and that 9/11 changed nothing when it comes to spending and living."[31]

Almost immediately after the September 11 attacks, critics proclaimed the end of irony, a notion that, according to *Time* magazine, "Our metaphors have expired. Pleasure seems mocking and futile . . . language that artists, comedians, storytellers and actors use to explain us to ourselves now seems frivolous, inappropriate or simply outdated."[32] Looking back from the vantage point of early 2008, these messages not only seem outdated, but ineffectual. What America learned in the post–September 11 world is that they should not stop the frantic national buying spree or worry too much about the war—pretty quickly, it would become news for the back page, not the headlines. The utter failure of films to reflect the world after September 11 or add to the national dialogue in a meaningful way proves the point that the talk of a world transformed was nothing more than that day's lead story.

Movie critic Richard Corliss sees the challenges in presenting filmic interpretations of the Iraq war in more artistic terms, saying, "this war is tragic but not inherently dramatic." Up to this point, there has not been the kind of stereotypical war movie aspects in the current campaign in the Middle East—clear cut good guys and bad guys and romance immediately standing out. Corliss also noted that it is difficult to present the United States in its World War II heroic sense when the country has bungled all its wars since then. "We may have to wait for Hollywood's definitive Iraq-war film," he said. "But that's the way the movie industry works. It took years for *The Deer Hunter, Coming Home,* and *Platoon* to appear and leave their indelible marks."[33]

NOTABLE THEATER

Aida, 2000 (1,852 perfs.)

The Producers, 2001 (2,502 perfs.)

Mamma Mia, 2001 (2,650+ perfs.*)

Hairspray, 2002 (2,300+ perfs.*)

Avenue Q, 2003 (1,900+ perfs.*)

Wicked, 2003 (1,800+ perfs.*)

42nd Street (revival), 2001 (1,524 perfs.)

Movin' Out, 2002 (1,303 perfs.)

Spamalot, 2005 (1,200 perfs.*)

The 25th Annual Putnam County Spelling Bee, 2005 (1,136 perfs.)

* Still running as of August 2008.

THEATER

Broadway is the gold standard of American theater. In late 2007, however, a 19-day stagehand strike crippled the industry. Although pundits worried that the strike would destroy the December holiday season, the Great White Way bounced back from the work stoppage. Sales Christmas week, which are usually good for Broadway in a typical year, went through the roof, topping $30 million. Some 14 shows brought in more than $1 million each, with *Wicked* topping the rush at $1.8 million.[34]

Although the strong holiday season helped Broadway regain its footing, the strike took a toll on grosses for the season (down 5% year-over-year) and attendance (dropping 4.5%). Both figures had been up prior to the strike, with grosses at 5.8 percent and attendance growing 5.5 percent. Producer Stewart Lane provided a personalized look at the strike's financial consequences, saying, "The profits we could have had during the second-most-important week of our business cycle is money we couldn't recapture. I have nightmares about how much we lost that weekend."[35]

Weekly sales figures provide observers with a glimpse of how Broadway is faring. In the week ending March 30, 2008, for example, some 26 musicals (attendance: 245,290) grossed $18.4 million or 87 percent of the Broadway total. The 7 plays (attendance: 39,418) accounted for $2.7 million. The overall paid admission price stood at $74.31 for all shows.[36]

Fashion

of the 2000s

In the new millennium, fashion is not just stereotypical, waif-thin runway models flaunting the latest Parisian styles. The idea of fashion goes well beyond these traditional limitations, though runways and haute couture are certainly a large part of the industry. Fashion in this decade may better be defined as a person possessing a sense of style, which is tied directly to the wider pop culture influences on one's daily life. As a result, fashion is currently a more important part of everyday life for most Americans than in the past.

Access to mass media certainly affects style choices, from television shows, films, and commercials to what one sees on the Internet. Drop into any upscale department store. The endless choices will either dazzle or depress the innocent shopper just looking for something to wear to work next Tuesday or for a night out on the town. Journalist Sharon Fink calls this phenomenon "fashion overload." She breaks the average woman's fashion needs down to its essentials, stating, "We want basics, kept stylish and up-to-date; a few well-chosen trends; and a couple of splurges. And we want it all to fit well."[1]

Perhaps the virtually unlimited access to fashion and trends via movies, television, and the Internet made designers think that they needed to expand the types of clothes available. They may have merely thrown many styles into the system and then waited to see what consumers picked, rather than offer a limited range of choices. Fink believes the fickle nature and quick boredom of shoppers is at the heart of the challenge. "We love to buy. We get bored easily. And once we got hooked on the fast turnover of styles at chains like Express and Target, everyone from top designers down were forced to crank out as much variety as possible to keep us interested and spending," she said.[2] Target has been particularly successful in hiring fashion designers, including Isaac Mizrahi, Liz Lange, Rogan Gregory, Richard Chai, and others, to produce affordable but highly stylish clothes and design household products.

DISCOUNT SHOPPING

Novato, California, is located 30 miles north of San Francisco, straight up Highway 101 after crossing over the Golden Gate Bridge. The town's nearly 50,000 inhabitants occupy the northernmost section of well-heeled Marin County, one of the richest areas in the United States. Despite the countless million dollar homes that dot its hillsides, Novato is actually a blue-collar oasis in the heart of this affluent madness. Nestled between the city and Napa Valley wine country to the north, the town is certainly the closest thing to "normal" in Marin, if not the entire San Francisco Bay area.



Actress Amy Smart arrives with fashion designer Rogan Gregory at the "Rogan for Target" clothing line debut in Beverly Hills, California, in 2008. AP Photo/Dan Steinberg.

Just about any day of the week, the most hopping spot in Novato is Vintage Oaks Shopping Center, a couple miles south of the city, and a convenient exit just off busy 101. By mid-morning on any given weekend, a sea of bright, shiny SUVs pushes latecomers to the farthest nether regions of the parking lot, forcing them to trudge through a multitude of orphaned shopping carts and dodge other dawdlers on the way to the door.

What's all the fuss at Vintage Oaks? Among its 50 stores, the colossal plaza is home to the two-headed discount shopping monster of Target and Costco. These stores have come to define Novato. Target and Costco give the town an identity distinct from its wealthy neighbors in the southern portion of the county, not only openly inviting a different economic class of shopper to the area, but also a melting pot of workers to staff the stores.

The Target experience is all about brand and image. Drop a shopper in front of any Target across the nation, and that person should have a similar experience and feeling as they walk through the shiny red doors. The famous Target Bullseye is about more than the merchandise within the store; it is about branding the franchise itself, thus giving shoppers a uniquely Target experience on every visit.

Earlier in its history, Target attracted shoppers searching for bargain merchandise, such as the special on the 300-ounce Tide laundry detergent for $16.88. Over the last decade, however, Target's unique ability to redefine itself as a central point for hip culture enabled it to become a destination for consumers searching for the latest fashion styles and trends.

The Novato Target is a jumble of scurrying workers, shoppers streaming by with red-orange

carts, kids crammed into the snack bar, and packed checkout lanes. Target has spent billions of dollars branding its bullseye logo and unique, apple-red tint. The result is a constant sea of red everywhere you turn.

A quarter mile down the strip, past the Old Navy, various small beauty shops, and the sporting goods store sits Costco, the king of discount warehouses. The Novato store, like others across the nation, is a cultural wonderland.

There are few assurances in life, and most of them are bad, like DMV lines will always be long and the mechanic's bill will always total at least $500. In Novato, like places around the nation that have a Costco, there is another certainty: the Costco lot is always full. Nothing slows down Costco shoppers, not a freak blizzard, torrential downpour, or beautiful summer day in which they should be out enjoying the sunshine.

The scene at Costco is utter chaos. Here comes a middle-aged woman who must be 5-foot-4-inches tall and not much more than 100 pounds pushing an oversized cart filled with giant jugs of olive oil, cases of wine and Diet Coke, various hardcover books, large stacks of boxed food, and just like 90 percent of the people exiting Costco, the ever-present, mammoth package of toilet paper precariously balancing on top. The cart must weigh in at about 200 pounds, easily doubling her weight. She's not only struggling against the weight of the cart on its little frail wheels, but she can't see over the mountain of merchandise. This is a lawsuit waiting to happen—perhaps the smartest thing to do is park far, far away.

Inside, Costco is a Spartan warehouse. The emphasis at Costco is on products and prices. Every nook and cranny is filled with something to buy, whether stacked from cement floor to ceiling on simple metal shelves or on barebones tables that look like they survived your Aunt Elma's last trip to the flea market.

At the end of each row, shoppers may find jars of peanut butter as big as buckets or cases of off-brand shampoo amassed on wooden skids. The Costco experience is shopping stripped to its essence. The message is direct, screaming, "bargain" to the masses picking over its wares. No wonder more than 25 percent of American households are card-carrying Costco members.

While Costco doesn't make its customers work to find a deal, they do have to pile up the mileage as they wander through the aisles thick with merchandise. Each twist and turn not only provides a new opportunity for finding a treasure, but also for saving money. This combination is a powerful incentive for middle class shoppers, despite the bare surroundings and long checkout lines that fly in the face of usual demands for high standards of customer care and pampering.

The magic in the Costco experience—making it worthwhile to put up with the crowds and cramped parking—is that it provides grownups with the feeling of a genuine treasure hunt. The "wow" factor, like finding the latest James Patterson novel for less than half price or saving hundreds of dollars on the family's grocery bill through bulk purchases, makes Costco an exciting place to shop. Perhaps some members get slightly woozy when their bill is totaled, but even the shock of plopping down $300 or $400 is softened by the cherished perception that the word "bargain" can be slapped on every item. Costco makes people feel like they got their money's worth.

And what becomes of our friend from the parking lot, the woman valiantly struggling against the weight of her purchases? After loading up her sleek, black Chevy Tahoe, she eventually makes her way back to her subdivision, listening to a message on her cell phone from her daughter about ballet practice. Arriving home, her son, Jordan, is playing basketball with his friends in the driveway. As she pulls into the garage, the middle school boys flip open the hatch and take turns carrying boxes and other loose items into the kitchen.

Once Mom gets the haul corralled, the boys go back to their game, each with a can of pop and a handful of cookies from the trip. Letting her mind wander as she fills the pantry and cupboards, she begins to tick off how much she saved on each item. A little smile forms as she realizes that the total surpasses $250. She can't wait to tell her husband once he gets home from the office.

Not only did Mom save money, she feels great about her Costco trip. She bought the staples essential to running her household, planned family meals, and even picked up a few small gifts for

the holiday season. Most important, however, she uncovered bargains. The extra money can be put toward the family's next vacation or into the costs of raising kids quickly approaching their teenage years.

This scenario isn't unique, but it reveals a trend being played out in homes from coast to coast. Over the years, our consumer thought process has changed. The shopping ritual has developed into more than merely acquiring life's essentials. Quite the contrary, shopping gives people hope and a sense of control over their lives. They choose items that reflect their own self-image and call out to their dreams and aspirations.

According to shopping guru Paco Underhill, "If we went into stores only when we needed to buy something, and if once there, we bought only what we needed, the economy would collapse, boom." Instead, a shopping revolution took place, fueled by the nation's increased wealth since World War II. "The economic party," Underhill said, "has fostered more shopping than anyone would have predicted, more shopping than has ever taken place anywhere at any time."[3]

Discount shopping, whether it is at Wal-Mart, Costco, or The Dollar Store, takes the experience one step further. A person ventures into Wal-Mart for several reasons, but the primary draws are widespread selection and "everyday low prices." The variety of items fulfills the aesthetic craving, while the lower cost appeals to the feelings of vindication consumers attain when they've saved a buck.

Discount shopping triggers some inherently American values—the availability of an endless assortment of goods and the notion of tracking down the best bargain available, thus saving money and outsmarting the other guy. For many consumers, this notion turns shopping into a new competitive sport, neatly falling into the habit we Americans have of treating most aspects of life as a contest or battle.

A perfect example is the local mall on the day after Thanksgiving with the early bird sales, which usually begin before the sun rises. The parking lot is packed, and impatient, sleepy people are waiting for the doors to open—all this effort to get wrapping paper for half price or to save 10 bucks on a sweater.

Rescuing the Economy

Conditions were ripe for an economic "Perfect Storm." The collective weight of the dot.com implosion that began in early 2001, the September 11 terrorist attacks, and the successive wars in Afghanistan and Iraq resulted in a faltering economy, millions of people losing their jobs, and widespread insecurity.

Stories of retirees losing their life's savings as the stock market tanked and millions of high tech jobs disappearing as companies went belly-up turned the economic boom of the late 1990s into ancient history. Pundits filled the airwaves with chatter about a possible global depression. Republicans and Democrats took turns blasting one another for the dire conditions, bemoaning the lack of leadership necessary to get the economy back on track. All the while, consumers ignored the calamity and went right on shopping.

In a time when common sense dictated that people should save every spare penny and carefully plan for the (gloomy) future, shoppers barely flinched. Unlike other recessions, they continued to spend, despite the economic doldrums. Without consumer willingness to keep on shopping in the face of a troublesome economic situation, the country could have tumbled deeper into an economic quagmire.

On the surface, it seemed as if shoppers had lost their minds. A closer look, though, reveals that consumers did not go crazy during the recession that followed the dot.com bust in the early years of the twenty-first century. Spending habits were not based on a hope and a prayer. The federal government, under the leadership of Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan, took steps to put money back into people's hands by dropping interest rates to historic lows. More than a dozen cuts have been made since January 2001. For people who had taken out large mortgages in earlier decades, the new rates enabled them to consolidate debt under one low interest umbrella or roll the money they saved into other areas.

The combination of the low interest rates and increased consumer spending propped up the economy, even as corporations dramatically cut spending and began downsizing millions of workers (estimated at 2.6 million in a two-year span

beginning March 2001). For the first time since 1948–1949, however, consumer spending rose throughout the recession, buoyed by low rates and favorable finance terms, such as zero percent financing on new cars and big-ticket items like washing machines and big-screen televisions. Many people still felt pinched by the 2001 recession, but it "officially" ended after a mere eight months due to these factors.

Household spending now accounts for about 70 percent of the economy. Therefore, tracking consumer spending is increasingly important. Every fluctuation has become a defining moment, worthy of front-page news. Policy makers keep an eye on consumer confidence polls on the lookout for trends that show the economy is improving. Monthly sales figures from Wal-Mart and Target provide a glimpse into American households, revealing the state of the economy on a personal level.

The downside, however, is that all the rampant consuming pushed household debt to record numbers in the early 2000s, estimated at a then-staggering $8.9 trillion. Mortgage debt alone jumped to more than $6 trillion in 2001, a 60 percent jump over the previous five years. In addition, overall family net worth fell considerably as the stock market plunged from dot.com boom highs.

Home equity lines of credit and refinancing enabled many people to transfer high-interest credit card and automobile debt to their mortgage, thus paying down debt in one hand but increasing it in another. In essence, these maneuvers put cash in people's pockets and provided the disposable income that ultimately ends up in the coffers of Wal-Mart, Target, and their discount brethren. The Bush Administration used the same tactic at several times during its reign, basically giving people a check from the federal government in hopes that they would spend it on big ticket goods. The 2008 relief efforts, for example, were meant to offset the real estate woes and credit crunch many people experienced.

Consumers saw a significant bump in their paychecks from the Bush Administration's tax cuts and from their employers as bigger raises started to be doled out as the nation began its rocky road to recovery. In September 2003, nationwide retail sales rose 5.9 percent, representing the largest jump since March 2002. Individually among the discount retailers, Wal-Mart's sales rose 6 percent, Kohl's 5.5 percent, and Target saw a whopping 14.8 percent gain. This trend indicated that continued growth was on the horizon. A robust holiday shopping season awaited retailers—good news for the companies and the nation as a whole.

The Wal-Mart Effect

Given that household spending represents 70 percent of the economy, Wal-Mart's enduring strength comes as no surprise. With billions of dollars being pumped into retail coffers, Wal-Mart continued to grow despite the widespread economic woes, not only propping up the limping economy, but also putting it in a strong position to capitalize on the inevitable rebound.

Wal-Mart's command is simply staggering, ranging from 2002 revenues of $245 billion to the mind-boggling reality that 82 percent of American households made at least one purchase there last year. Each week, 138 million shoppers visit one of Wal-Mart's 4,750 stores, almost half of the country's population. Today, net sales for the fiscal year ending on January 31, 2008, reached $374.5 billion, an increase of 8.6 percent over fiscal year 2007. Income from continuing operations for the fiscal year ended January 31, 2008 increased 5.8 percent to $12.9 billion, up from $12.2 billion in the prior year.[4]

As a matter of fact, Wal-Mart is so pervasive that economists and business analysts coined the "Wal-Mart effect" on the global economy. On one hand, the company's growth through the recession played a role in suppressing inflation. However, each productivity gain it squeezes out of a vendor or distributor ripples across the global economy. To do business with Wal-Mart, vendors must transform the way they operate to conform to the giant's processes.

On a global scale, Wal-Mart's policies affect the economies in many of the world's developing nations. Several countries in Central America and South Asia are dependent on the company, which in turn, relies on cheap manufacturing to produce low priced goods. Wal-Mart and its vendors

are forced to continually search for ways to cut costs out of production, which means heavy use of workers in developing nations who will work much cheaper than their American counterparts.

Because of its sales prowess, Wal-Mart controls large shares of business done by its vendors, including some of the America's largest corporations. In the early part of the decade, Wal-Mart accounted for 28 percent of Dial's total sales, 24 percent of Del Monte Foods, 23 percent of Clorox, and 23 percent of Revlon. Wal-Mart has been almost single-handedly responsible for saving Levi's by signing a deal to sell blue jeans at discount prices. As a matter of fact, Wal-Mart is so powerful that it is considering offering banking services at the same time it is beginning the largest global expansion in company history.

In the early 2000s, Wal-Mart operated 1,309 stores in 10 nations. By 2008, those figures grew to 3,125 stores in 13 markets. It is already the largest single retailer in both Canada and Mexico. In 2003 alone, Wal-Mart added another 130 new stores in foreign markets. In comparison, Target spent $3.5 billion in 2003 to expand in the United States. Many of its new outlets will be SuperTargets, melding the grocery store with the discount store, just like Wal-Mart's highly successful Supercenters.

If Wal-Mart maintains its current growth rate of 15 percent, the company will record sales of $600 billion by 2011. The retailer is also going to top 2 million employees, up from its current 1.4 million. This record expansion and growth is taking place while the national economy is stumbling along due to unemployment concerns and fears regarding the global geo-political situation, including further fighting in Iraq and future acts of terrorism.

The challenge in a world so thoroughly dominated by Wal-Mart, according to labor rights experts, is that its workers simply cannot fulfill the American dream (and in many cases, feed their families) on the salaries it pays. Furthermore, as the company puts the screws to its vendors and distributors, these companies are forced to lower their costs, which most often involves outsourcing work overseas and shedding American workers.

There is a Catch-22 that may ultimately play out: someday workers and those who have lost their jobs because of Wal-Mart's tactics will no longer be able to afford to shop there. When sales get sluggish at Wal-Mart, the slowdown will have a ripple effect across the global economy, with the potential for cataclysmic consequences. The international economy will not be able to absorb Wal-Mart's stumble—as it did with the fall of Woolworth's and, more recently, Kmart—because there has never been a company as pervasive and powerful as Wal-Mart.

The Bentonville behemoth and its discount brethren are not the only companies that expanded during the recession in the early 2000s. Some would argue that the truest heirs to the legacy of Woolworth's and other long lost five-and-dimes are the deep discount or closeout retailers, like Save-A-Lot, Big Lots, and Dollar General. This slice of the discount shopping pie has grown into a $20 billion market and experienced tremendous growth over the last several years.

These stores sell a limited selection of groceries and general merchandise aimed at lower-income shoppers. Their prices are 20 to 40 percent below those of Wal-Mart and remain competitive because they limit operating costs. Hard discounters try to siphon off the bottom third of Wal-Mart shoppers, typically those who earn $30,000 or less annually.

Big Lots, the largest of the closeout retailers, alone had sales eclipsing $3.8 billion in its 1,400 stores in 45 states in the early years of the decade. The company's stores are smaller than the average Wal-Mart or Target, but are located in more diverse areas, often closer to city centers and in strip malls that low-income shoppers patronize. Each location, however, averages $2.85 million in annual sales.

The combination of high interest retail charge cards and less stringent requirements for bankcards sent consumer debt through the roof in low-income households. Predatory credit card companies target these families, and studies reveal that lower-income households have seen their revolving debt skyrocket 184 percent in recent years. Expanding the credit pool by blanketing this segment of consumers with high interest cards has pushed the average credit card debt in the United States to $12,000 per household, according to Federal Reserve estimates.

Purchasing goods by credit card—even if charged a prohibitive interest rate—has enabled lower-income families to mimic their middle class neighbors. Closeout stores carry brand name merchandise, though a toy may be last year's craze or a blouse may be slightly irregular.

On the psychological front, dollar stores offer the same wonder as other discounters, but at considerably reduced prices. Shoppers still get the same treasure hunt feeling, never quite sure of the bounty they may uncover, but always knowing that it will be inexpensive.

Economic Rocket

In the summer of 2003, while the news headlines focused on wildfires ravaging California, which destroyed hundreds of thousands of acres around Los Angeles and San Diego, taking nearly two dozen lives, the nation's gross domestic product growth soared to 7.2 percent, a 19-year high.

Given the increasing criticism over its handling of the situation in Iraq, the Bush Administration immediately pointed to its tax cut program as the driver. Good economic news and positive signs of a full recovery from the latest recession would help the president counter his critics. Tax rebates—whether or not they are good for the nation's long-term economic health—put about $100 billion back into the hands of consumers just before the school shopping season began. In addition, the record number of individuals who refinanced their mortgages in the spring spent the money over the summer.

Once again, the willingness of millions of people to hit the shopping centers fueled this dramatic growth. The sequence of events is almost predictable—any time consumers are given an extra fistful of dollars, they dash off to Wal-Mart to spend the bounty. What George Bush Sr. called "voodoo economics" has been reborn during his son's reign, essentially a trickle-down effect that works because people are not afraid to spend.

Clearly, the seemingly illogical notion that increased consumer spending could dig an entire nation out of economic turmoil has sustained the United States over the last several years. Without the combination of low interest rates and increased consumer spending, there is no doubt that the recession would have lasted much longer, while the residual effects would have devastated countless families and communities.

The prominent role consumers have played in keeping the economy afloat reveals the importance of America's discount retailers. While department stores and upscale merchandisers struggled, the discounters grew more powerful and more central to the economic health of the nation.

Wal-Mart's sprint to become the largest company in the world proves how critical cheap shopping is in today's society. The company's growth also points to America's transition from a manufacturing power into a service economy, a profound transformation for a country historically dominant in heavy industry. Philosophically, Americans view themselves as builders, not manning stores with little nametags and bright blue vests.

Wal-Mart plays such a critical role in the nation's economy that the company has moved beyond mere economic importance (particularly for a company that has no direct military or intelligence ties, like a Northrop Grumman or Boeing). Retail analyst Tom Rubel surmised that if Wal-Mart, "ever stumbles, we've got a potential national security problem on our hands." The downfall of Wal-Mart could potentially destroy the American economy, triggering chaos worldwide. "They touch almost everything," he explained. "If they ever really went into a tailspin, the dislocation would be significant and traumatic."[5]

Wal-Mart, that corporate giant, the one that people either love or hate, is now America's bellwether. No barometer of leading economic indicators is complete without taking into account the Wal-Mart effect.

FASHION AND CLOTHING STYLES

Daily fashion in the new millennium is as jumbled and chaotic as the rest of popular culture. What people wear around the country is based on a complex web of local customs, climate, proximity to New York and Los Angeles, and the hottest television shows, rock bands, and movies. Fashion is a melting pot, just like the nation itself. If there is any unifying theme when examining a national

FASHION TRENDS OF THE 2000s

The emphasis on fashion in the 2000s is casual and comfortable. Layering thin separates is popular, particularly among females. Most workplaces allow employees to wear business casual year round.

Women/girls: low rider jeans; belly shirts and cargo pants; capris; miniskirts and long skirts; cropped jackets; bare legs (no pantyhose); hoodies (hooded pullovers); layering with thin separates; bootleg jeans; sleeveless dresses; empire waist blouses and dresses; tunic tops; pantsuits for work; flip flops, Ugg boots, and Croc clogs; large handbags.

Men/boys: jeans and T-shirts; some layering; button-down shirts with tails untucked; cargo pants; soul patches (tiny patch of beard) for young men.

fashion, it is that the industry is driven by celebrities (including celebrity, name brand designers themselves) and young people.

Early in the decade, fashion shook off the baggy, grunge days of the 1990s, as well as the hipster cool of Northern Californian dot.coms, reveling in more revealing styles. Women ditched their traditional Levis blue jeans for a new style, cut low at the waist (dubbed "low-rise") and tight everywhere else. Other female styles were punctuated with strategically placed tattoos, piercings, and undergarments worn outside clothing. Midriff-bearing tops were hot among some young women, almost always accompanied by a pierced bellybutton.

The most influential and enduring fashion statement to emerge from the early decade vaulted into the national conscious piggybacking off the pop hit "Thong Song" by Sisqó. The catchy tune became the virtual national anthem of college students venturing to the beach on spring break and received heavy airplay on MTV. "Thong Song" did more than elevate a piece of women's underwear to the national spotlight; the hit reinvigorated the idea that undergarments could be the most important visible piece of clothing. In its new public role, the underwear industry introduced a variety of new styles that drew inspiration from the thong. The women's underwear industry achieved sales of about $2.4 billion, and the thong garnered a quarter of that market. Writing in 2004, journalist Alex Kuczynski explained, "The thong underpant became a cultural touchstone, the very symbol of the tease. It caught on at a time when lad magazines like *Maxim* and *FHM,* with their photographs of panty-clad but never entirely nude women, took over… [and Brittany] Spears, the celebrity perhaps most associated with the thong, embraced the virgin/temptress paradox with cutting accuracy. Audiences could look, but they could never touch. The thong is an invitation, not a promise."[6]

For men in that period, hip hop influenced daily wear, from the urban cool of Sean "Diddy" Combs to the urban aggressive oversized pants, white T-shirts, and backward baseball cap with a bandana underneath look sported by Eminem. Business casual remained a part of the workplace. Button-downed, short-sleeved shirts cut square across the bottom and worn not tucked in (a modified version of the traditional Hawaiian shirt, minus the gaudy prints) became a foundation in the evolving business wear market. Neckties became more and more a thing of the past, especially wearing them to work. According to a Gallup Poll in October 2007, only six percent of men reported wearing a tie to work every day, compared with 10 percent in a poll in 2002.[7]

By mid-decade and later, the fashion world became more muddled as a variety of new styles grew out of the influences of the previous years, with inevitable backlashes. Many women, for example, resorted to the cleaner, more professional look of 1950s and 1960s fashion after growing weary of the scantier styles dominating the industry. Also jumbling the fashion marketplace are the traditional style categories that remain consistently popular, such as preppy clothes, 1980s styles, and the hippie, 1960s look. Perhaps the best aspect of American fashion, at least as it is worn by the hundreds of millions of regular people in the country, is that it is so fluid that one does not have to make wholesale modifications of a personal style often, if at all.

Celebrity Fashion

For celebrities, having one's own clothing line now seems to be part of the "platform" used to

build the iconic brand that stars desire. What seemed like a crazy idea decades ago (for example, when actress Jaclyn Smith launched a clothing line with Kmart) appears like a natural part of the fashion world. In the 2000s, there are actually so many celebrities who have their own lines that a complete list would fill many pages.

In early 2007, for example, Madonna launched a clothing and accessory line, dubbed "M by Madonna," with Swedish retailer H&M, while Jennifer Lopez followed up her hit fragrance and Sweetface line with clothes aimed at juniors, called "justsweet." Other celebrities to launch clothing deals include Sarah Jessica Parker, Venus Williams, Mary-Kate and Ashley Olsen, Ashley Judd, and Victoria Beckham. David Wolfe, a creative director at the Doneger Group, said, "The consumer is desperate for some guidance to sort out the crowded retail landscape. Because the media tells us so much about celebrities, people have an idea of what their image means in terms of fashion, and if they can connect a name to an image and merchandise, it makes shopping so much easier."[8]

An important question as the decade draws to a close is whether or not the fashion industry can constantly sustain itself with new celebrities entering the fray. Some celebrities have track records to show the power of their brands, such as Combs, whose Sean John line made $450 million in 2002. Some experts estimate that the celebrity-licensed products market accounted for $3 billion in sales that year. Brian Dubin, head of WMA's East Coast commercial division, said, "Your client, whether they are an athlete or an actor or an actress, has intangible assets: a name, a reputation, a credibility, and an image. All of those attributes may be combined into something that could be made into a brand. When they are turned into a product or a service, then they become tangible assets."[9]

A NIP HERE . . . A TUCK THERE

In today's "expose all" society, America's obsession with youthful vigor transformed plastic surgery from a behind-closed-doors topic to one discussed on the front pages of celebrity tabloids and at family dinner tables. Not only were the uses and misuses of augmentation by celebrities from Michael Jackson and Cher to Meg Ryan and Ashley Simpson aired for public consumption, but a whole industry of reality television "makeover" shows attempted to change the way people looked (and viewed themselves) through extreme surgical measures.

In 2004, doctors performed approximately 9 million plastic surgery operations, up 25 percent from 7.4 million in 2000. Three years later, in 2007, the number nearly doubled to 16 million. While the vast majority of these surgeries take place under the care of trained professionals, a growing number are performed quickly, cheaply, and at great risk of complications. In 2004, for example, more than 4,000 teenagers less than 18 years old had breast implants, even though the FDA only approved the surgery for those over 18. Another 6,000 teens underwent liposuction, a dangerous and painful procedure for eliminating body fat.[10]

As the number of augmentation surgeries increased, two related results also skyrocketed—either those unhappy with the results and/or people enduring botched procedures. So many people fell into one or both of these categories that it spawned an entirely new segment of the industry: surgeons specializing in fixing errors or mistakes—called "undo-plasties" commonly.

The challenge for professional, trained plastic surgeons is that the business is largely unregulated. In many instances, any licensed physician can perform plastic surgery. In some states, dermatologists and even dentists can do nose jobs and other procedures. They may or may not have had much exposure to the field during their internships. Adding to the challenge is that many surgeries are taking place in a physician's office to cut down on costs that would incur from a hospital stay. Because most procedures are paid for up front, and most insurance companies don't cover them, there is little a patient can do in the event of a bad outcome.

Debra Dunn, a New York woman in her forties, grew despondent after two nose jobs wrecked her self image and left her feeling like she did not resemble herself. She avoided going out in public and had several additional procedures done in an attempt to regain her former nose. The additional

work cost more than three times the initial amount. Dunn, however, is not alone in feeling regret over her plastic surgery. Celebrities from Courtney Love to Julio Iglesias publicly lamented their procedures. "Such dramatic surgeries can make people feel as though their permanent self is not their genuine self—at least on the outside," explained Kathy Kater, a St. Paul, Minnesota-based psychotherapist. "That can lead to a real feeling of internal discontent or even a very deep grief for a self who now seems to have disappeared."[11]

Fueled by Television

Like so much of pop culture in the 2000s, reality television contributed to the burgeoning popularity of cosmetic surgery, resulting in the mass marketing of the specialty. Soon, just like with fast food joints and drugstores, it seemed as if plastic surgeons stood at every street corner hocking their services. Television shows, such as *Dr. 90210, Extreme Makeover,* and *The Swan,* demystified augmentation, as well as the pain, suffering, and post-surgery swelling that goes hand-in-hand with such work.

As a result, the potential growth of the industry reduced the cost so that anyone who grew up dreaming of having a nose just like their favorite movie star or celebrity could go under the knife in search of their idealized perfection. In 2004, the average cost of the 10 most popular cosmetic surgery procedures (from liposuction to lip augmentation) cost about $4,000, making it affordable for just about anyone.

In 2003, ABC launched *Extreme Makeover,* a show that gave everyday people the opportunity to undergo a series of procedures to basically become a new person. While the program offered a variety of services, including counseling, personal trainers, and dieticians, the focus revolved around the "reveal" when the contestant debuted his or her new look to the gasps and cheers of family and friends. By 2005, the show averaged approximately seven million viewers each week. The success launched two high-profile knockoffs: Fox's *The Swan* and MTV's *I Want a Famous Face.*



The contestants after receiving plastic surgery makeovers on the "reality" television show *The Swan* (Fox Network) season one, May 24, 2004. 20th Century Fox/Photofest. ©Robert Voe.

Each show revolved around participants undergoing a variety of cosmetic procedures.

Critics of this programming pointed to the consequences such an emphasis on appearance would have on young females and others who may strive for perfect looks. Lou Gorfain, executive producer of *Extreme Makeover,* countered that his show gave people a new lease on life. "It's therapeutic. The lesson is empowerment," he said. "People have the power to change their appearance." The debate on altering one's life by changing one's outward appearance continues, though by the late 2000s, the emphasis on safer means does seem to be taking hold. ABC cancelled *Extreme Makeover* in May 2007.[12]

Botox: The Fountain of Youth?

Created in 1989 and approved by the FDA in 2002, Botox is a liquid made from purified botulism toxin that is injected into facial wrinkles. The toxin paralyzes the muscles, thus "smoothing out" wrinkles, and lasts approximately 120 days. After that, additional injections on a regular basis are necessary to keep up the illusion of wrinkle-free skin.

Even before FDA approval, doctors used Botox in cosmetic procedures. The American Society of Plastic Surgeons estimated that 800,000 injections took place in 2000, while the FDA believes that the number doubled by the next year. By 2004, about three million Botox procedures took place in the United States.[13] Two years later, Botox became the most popular cosmetic drug in the world.

Despite the number of references to Botox in popular culture, the typical customer is a man or woman from 50 to 65 years old, though the trend is picking up in younger age groups. The availability of the drug helps its popularity. Botox can be injected by nurse practitioners at a doctor's office, clinic, or spa.

Some cities are even holding Botox parties, such as the one held in Boise, Idaho. In late 2007, a spa threw the party at a local nightclub, handing out cosmetic products and the chance to buy the drug for use when visiting the facility, though no one underwent an actual injection at the bash. Boise cosmetic surgeon Michael R. Bailey sees the use of Botox spreading like wildfire. "Are we seeing more of the common American person having cosmetic surgery? Yes, I've done people who drive vans for a living, are housekeepers," he said. "Cosmetic surgery improves your quality of life. Nothing more, nothing less. It's not going to get anyone a new girlfriend or boyfriend. But it makes people feel better about themselves."[14]

Across the country in Manhattan, Smoothmed opened in early 2007, a Botox-on-the-go store offering injections to busy New Yorkers. Drs. Andrew I. Elkwood and Michael I. Rose teamed to launch the store near Bloomingdale's. Despite concerns from critics that offering Botox in the model of a convenience store or Starbucks is potentially dangerous, Rose and Elkwood see competitive pricing and location as a means to broaden the market. "Botox is the female yuppie heroin," Rose said. "It's like electricity: If you want to keep it on, you have to keep paying." The pair developed a computerized system for mapping each patient's face, thus ensuring that the exact procedure is duplicated on subsequent trips.[15]

Food

of the 2000s

Food plays an interesting and important role in popular culture. In the new millennium, the meaning of food shifts depending on one's perspective. Sometimes, food revolves around the chef's preparations, and at other times, it is about what foods to eat and which to avoid. The focus also turns to the presentation of food, whether it is handed through a car window or served on fancy, hand-painted dinnerware at a five-star restaurant. Sometimes, we are highly critical of food and food producers and marketers, and other times, we pay homage to the artistry and usefulness of food.

We give our foods many labels, which also reflect our feelings about eating and weight in general. Even our restaurant choices have specific names, from the "fast-casual" experience at Chipotle or Panera Bread to the "sit-down" chains of Chili's, Applebee's, and TGI Fridays. The hottest moniker in the late 2000s is "organic," though certainly few people could provide an exact definition. Aisles upon aisles at grocery stores across the nation feature organic foods, from non-bleached, whole wheat flour to free-trade coffee beans.

On an even more personal level, Americans are counting carbohydrates, good fats, bad fats, sugars, sugar substitutes, and a myriad of other factors that may or may not explain the healthiness of a particular food. We know to look at the list of ingredients and at the nutritional information chart, but the scientific terminology used to mask good things from bad makes it a guessing game at best.

One of the central roles of food in the 2000s is actually about eliminating bad foods and replacing them with healthier choices. The decade could be labeled "the diet decade," actually eclipsing the fitness-crazed 1980s as the real "me" era. Our popular culture reflects this dieting fascination. One needs to look no further than Jared the Subway Diet Guy to the multitude of low-carbohydrate diet books that litter the *New York Times* best seller list. The NBC series *Biggest Loser* pits average people in a race to lose weight, coached by a variety of fitness experts and dieticians. VH1 is preparing for its sixth season of *Celebrity Fit Club,* which follows the weight loss regiments of eight celebrities divided into two teams. Past participants include film actor Gary Busey, rapper BoneCrusher, 1980s pop singer Tiffany, and television actress Maureen McCormick. The 2008 version of Celebrity Fit Club will feature alumni of previous seasons and some newcomers, including *Saved by the Bell* actor Dustin Diamond, *Joanie Loves Chachi* and *Happy Days* actress Erin Moran, and *Family Ties* actress Tina Yothers.

The good health/healthy eating kick grabs the public's attention, but whether or not these fads

actually help people get healthier is up for debate. One thing is for certain, though: in the late 2000s, more food producers, manufacturers, and restaurants are adopting healthier menu options. The leading indicator of the magnitude of this change is McDonalds, which began offering health conscious options after surviving the scathing documentary *Super Size Me,* in which an otherwise healthy man eats only from McDonald's menu for 30 days and winds up several steps closer to death's doorstep. On another front in the food wars, entire cities and states outlawed trans fat in restaurants.

Certainly, mass media performs a critical role in the nation's fixation on food. Cooking segments are a staple on local news shows and the big national, morning programs, such as NBC's *Today Show.* Food aficionados and chefs are a staple on cable television. Some celebrity cooks, such as Rachael Ray, transformed from minor figures in the celebrity world to megastars based on cooking-themed programs. They then build their early successes into media empires that span across multiple channels, all based on using themselves and their image as a brand name. The modern model for this kind of meteoric rise is Martha Stewart, who overcame many obstacles, including her much-publicized jail sentence for insider trading, to regain her position atop the heap of lifestyle mavens.

Newspapers devote a great deal of space to health issues, more or less covering every report and study that presents some bit of new information about our wellbeing. Without a doubt, the Internet's role in pushing health news, misinformation, gossip, and facts keeps the subject in front of interested viewers. Reality television provides consumers with even more food-related programming. The perfect example of this is the Food Network, owned and operated by E. W. Scripps Company, which also owns HGTV, DIY Network, and Great American Country. The Food Network reaches more than 90 million American households through cable and satellite television subscription packages.

"MCSHAKES" AND "MCGURGLES"

In early 2003, a healthy (6 feet, 2 inches tall and roughly 185 pounds), young documentary filmmaker named Morgan Spurlock began a journey that revolutionized the way the world viewed fast food. Over a 30-day period, he lived (and gorged) only on McDonald's food, living by the motto that if a restaurant employee offered to "super size" his meal, he would. Using the visual power of film, Spurlock, who directed, wrote, and starred in the documentary, revealed the total devastation that McDonald's could have on an otherwise fit

RISE OF THE ORGANIC FOOD INDUSTRY

The rise of organic foods, foods that are produced with little or no chemical influence or genetic alteration, occurred in response to two of the nation's leading health issues: cancer and obesity, but it also came about in pursuit of better-tasting food. As a backlash to previous decades' popularization of convenience foods that capitalized on cheap chemicals to preserve the shelf life of foods and kill plant-eating pests in farms, 1990s food manufacturers advertised their organic products as the natural solution to America's declining health and lifestyles. Many Americans—those who could afford to do so—jumped on the trend and ditched the bygone products of yesterday with unpronounceable ingredients and moved toward purchasing only those foods that were labeled whole, fresh, organic, and natural, evidence of which could be found on the "certified organic" sticker placed on every piece of produce in specialty stores. Longtime established supermarkets did not buy into the trend until later in the decade and into the 2000s, causing a slew of specialty super markets, such as Whole Foods Market, Fresh & Easy, Sunflower Market, Fresh Market, and Trader Joe's, to pop up all over bigger U.S. cities. Now, most "regular" grocery stores include a section specially designated for organic products. The cost of organic foods is often at least 50 percent higher than non-organic foods, leaving those with lighter pocket books, less access to specialty stores, or less interest to depend on more chemically enhanced foods. (Unless they grow their own organic fruits and vegetables, of course.)

person. The film naturally leads to questions regarding the restaurant chain's understanding of the health consequences of its menu, as well as the impact of placing profits above nutrition.

Super Size Me (tagline: "A Film of Epic Proportions") catalogs Spurlock's physical and mental transformation, which left him 24.5 pounds heavier and decidedly less healthy. He suffered from mood swings, liver damage, and sexual dysfunction during the month devoted to eating McDonald's meals. The film features lengthy interviews with his personal physician, who tells him that if he doesn't stop the fatty diet, he might die, and his girlfriend, who elaborates on his sexual failings. Spurlock's hair even starts to fall out.[1]

The visceral images alerted the audience to the considerable health risks associated with consuming fast food. Viewers not only saw Spurlock's body mass gain, but they also watched him throw up out the window of his vehicle after eating a Double Quarter Pounder with Cheese after complaining about the "McGurgles" and "McShakes" the food produced. At one point late in the experiment, Spurlock even experienced heart palpitations.

The movie opened at Robert Redford's Sundance Film Festival to widespread acclaim in May 2004 and eventually grossed more than $28 million, making it one of the top-selling documentaries of all time. Spurlock received a nomination for an Academy Award for Best Documentary but did not win.

Journalist Richard Schickel finds the true power of *Super Size Me* in its uncovering of the hypocrisies of the fast food industry. Spurlock discusses the mass seduction of children, lured into fast food chains by happy meals and playground equipment. But the deceit runs deeper.

"Government at every level is complicit," Schickel said. "The feds ship sloppy Joe makings to grateful school-lunch programs—it's the cheapest grub available. Other schools contract for pizza and sodas from corporate purveyors while cutting back on phys ed classes. And everyone starts getting fatter younger."[2]



Morgan Spurlock changed the way people viewed the fast food industry in his documentary *Super Size Me* (2004). Roadside Attractions/Photofest. ©Avi Gerver. Courtesy of Photofest.

HEALTHY FAST FOOD

In an attempt to combat potential lawsuits and increasingly negative media coverage, fast food chains began offering healthier alternatives in the 2000s. Restaurants such as McDonalds, Burger King, and KFC started offering smaller portions and foods lower in fat and calories to overcome potential public relations nightmares and consumer backlash. Still, the effort might be too little, too late. The $105 billion fast food industry is at a crossroads, and some innovative chains are attempting to create a new kind of fast food for the future.

Since 2000, several restaurants introduced organic fast food, many with catchy, nutrition-friendly sounding names, such as Healthy Bites Grill and HeartWise Express. The Tampa-based EVOS, for example, uses hormone-free chicken and hormone and antibiotic-free free range beef and serves Airfries with a fat content 50 to 70 percent lower than deep-fried ones. O'Naturals opened its doors in 2000 and expects to have hundreds of locations nationwide by 2012.

Many industry observers simply do not think that McDonald's and its brethren can overcome their greasy fast food pasts. Gary Hirshberg, Chairman and CEO of Stonyfield Farm Yogurt, said that, within a decade, the fast-growing fast food chains in the nation will be more focused on organic and natural foods.

The Fast Food Response

McDonald's openly criticized Spurlock and *Super Size Me*. The company complained that anyone eating a 5,000-calorie-a-day diet without exercise would gain weight. The restaurant also claimed that its typical customer did not eat there as frequently as Spurlock or gorge themselves when they did. As the film's popularity increased, McDonald's did remove the "super size" option from the menu. However, the company claimed that it did so independent of the documentary.

In 2006, McDonald's introduced wrap sandwiches, featuring chicken wrapped in tortillas, and other healthier food options. Although most criticism the company receives is for its red meat, McDonald's currently sells as much chicken as beef, which is 150 percent more than in 2002.[3]

Notwithstanding *Super Size Me,* McDonald's global sales increased 6.7 percent in 2007 (3.3% in the United States) and 6.3 percent in 2006. Revenues also reached a record high of $22.8 billion. Some 56 million customers visit the fast food restaurant each day.[4] Political commentator George Will calls McDonald's new menu items part of the "Snack Wrap Era," where fast food restaurants responded to "consumer appetites for something to eat between meals and with one hand on the steering wheel."[5]

OBESITY

In the United States, some two-thirds of American adults are considered overweight, while one-third fall into the obese category. In addition to the psychological and self-image challenges being overweight and obesity magnifies, the condition carries serious health risks, such as an elevated risk of heart disease, diabetes, and even an increase in some types of cancer. Some experts have labeled the nation's obesity challenge an epidemic, particularly when one considers the public and private health costs associated with treating overweight or obese people and the overwhelming majority of people who fall into one of the categories.

Obesity and overweight are not new problems, but they are becoming more problematic. Since 1988, the number of overweight individuals has significantly increased. In 2003 to 2004, 67 percent of adults aged 20 to 74 fell into the category. The obesity rate, however, has remained relatively consistent since the early 1960s, comprising about 32 to 34 percent of the adult population (30% of men and 34% of women). These figures alone prove that the multitudes of diet fads simply have not made a real impact on the overweight and the obese.

The numbers of children who fall into these categories are more shocking and frightening. From 2003 to 2004, about 17–19 percent of children (aged 6 to 11) and adolescents (12 to 19 years old) fell into the overweight category. Most disheartening, the number of overweight children two to five years old doubled from 7 to 14 percent between 1988 and 2004.[6]

Food Portions, Cravings, and Bingeing

One of the primary culprits in America's losing battle with the bulge is the sheer size of foods today. Visit a grocery checkout lane and face the wall of "king size" candy bars, or go to Sam's Club or Costco, and every food item available is its own monster portion. All the fast food chains have some version of a larger portion menu, with Wendy's even naming its foods "Biggie." Lisa Young, a New York University nutrition researcher, dubs this phenomenon "portion creep," and it leads to overweight and obesity. The simple fact of the matter, as Young said, is that people eat whatever is in front of them. The more a person gets his hands on, the more he will stuff it down. So what if it's the restaurant size tortilla chips accompanied by a vat of salsa. One can see the wheels turning: "We're Americans; we eat everything on our plates." This is the land of the endless all-you-can-eat buffet from coast-to-coast. "Americans have grown proportionally to increased portion sizes," Young said.[7]

Young found that portion sizes increased over time and that many food items doubled or tripled, leading to an exorbitant caloric intake. For example, in 1955, McDonald's sold one size of fries, which weighed 2.4 ounces. Today's large fry order is 6 ounces. The first Hershey's milk chocolate candy bar offered a mere 0.6 ounce in 1908 and 1 ounce in 1960. Today, a person can buy an entire

bag or individual bars ranging from 2.6 ounces to 8 ounces.

Restaurants are central to the portion challenge as well. The public assumes that the portions at Applebee's or Macaroni Grill are healthy, but restaurants actually want to please customers, and the larger sizes give people a better feeling about the establishment. Young explained that consumers should not automatically think that the restaurants are watching their portion sizes for them. The slab of meat that arrives at one's table may represent three or more properly sized portions all in one.

When it comes to drinking soda, portion is out of control. In 1973, 7-Eleven convenience stores introduced 12-ounce and 20-ounce soda drinks. By 1978, it added the 32-ounce Big Gulp, and 10 years later, the 64-ounce Double Gulp (equivalent to half a gallon). In 2003, 7-Eleven eliminated its 16-ounce size and offered soda ranging from 20 ounces to 64 ounces. The chilling fact is that all these calories add up. While people may not worry as much about what they drink (because they don't feel it the same way they do a greasy burger or fries), the calories, sugar, and caffeine in soda, energy drinks, fancy coffee drinks, and sweetened teas is costing them their health. University of North Carolina researcher Barry Popkin found that soda, milk, juice, beer, and other beverages accounted for 21 percent of the calories people consumed, up from 16 percent in the 1970s. Add that to the fact that Popkin's study took place before the real explosion of energy drinks, which often contain twice the caffeine and calories of other drinks.[8]

Both men and women are affected by food cravings and binge eating. A groundbreaking 2007 study by the McLean Psychiatric Hospital, an affiliate of Harvard, disclosed that Binge Eating Disorder (BED) is America's most common eating disorder, more common than the more publicized disorders of bulimia and anorexia combined. The study defined bingeing as uncontrolled eating at least twice a week for at least six months. The primary feeling one gets during a bingeing spree is the total loss of control over eating. Some scientists go as far as labeling the craving/bingeing issue an epidemic. According to Roger Gould, MD, a professor at the University of California, Los Angeles, some five million women (the majority are women) suffer from clinical bingeing disorder, while another 15 million experience moderate bingeing levels.[9]

Health.com conducted a survey of 1,000 women to learn more about the reasons for bingeing. Some 26 percent claimed boredom and loneliness triggered them; 20 percent felt overwhelmed; 17 percent cited depression, anger, or anxiety; 15 percent were tempted by a favorite food; and stress caused 10 percent to binge. Experts say that at the heart of bingeing is emotion, whether it is insecurity, self-doubt, or anger. "Food helps change our conscious experience. We go into a bubble. Everything feels alright, and nothing can get to us," Gould said. In many cases, however, food becomes like a medication, but it soon wears off, or another part of the emotion picks up, forcing the person to start the cycle all over again. Under these conditions, bingeing is more like a food addiction. One 36-year old Health reader said, "I eat when I'm bored or lonely as a way to 'make up' for what I'm missing. Then, I get mad at myself for doing so, which causes me to eat more, which causes me to get mad again."[10]

A challenge for binge eaters is that temptation and fulfillment are all around. America caters to those who eat too much for whatever reason by providing oversized portions, easily accessible junk foods, and no real rationale for not living a sedentary lifestyle. Even people who are actively dieting find reasons to binge. Experts say that this deprivation can actually lead to cravings and binge episodes that sabotage the diet altogether. When Health.com asked its readers what foods they craved during a binge, 36 percent said anything they could get their hands on; 24 percent said sweets; 11 percent said chips; and 9 percent said fast food and chocolate.[11]

DIET AMERICA: HIGH PROTEIN, LOW CARBS, LITTLE COMMITMENT

Americans are addicted the idea of dieting, but they are fat and getting bigger each year. Best seller lists overflow with diet or psychological/self image-related books that focus on getting people to lose weight, but few actually work. Even if a person experiences some short-term weight loss,

none of the diet fads really help keep the weight off for the long-term. Until a pill is invented that magically turns obese people into waifs and flab into washboard abs, dieting will remain a central focus in the home and for American popular culture.

The American Institute for Cancer Research reports that about 25 percent of men and 40 percent of women are actively dieting. Jana Klauer, MD, a weight-reduction specialist in New York City, acknowledges that some diets are necessary and potentially life-saving. Diets help in this regard. "There's a psychological benefit as well as a physical one to losing weight in the early stages. People are encouraged because they see improvements in their appearances, or because they feel lighter and maybe are more comfortable exercising," she said. The downside is that dieting is just the first step. She explained, "To keep the weight off, you need a healthy eating style."[12]

The perennial favorite diets of most Americans are both low-carb lifestyles: Atkins and the South Beach Diet. Dr. Robert Atkins introduced his high-protein, low-carb diet in 1972. The reintroduction of his findings, *Dr. Atkins' New Diet Revolution,* topped the best seller lists and set off a nationwide dieting craze. Observers estimate that at one point, about 17 percent of the total American population followed Atkins's weight loss prescription. The controversial plan includes eliminating vegetables and fruit from one's diet and replacing them with high-protein substitutes.[13] Arthur Agatston, MD, introduced the South Beach Diet, another low-carbohydrate plan, but one that allows for certain fruits and vegetables, sustained over three phases. The South Beach Diet mainly advises that dieters eliminate processed carbs, saturated fats, hydrogenated oils, and trans fats.[14]

The fat epidemic stretches far and wide, cutting across age groups, demographics, and ethnicity. About the only dieting "facts" that experts agree on is that obesity and overweight is costing the nation dearly and the culprit is "bad" fats, such as trans fats that make up the bulk of processed foods. In 2002, after issuing a report that estimated that obesity costs the United States some $117 billion annually and is linked to 67 percent of deaths, President Bush launched a national dieting initiative with the simple message: eat right and exercise daily.[15]

The enemy in the war on fats is trans fat, sometimes called "Franken-fats" because they are laboratory created. In most foods, trans fats appear on the ingredients label as hydrogenated or partially hydrogenated oils. The sad fact is that these oils are everywhere and almost impossible to avoid. Trans fats, according to journalist Gail Gorman, "are created artificially by heating liquid vegetable oil in the presence of metal catalysts and hydrogen." Trans fats are popular among food manufacturers because they "extend the shelf life of most of the processed foods we consume … not only in almost all commercial products that contain fats but also in almost all fast foods, which are usually cooked in partially hydrogenated oil."[16]

Companies solve many challenges with trans fats, such as providing a longer shelf life, reducing transportation costs, and eliminating waste byproducts. Despite the scientific studies that show the general harm of all these trans fats in today's foods, the government has not intervened in a dramatic way to eliminate them. Some observers would blame this on the food industry lobbyists and lawyers who help elect politicians with large campaign contributions.

DRINK NATION

At any point prior to the mid-1990s, coffee served as a setting, usually as a way to ask someone out on an informal date ("Would you like to get a cup of coffee?"). Since then, however, coffee has taken center stage, a point of cultural reference, in addition to its brazen, more aggressive tone ("Let's go get coffee"). Consumer goods take on this kind of iconic quality whenever they become a kind of cultural wallpaper—such a part of everyday life that they are no longer really discernable unless one takes a deep look. Over the last couple decades, coffee has assumed this role in American society. No one blinks twice at coffee or the daily trips to refill or fill up, whether it is at a local diner, national chain, convenience store, or communal workplace pot.

Interestingly, coffee is just the chief beverage in America's national obsession with drinks. Even humble water grew in pop culture prestige

as bottled water became a must-have accessory, first for movie stars and celebrities, before moving on to soccer moms and just about everyone else. In the ongoing soft drink wars, Coke and Pepsi continue to battle, but their lineups have added virtually every other kind of drink one can imagine, hedging that if one brand falters, then another will rise up to take its place. On college campuses, a plethora of high caffeine, additive-laden energy drinks, such as Red Bull and Vault, are highly popular, despite health warnings about excessive caffeine intake.

Coffee Culture

Only in America could a consumer's decision regarding where to buy a cup of coffee be turned into a discussion of political beliefs, yet that distinction serves as a marker in the new millennium. According to writer Conor Clarke, a 2005 poll found that those who leaned left were "twice as likely to go to the world music-playing, fair trade-embracing, Seattle-based coffee chain [Starbucks] as they were to patronize Dunkin' Donuts—a well-known peddler of red-state values."[17] For example, Clarke points to Fox political television show host Bill O'Reilly, who told *Newsweek* that he will not go in a Starbucks, preferring to purchase his cup of Joe in mom-and-pop coffee shops.

Regardless of politics, the argument that one's choice for a caffeine fix matters in defining identity indicates the importance people place on coffee in our collective consciousness. The simple fact is that coffee matters in America, not only what kind a person prefers, but where it is bought and how the bean is grown and imported. Coffee and coffeehouses play a central role in mass media, from the multi-Emmy winning show *Frasier* (1993–2004) set in the coffee-rich confines of Seattle to Bob Dylan selling CDs on the Starbucks music label, which the chain decided to dump in early 2008.

Starbucks is the coffeehouse most people imagine when they think about coffee. However, the coffee industry itself is so large that many others have entered into the high-end market, from McDonald's (dubbed McCafés) to Dunkin' Donuts. Examining the shelves of the local grocery store, one finds that Folgers, Maxwell House, and the in-store labels have upgraded the flavors they offer, offering more bold and exotic blends.

The combination of increased competition and the idea that the company moved too far away from its core business of selling coffee has hurt Starbucks at the end of the decade. In 2007, company stock dropped 42.8 percent and another 14.7 percent through the beginning of 2008. The dramatic fall, both financially and in reputation, forced founder Howard Schultz to return to Starbucks as CEO. Since returning to the job he left eight years ago, Schultz is focusing on returning the company to its roots: selling coffee that tastes good and being more customer-friendly. The challenge is getting consumers interested in high-priced coffee when they face a disastrous economy, including massive real estate foreclosures and potential job losses. Suddenly, a $4 cup of coffee seems a bit excessive, no matter how fancy the creation.

Schultz said, "I think when you get large and very successful, you have to balance creativity and entrepreneurship with process and strategy. We got a little out of balance, and we weren't as creative and entrepreneurial as we were when we were smaller. And what I'm trying to do is infuse the company with the kind of spirit and innovation [we had] when we were younger."[18] Company research, according to Schultz, reveals that people are simply not going to Starbucks (or a competitor) as frequently as they did prior to the economic turmoil the nation faces. To counter this challenge, Schultz said, Starbucks must show consumers that it is an "affordable luxury" through "surprise and delight."[19] Whether the public buys into this philosophy will define how the corporation fares into the next decade.

Liquid Energy

PepsiCo made headlines when it purchased the rights for its Amp energy drink to become one of the main sponsors of Dale Earnhardt Jr. Nascar's most popular driver, Earnhardt made a high-profile move to a new team owned by Rick Hendricks for the 2008 season and switched to number 88. Amp, the fifth-leading drink in the $10 billion energy drink market, launched a national marketing

campaign starring the driver, which included a slew of new products and collector items. Amp and the National Guard (the other co-sponsor) were rumored to have spent $95 million a year to sign Earnhardt. Included in the deal were the naming rights for the fall race (the Amp Energy 500) at Talladega, a legendary track where Earnhardt has won multiple times.[20]

When initially introduced to the marketplace, energy drinks were targeted at college students and teens. There were some concerns about the consequences of high caffeine intake, but that seems to have leveled off over time. As the industry matures and become more competitive, efforts are underway to link them to a much-needed power boost for busy people. The larger impact is that the formerly-fringe status of these drinks has basically disappeared, while at the same time, reordered the carbonated-beverage industry. "In convenience stores, the only people going to the fountain and pulling a Coke are old people," said Mark Hall, creator of Monster Energy and president of Hansen Beverage Co. "If we've been able to do anything, it's to make soft drinks cool for young people."[21]

Monster leads the energy drink market with a 27 percent market share, while Red Bull stands second, Rock Star is third, and Full Throttle (owned by Coca-Cola) is fourth.[22] Created by Hall, Monster launched in spite of Red Bull's then-dominant lead in the market. The upstart overtook the giant through successful marketing and branding tactics, including the name of the product itself, placing it in 16-ounce cans, versus Red Bull's 8.3 ounces, and including the aggressive claw marks on the label. Next, going after the young male demographic, Hall sponsored extreme athletes from the X Games, mostly in motorized sports. A $25,000 initial investment has grown into a $15 million athlete payroll.[23]

FOOD HIGHLIGHTS OF THE 2000S

2000 Krispy Kreme Doughnuts holds an initial public offering of its stock.

2002 To celebrate the 100th anniversary of its ever-popular animal crackers, Nabisco uses online and mail-in consumer voting to select a new animal to add to boxes of Barnum's Animals. The koala handily beats out the penguin (48% to 33%), with the cobra making a dismal showing (only 9%).

2003 Mini Melts Inc. uses liquid nitrogen to flash freeze ice cream and sells it in the form of small, popcorn-like globules.

2003 In Washington, D.C., menus in several congressional cafeterias change "French fries" to "freedom fries" after France refuses to support the war in Iraq. Makers of French's Mustard promptly issue a press release affirming their patriotism and noting that their brand is based on a family name.

2005 Kraft Foods rolls out an array of South Beach Diet-branded products tied in to the bestselling South Beach Diet created by Miami cardiologist Arthur Agatston.

2005 Produce distributors begin employing a laser tattooing process to label their fruits and vegetables. Industry workers and consumers alike hope the technology may soon do away with tiny adhesive labels. After a particularly grueling session of peeling stickers, 76-year-old Jean Lemeaux of Clarksville, Texas, complained, "I got up the next morning and looked in the mirror, and there were two of them up in my hair," (*New York Times,* July 19, 2005).

2007 In *The Sushi Economy,* Sasha Issenberg examines the sushi craze that began in America in the early 1970s and predicts that China will be the cuisine's next big frontier.

2008 The city of Needles, California, continues a $10 million restoration of El Garces, part of the Fred Harvey chain of hotel restaurants that extended along the Santa Fe Railroad to provide a "civilized" dining experience to rail passengers. El Garces was considered the "crown jewel" of the entire Harvey House chain, and in addition to excellent food, boasted linen tablecloths, distinctive china, and fresh flowers daily.

FAST-CASUAL DINING

With budgets tightening in the early years of the new millennium, busy Americans turned away from traditional fast food items (burger, fries, and a shake) to embrace a new way of combining quickness with value: fast-casual chains. In the late 2000s, with budgets once again shrinking in a post-*Super Size Me* world, restaurants such as Panera Bread, Chipotle Mexican Grill, and Quiznos Sub Sandwich Shop are once again offering an alternative to McDonald's, Wendy's, and Burger King. Less money to spend on dining excursions also means trouble for sit-down restaurants, such as Chili's, Applebee's, and Outback Steakhouse. The fast-casual establishments capitalized on a family-friendly environment (many offering "kids eat free" nights), health consciousness, and price to gain an even stronger foothold in an ever-tightening economy.

According to Darren Tristano, executive vice president of Technomic Information Services, a food industry consulting firm, the immediate drop is seen at major chain restaurants, which face slowing sales growth, down to 4.2 percent in 2007, after hitting 6 percent a year earlier. As a result, chains across the industry are rethinking their menus and attempting to drive home the value at a low cost message. One option is for restaurants to introduce dollar and/or value menus. "This is something all chains should consider if they want to stay competitive. Price is king right now," Tristano said.[24]

Another aspect of the fast-casual experience that customers demand is dubbed "food with integrity," by Janelle Barlow, coauthor of *Branded Customer Service*. According to Barlow, "food with integrity speaks to the trust that a customer places in the consistency of the food" and offers consumers a snack or meal that looks, tastes, smells, feels, and delivers the same experience again and again. Mimicking Bill Clinton's "It's the economy, stupid" phrase, Barlow claims, "It's the food, stupid." She explained, "When most urban dwellers have hundreds of fast-casual restaurants within a five-mile radius of them, standing out from the crowd is the first imperative not only for success, but for survival."[25]

Named the top fast-casual dining establishment in 2007 by *Fast Casual* magazine, Denver-based Chipotle exemplifies the qualities that consumers want from this kind of dining service: better ingredients and affordable food. Since opening in 1993, Chipotle now operates 670 stores all owned and operated by its corporation, unlike the franchise-based management of most fast food chains. Chief executive officer Steve Ells credits the company's growth and success to focusing on high quality food, healthful ingredients, and consistent, same-store growth, including technology and equipment upgrades.[26]

In 2007, for example, Chipotle stopped serving cheese linked to cows treated with recombinant bovine growth hormone (rBGH) and became the top U.S. restaurant seller of naturally raised meats. In addition, the company opened 88 new locations, while recording a 10.9 percent same-store sales increase through third quarter 2007. "We believe that these results are evidence that people appreciate our continued focus on improving the customer experience in our restaurants," Ells said. "We believe we are the only restaurant committed to making better tasting, socially responsible gourmet food available and affordable so that everybody can eat better…this sets us apart."[27]

IS OUR FOOD SAFE?

In February 2008, the USDA initiated the largest meat recall in its history, demanding that some 143 million pounds of beef from Chino, California, meatpacking company Hallmark Meat Packing and distributor Westland Meat be pulled from the shelves. The total represented two years' worth of production.

Ironically, the governmental agency demanded that the meat be recalled even though officials believed that the product posed little threat to consumers and had been eaten by countless people. The USDA deemed the move necessary after a videotape of employees at Hallmark revealed that they allowed sick and improperly inspected animals to be slaughtered.[28]

Like in a good corporate espionage movie, an operative for the Humane Society of America posed as a slaughterhouse worker to shoot the video, which showed sick cows (referred to as "Downer Cows") being prodded with electric shocks and lifted via forklift to be taken off to

slaughter. He then turned the tape over to the Humane Society in fall 2007.

The danger with meat recalls is that some of the product may have already made its way into people's bellies by the time the action is taken. For example, about 37 million pounds of meat went to school lunch and public nutrition plans. Ron Vogel, a USDA official, explained, "Almost all of this product is likely to have been consumed."[29] Subsequently, 150 school districts and a couple of fast-food restaurant chains banned Westland beef from their kitchens.

The consequences of tainted food may seem remote, but historically, many outbreaks have led to illness and death. In September 2007, the USDA recalled 21.7 million pounds of Topps Meat ground beef. However, that occurred after about 30 people got sick from *E. Coli* bacteria in the meat. Another threat on the minds of consumers is mad cow disease (bovine spongiform encephalopathy, BSE), which can lead to fatalities.

FOOD AFICIONADOS

The explosion of cable television channels devoted to cooking and food intensified the already growing cooking addiction taking place on local, regional, and national daytime talk shows for decades. Julia Child may have brought cooking to the masses, but today's crop of celebrity chefs expands the notion to an entirely new plane. Much of this expansion is based on the advent of technology, such as new cable channels, the Internet, and greater multimedia opportunities.

In today's media-saturated world, a celebrity chef such as Emeril Lagasse not only has his own shows on the Food Network, but has coined catchphrases ("BAM!" and "kick it up a notch") that extend him as a brand name. He appears as himself in Crest toothpaste commercials, so excited by the product's minty-fresh flavor that he exclaims, "BAM!" Lagasse also has a string of 11 Emeril restaurants, does other celebrity appearances, and he has a slew of books, cookware products, and food products.

In early 2008, Martha Stewart Living Omnimedia purchased much of the Lagasse empire for $45 million in cash and $5 million in stock. The merger eliminates one of Stewart's primary competitors, acquiring the rights to Lagasse's TV shows, Web site, licensed products, and cookbooks. In return, Lagasse benefits from Stewart's deep ties to Kmart, Costco, and Macy's. Stewart explained, "His tastes are very different from mine, as is his food, and I think that's good. Being complementary and different is better than being competitive."[30]

Rachael Ray

Rachael Ray's rise from the grocery store cooking classes to international celebrity is the stuff of legend and a virtual embodiment of the American Dream. She was raised in upstate New York in a family with a vast cooking experience, exposing her to the industry in a variety of food service roles. After moving to New York City, she launched a successful career as a gourmet food manager and buyer. Returning to upstate New York, Ray taught cooking classes, hoping that they would lead to increased sales at the gourmet market where she worked as chef. The popularity of the classes led to weekly appearances on a CBS station in the Albany, New York, area. The success of the segments featuring 30-minute meals and a subsequent cookbook launched her next endeavor: the Food Network.[31]

Ray hosted several shows on the Food Network, including her signature programs: *30 Minute Meals* and *$40 A Day*. With the success of her cooking show, which led to a 2005 Daytime Emmy Award for Outstanding Service Show and a nomination for Outstanding Service Show Host, she launched a series of cookbooks that filled the best seller lists, all built around the 30-minute theme.[32]

One of Ray's greatest successes occurred when she launched the magazine *Every Day with Rachael Ray* in October 2005. In short order, the magazine sold out a total print run in excess of 1 million copies, including 20,000 at Barnes & Noble, which set a record for the chain. Ray possesses what one publishing insider calls "consumer connectivity," and it is this ability to understand what people want from her that drives the cooking guru's accomplishments. Explaining her vision of the magazine, Ray said, "The title, to me, means getting more out of every day. Even though you

have to work, even though we're all busy, even though we don't have a ton of time, we're not sacrificing the time we do have. That time we're going to have fun with, we're going to make these wonderful meals; we're going to take fun little weekend jaunts."[33]

On September 18, 2006, Ray debuted an hour-long syndicated show *Rachael Ray,* produced by CBS and Oprah Winfrey's Harpo Productions. Combining elements of a talk show with her typical everyday cook mentality, the show garnered seven Daytime Emmy nominations in its first year on the air.

The Internet is credited with helping many celebrities gain an audience, but the medium also provides an avenue for criticism that did not exist prior to the mid-1990s. Like Martha Stewart before her, Ray is roundly denounced—and in some cases, even hated—by a legion of critics who have taken to the Web with sites such as the "I Hate Rachael Ray" blog and the "Rachael Ray Sucks Community," which garnered mentions in *The New York Times, USA Today, The Boston Globe,* and *Slate.* Even a 2005 *Newsweek* article about her couldn't help but stir up the anti-Rachael soup.

Many critics find fault with Ray's general overexposed celebrity, pitching everything from Ritz crackers to GE appliances. She even posed for centerfold-like pinups for the notorious FHM magazine, much criticized for its objectification of women. Ray's reply was, "I think it is kinda cool for someone who is goofy, and a cook, just a normal person, to be thought of in that way."[34]

Ray also gets denounced for adopting what is called an obviously fake "aw shucks" persona to explain her rise from local cooking workshop leader to international celebrity. Journalist Florence King wrote that Ray's "Recent consecration by Pope Oprah has resulted in so much overnight world-class fame that her face is on everything but the cover of *Tool & Die Quarterly.* TV is now all Rachael, all the time. There's her cooking show, her eating show where she samples restaurants, her own talk show, guest appearances on other people's talk shows, books, book tours, and so many tie-ins and endorsements that she's all over the commercials too." She describes the anti-Ray foes on the Internet as "ready to do battle against



Perky food show host turned domestic diva Rachael Ray, host of *30 Minute Meals* (2002). Food Network/Photofest. ©Food Network. Courtesy of Photofest.



Martha Stewart, popular culture's reigning domestic doyen. NBC/Photofest. ©NBC. Courtesy of Photofest.

the cult of mediocre celebrity."[35] The tie to Oprah Winfrey launched Ray's solo career in ways that accentuated what she achieved on the Food Network, but the push to the next level of stardom required Oprah's anointed touch.

Martha Stewart

Already in her late sixties, Martha Stewart shows few signs of slowing down. By the dawn of the new millennium, she already had numerous bestselling books, a television show, and many endorsement and design deals, in addition to a publicly-traded company that bore her name. At the time, it truly seemed like Martha's World. In 2004, however, Stewart's world took a nasty turn when she was convicted of insider trading and sentenced to a five-month jail term and five months of home confinement, what one journalist called "a spectacular public disgrace."[36]

Her status as a public figure brought out pundits for and against her. Some argued that the Securities and Exchange Commission made Stewart a scapegoat for the corporate wrongdoing going on at the time. Others believed she should pay the price for her criminal activity, just like anyone else who would have done the same. Regardless of one's stand on Stewart's conviction and imprisonment, almost nobody thought she would be able to regain her status upon release. For her part, Stewart had no doubts, announcing from the courthouse steps after being sentenced, "I will be back."[37]

After being released from the federal prison in West Virginia and serving her house arrest at her 153-acre home in Bedford, New York, Stewart immediately plotted her comeback. Her return to Martha Stewart Living Omnimedia helped the stock price level off after years of falling in her absence. Stewart's main priority, though, was regaining her place on television. She launched a new daily program, *The Martha Stewart Show,* which earned five Emmy nominations in its first year on the air, and hosted a Martha version of Donald Trump's *The Apprentice* on NBC. The show failed to capture the public's imagination, but it did place Stewart back in the limelight. Next, she worked to jumpstart *Martha Stewart Living* magazine and began a radio channel on Sirius satellite radio.[38]

In a career that spans decades and includes everything from designing homes to pillow sets and bath towels, Stewart is not cowering from the competition from the likes of Ray and others grasping for her throne. In 2006, she summed up Ray's daily talk show for *Business Week,* stating, "Her daily show is much less appealing than her Food Network show. It's very disjointed and loud, and I don't learn anything." This was made at a time when Ray's show averaged 2.3 million viewers, or about 46 percent more than Stewart's, according to Nielsen Media Research.[39]

By all accounts, Stewart has been on a tear since leaving prison. Her renewed vigor cuts across media platforms to include a Martha version of the Internet, several magazines, and many merchandising projects. Among the many endorsement deals are a line of 1,400 branded plates, linens, and home accessories for Macy's; a 350-color paint line at Lowe's; and the continued association with Kmart. Although the retailer is struggling, Stewart is guaranteed $60 million in the deal, regardless of the amount of product she pushes.[40]

Music

of the 2000s

From Thomas Edison's invention of the wax cylinder phonograph in 1877 to the latest Web-based innovations, technology is at the heart of the music industry. Technological innovation and change go so completely hand-in-hand that one can chart the advance over time from records and phonographs, to MP3s. Each subsequent invention builds on its predecessor and revolutionizes music performance and consumer response. The intersection of performance (the music itself) and consumer response (people listening and/or purchasing) defines the music business.

In the new millennium, divergent forces compete with each album, new video, or ring tone: media convergence and the white noise produced in a culture that churns nonstop. The idea behind convergence is that the lines between media channels no longer exist. For instance, where does viral marketing for a new band begin and how does that intersect with traditional forms of advertising?

In the music business, convergence provides greater opportunities for artists and management to compete in the battle for consumers across all mediums. However, the sheer volume of messages produced in a converged society also leads to information overload, or a seemingly endless cloud of marketing, advertising, sales, and informational touch points demanding something from consumers—their attention, money, memory, or actions. Therefore, every artist in a converged culture operates in a setting that enables constant interaction with consumers across numerous media outlets, but the idea that everyone is always adding to the system creates a crisis situation in which people cannot decipher or distinguish the messages.

The search for a footing in the slippery, converged world really defines what popular culture is all about in the new millennium. For most artists and the corporate marketing efforts supporting them, convergence leads to a blockbuster mentality, or an all-out program designed to create huge release day sales that will then lead to greater exposure, thus greasing the marketing gears that keep the pop culture industry churning.

In 2006, Epic Records built such a program around "A Public Affair," the new single from pop singer and actress Jessica Simpson, who is a virtual case study on how to build a celebrity in the new millennium. Already a well-known singer, Simpson developed into a megastar based on her highly-publicized MTV reality television show with then-husband Nick Lachey, which portrayed her as less-than-intelligent, but somewhat normal. She rode that momentum into starring roles in several films, including the remake of

The Dukes of Hazzard, playing Daisy Duke. Epic produced two videos for the song, one a big budget typical video, while the second was pieced together from fan clips. The fan angle also led Epic to provide customizable versions of the song on Yahoo! Music, which it then followed with a poster that provided a text message for people to sample the song. Epic marketing executive Lee Stimmel explained the need for such a comprehensive program, saying, "It's hard to break a record these days—it takes a lot more avenues of exposure."[1]

Pulling the fans into the creative process and then giving them a chance to interact with their submissions plays on the general narcissism of Americans today. With outlets like YouTube, people know that they can create their own version of their favorite songs, so record companies and artists attempt to bring them into the process earlier through such contests.

A constant yearning for fame—almost a feeling of being entitled to it—gripped the nation in this decade. As a result, young people would do just about anything to have their moments in the public eye. For a tiny minority, the payoff takes place, but the vast majority either never get their bit of fame, or they wash up on the wreckage that is a natural byproduct of the reality industry. For example, *American Idol* has ruled the television airwaves for most of the decade, despite being little more than a televised talent show. The payoff is that a "normal" person will survive the process and achieve the American dream. However, even the runaway success of the series cannot overshadow the impact of technology on two primary fronts: the widespread theft of digital music and Apple's iPod.

Another curious phenomenon that points to the intersection of music and technology is the out-of-this-world success of interactive rock video games, such as Guitar Hero and Rock Band. Since being released in 2005, Guitar Hero I and II grossed more than $360 million. The video games, perhaps fueled by the idea that the player gets to morph into a celebrity for a couple of minutes, sparked a renewed interest in classic rock by a younger generation that does not instinctively know The Sex Pistols, ZZ Top, or the Ramones.[2]

APPLE'S IPOD

A Google search for "iPod" in early 2008 returned 319 million hits. While a search engine is hardly a scientific indicator, the figure certainly reveals how deeply the iPod rests in our national psyche. Not only has the term "iPod" become virtually synonymous with "digital music player," but the device has also led to an entire industry of other products to support it, from Bose headphones to combination speaker/base systems to turn an iPod into a complete home entertainment unit. The iPod also influenced styles of dress, necessitating that designers and manufacturers come up with clothes that enable one to easily carry it.

In 2006, the iPod celebrated its fifth anniversary, and in many regards, the rebirth of Apple as one of the world's great consumer goods companies. Steve Levy, author of a book about the device, *The Perfect Thing,* practically gushed, "The iPod nano was so beautiful that it seemed to have dropped down from some vastly advanced alien civilization. It had the breathtaking compactness of a lustrous Oriental artifact." In addition to changing the way people interact with their personal music library, the iPod also presented music lovers a way to download music legally, a far cry from the days of Napster.[3]

On October 23, 2001, Apple chief executive Steve Jobs launched the first iPod, saying "With iPod, listening to music will never be the same again." Even Jobs, however, could not have realized the impact the music player would have on Apple. When he made the announcement, shares sold at around $9 per share. In April 2008, the stock stands at $147 a share, an astronomical increase in such a short time frame. Furthermore, though Microsoft and SanDisk launched their own MP3 players to compete, Apple dominates with more than 70 percent of the market.[4]

DOWNLOADING MUSIC: FREE AND OTHERWISE

The rise of the Web in the mid- to late 1990s led to the popularity of the MP3, a new kind of compressed music file condensed enough that it could be swapped online. Although compressing

the file reduced the sound quality, manageability trumped aesthetics. For the most part, only true aficionados could tell the difference between an MP3 file and an audio CD track. Depending on a person's computer modem speed, an MP3 could be downloaded in minutes or as quickly as a couple seconds.

The ability to trade music over the Internet had a mushrooming effect culturally. First, users essentially violated copyright rules when swapping music online. Then, as is typical of a capitalist system, innovation runs with money-making potential. A number of file-sharing companies formed, the most infamous being Shawn Fanning's Napster, which became synonymous with free downloading. Soon, however, consumers seemed to believe that the ease of downloading music from Internet sites somehow made the music free.

In the early days of file-sharing, most users stored the music on their computer hard drives, either using their computers as a sound system or burning the files onto CDs to play on the go. Later, with the rise of portable MP3 players, most notably the iPod, people uploaded the files to the device directly.

Despite rampant file-sharing and the music industry's weak initial reaction, the courts eventually caught up with Napster. In 2001, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled against the company, declaring free music swapping illegal and in violation of music copyrights. Although the music industry shut down Napster as an illegal file-sharing site, others such as KaZaA and LimeWire used a new innovation, called peer-to-peer (P2P) networking, to continue the practice in which a decentralized file-swapping service enables users to download from computer to computer without housing music or video at a central location, thus making the files harder to track to their original source.

CD Sales Plummet

Despite the challenges the music industry faced from online piracy, full-length CD/album sales reached 785.1 million units in 2000. Optimists chalked the figure up to listeners basically previewing songs and bands online and then purchasing CDs afterward. At that time, the music business seemed like it would weather the online theft storm, though sales dropped to 762.8 million in 2001.

Nevertheless, as the decade progressed, industry watchers realized the complete devastation music piracy was inflicting on the business. The pessimistic viewpoint—that piracy would kill album sales because consumers would not pay for what they could download for free—came to fruition.

In 2002, total album sales fell to 681.4 million, more than 100 million less than two years earlier. Three years later, the number dropped to 618.7 million. By 2007, CD sales dropped to 500.5 million units, a 36 percent plummet over the course of the decade. The 2007 figure stands as the lowest sales number since Nielsen began estimating the data in 1993.

While music piracy decimated the CD business, the ubiquitous MP3 player led to burgeoning sales of digital singles. Overall music sales, including singles and digital songs, jumped 14 percent to 1.4 billion units from 2006 to 2007. Though these numbers seem encouraging on the surface, most of the new transactions were digital tracks. In addition, the total sales year-over-year figure was less than the previous year, down from 19 percent. Even digital track sales fell from a 65 percent increase in 2006 to 45 percent in 2007.

The primary challenge for the industry, according to Kenneth Kraus, a music attorney in Nashville, is that "we've lost a whole generation of kids" who grew up illegally downloading music,



Josh Groban performs at the 2006 American Music Awards. ABC/Photofest. ©Craig Sjodin. Courtesy of Photofest.

Total Album Sales, 2000–2007

Year	Total (millions)
2000	785.1
2001	762.8
2002	681.4
2003	656.3
2004	666.7
2005	618.7
2006	588.1
2007	500.5

Source: Nielsen SoundScan

HIT SONGS OF THE 2000s

"Beautiful Day"—U2 (2000)

"Bootylicious"—Destiny's Child (2001)

"Landslide"—Dixie Chicks (2002)

"In da Club"—50 Cent (2003)

"Hey Ya!"—OutKast (2003)

"This Love"—Maroon 5 (2004)

"Hollaback Girl"—Gwen Stefani (2005)

"Hips Don't Lie"—Shakira featuring Wyclef Jean (2006)

"Umbrella"—Rihanna featuring Jay-Z (2007)

"Bleeding Love"—Leona Lewis (2008)

and CD sales may never regain the losses from earlier in the decade.[5]

Perhaps revealing the depths of the battle the music industry faces regarding online piracy, the top two selling albums in 2007 were not by hip hop, rock, or rap artists. Instead of rap impresario Kanye West or timeless rocker Bruce Springsteen at the top of the charts, adult contemporary singer Josh Groban charted the bestselling CD in 2007, reaching 3.7 million units. The second ranked album was the soundtrack to the Disney Channel TV movie *High School Musical 2,* which sold 3 million units. In contrast, Usher's album *Confessions* sold about 8 million copies in 2004.

In 2007, CD sales also fell in every major music genre, from hip hop (30%) to country (16%). Only three rock groups sold more than half a million CDs: Fall Out Boy, the White Stripes, and Paramore. With the music labels in a free fall, retailers who sell CDs turned to alternatives to get into the fan's wallet, including selling more DVDs and computer games, such as the incredibly popular Guitar Hero. Classic rock icons The Eagles circumvented the labels altogether, selling their album *Long Road Out of Eden* directly via Wal-Mart. The gamble paid off, with the band charting the third highest selling CD of the year, totaling 2.6 million copies.[6] (See "Total Album Sales, 2000–2007.")

AMERICAN IDOL

Determining whether *American Idol* is more a music or a television topic would be a difficult (if not impossible) task. The show has changed both industries. From a music viewpoint, a slew of new pop singers (ironically, not just the winners) have emerged based on the show's popularity. The biggest names include first season victor, Kelly Clarkson, second season runner-up Clay Aiken, and fourth season winner Carrie Underwood. Other performers have launched surprisingly strong careers based on their *Idol* work, while others who were considered sure-fire successes have fizzled after the show's glaring lights went dim.

The successes and failures of *Idol* contestants shows the difficulty of breaking big in the music business, even when handed the keys to one of the industry's strongest franchises. For example, Taylor Hicks did not parlay his fifth season victory into a major debut, stalling at the lower rungs of the sales list. His album sold more than 700,000 copies, a respectable figure for a new artist, but not so much after considering that the final episode drew more than 33 million viewers. However, Chris Daughtry used his experience as a springboard, selling more than 3 million records and reaching number one on *Billboard.* In fact, some of the singers who scored big on their first albums after victory, found rougher roads on their follow-up efforts.

Some *Idol* singers find themselves on independent labels after the season ends. For some, it is a risky move, but it has an upside if fans respond. Elliott Yamin, who scored a third-place finish, signed with new label Hickory Records. His debut

has sold more than 300,000 copies. "I don't have any gimmicks. I wanted to be genuine, I wanted to cross over," Yamin said. "I wanted to make a singer's type of record, and it is selling. People are responding to it."[7]

NEW ORLEANS SURVIVES KATRINA

Hurricane Katrina destroyed much of the Ninth Ward district in New Orleans. Among those losing their homes stood legendary rock and roll pioneer Fats Domino, who had lived there for nearly 50 years. The news of his rescue gave music fans something to cheer about, after initial reports indicated that he went missing as the flood ravaged the region.

All over New Orleans, similar rescues took place as other areas slipped deeper and deeper underwater. The levees holding back Lake Pontchartrain gave way, obliterating much of the city's musical heritage. Thousands of small bars, nightclubs, and music venues were devastated in the flood, what some observers believed to be New Orleans's true gift to music history. In addition, countless New Orleans musicians, from band leaders to recording session players, lost their homes and livelihoods in Katrina's wake.

As the musicians of New Orleans regrouped, others put together benefit shows to help the residents of the Big Easy. A giant show put together by MTV, VH1, and CMT, featured the Rolling Stones, Paul McCartney, and many others. BET offered its own relief effort, led by Russell Simmons, Jay-Z, Chris Rock, and Stevie Wonder. Master P, a New Orleans resident and founder of No Limit Records, discussed the ruin: "All of the houses are gone—everything people worked for and sacrificed for. Most of the stuff washed away."[8]

HOW OTHERS SEE US

Hip Hop Nation: Brazil

By the early 2000s, American hip hop culture was established as the default soundtrack and style of the world's youth—so much so that the government of Brazil set up a federal program to teach it to the nation's teens.

Launched in 2003 by Minister of Culture (and popular singer/songwriter) Gilberto Gil, the Culture Points program provided grant money to community groups that aimed to spread the hip hop ethic to Brazil's young people, giving them a voice and a vocabulary for self-expression. With Culture Points funding, artists taught teens the finer points of graffiti art, music producers supplied recording equipment and engineering expertise to nascent rappers, choreographers helped break-dancers learn new moves, and small publishers printed books of rap and street poetry.

The program made some Brazilians uncomfortable. American rappers who portrayed themselves as gangsters or as ostentations fashion hounds were scorned by music fans in Brazil, who tended to prefer political or "message" artists like Public Enemy. The idea of using taxpayer money to encourage a culture of lawlessness and bling was disturbing. Gil, however, sought to explain that, for large portions of the Brazilian population, hip hop represented "the only connection to the larger world." Inclusive programs like Culture Points would "keep young people from being diverted to criminality or consigned to social isolation." Within a few years, the government's seed money (and its tax breaks, too) had encouraged major corporations to underwrite rap concerts, break-dancing performances, and even hip hop recordings.

RAP AND HIP HOP

A 2007 survey conducted by the Pew Research Center revealed that a significant number of Americans view rap and hip hop as a bad influence on society, citing offensive language, violence, and negative portrayals of women. Some 64 percent of whites and 61 percent of blacks think hip hop is a bad influence, while 74 percent of whites and 71 percent of blacks say the same about rap music. Among Hispanics, 59 percent perceive hip hop negatively, while 48 percent view rap similarly.[9]

When examined by gender, there are significant differences. The report shows that, "Among whites, men are much more likely than women to say hip hop and rap have a bad influence on

society. Among blacks, however, the gender relationship tilts in the opposite direction—women are more likely than men to say these forms of music are having a bad influence."[10]

Blacks (45%) and Hispanics (40%) are far more likely to listen to hip hop than whites (23%). Those who listen to hip hop often or sometimes tend to be younger; some 79 percent of blacks ages 18 to 34 listen to hip hop, while 64 percent listen to rap. However, young whites also listen to hip hop (56%) and rap (47%).

In 2007, radio shock personality Don Imus served as an unlikely catalyst for public outrage against rap lyrics by calling the Rutgers women's basketball team a derogatory phrase used for prostitutes and linking the phrase to race. The media frenzy against Imus transformed into a more general demand that rap and hip hop musicians clean up their work. Bill Cosby, Oprah Winfrey, and the Reverend Al Sharpton led the demand for change. They aimed their outrage at the ostentatious displays of wealth in hip hop videos, the objectification of women in the songs and videos, and the virtual nonstop use of the word "nigger" in their lyrics.[11]

Despite hip hop's negative image among the general population, young people are avid fans and consumers. Both album and singles charts are constantly filled with the work of rap, hip hop, and other entertainers that fall somewhere in between. It would not be a great stretch to say that hip hop and rap have defined the music of the new millennium so much, in fact, that many now claim these music genres are now the mainstream.

Rap artists consistently top the charts. For example, 50 Cent (a.k.a. Curtis Jackson) scored 2005's top selling CD and had four songs in the top ten on *Billboard's* pop chart—the first artist to do so since the Beatles.

Hip hop's centrality to the nation's popular culture is seen in an exhibit held at the Smithsonian Institute in 2008, featuring portraits of hip hop stars, such as LL Cool J, as well as music. Artist Kehinde Wiley painted the four original pieces in the exhibit in 2005 as part of a VH1 tribute program. Assistant Curator of Photographs at the Smithsonian Frank

Top-selling Rap Artists, 2006

Artist	Album
1. T.I.	King
2. Lil Wayne	Tha Carter II
3. Eminem	Curtain Call: The Hits
4. Ludacris	Release Therapy
5. The Notorious B.I.G.	Duets: The Final Chapter
6. Chamillionaire	The Sound of Revenge
7. Yung Joc	New Joc City
8. Rick Ross	Port of Miami
9. Juelz Santana	What the Game's Been Missing!
10. Busta Rhymes	The Big Bang



Sean Combs (P. Diddy). Courtesy of Photofest.

Goodyear said that the mainstream has attempted to push hip hop from the center; however, "There's nothing marginal about hip hop at all. Hip hop is at the center of our culture. It's the most influential cultural phenomenon that extends beyond the music."[12]

Yet, while hip hop maintains its cultural importance, actual album sales have fallen off over the past several years. Rock music continues to lead in market share, with country music placing second. In 2006, rap and hip hop slipped to third place, accounting for 11.4 percent of the market at about 131 million.[13] Certainly, when discussing rap and hip hop, once must acknowledge that the cultural influence surpasses the actual popularity in terms of sales, indicating that hip hop is a lifestyle, perhaps to an even greater extent than it is a music genre.

Hip hop's influence crosses into other areas that show the genre's increasing cultural importance. Sean "P. Diddy" Combs, for example, is an internationally-acclaimed fashion designer, with his Sean John clothing line that extends him as a brand name. At the same time, Combs continues to produce other young stars and perform. He is also a budding actor, not only starring in the movies *Made* and *Monster's Ball,* but also appearing in the 2004 Broadway version of *A Raisin in the Sun,* which followed with a televised adaptation in 2008. Combs even owns a movie production company and restaurants. (See "Top-Selling Rap Artists, 2006.")

PERFORMERS

Timeless Rockers

Although pop music grabs a great deal of attention, particularly from those under the age of 25, rock and roll remains a lynchpin of American culture. However, at the same time, the music industry is moving toward a blockbuster mentality in which musicians are judged by their hits, with much less emphasis on their careers. In an era of downloads and ringtones, the traditional idea of a rock star may soon disappear.

The notion that the rock star is at an end really proves the greatness of timeless rockers such as the Rolling Stones, Neil Young, Aerosmith, and Bob Dylan. The subsequent generation has also proved its longevity, with artists like Madonna, Prince, U2, and Bruce Springsteen still making groundbreaking and popular records. For example, Springsteen's 2007 album *Magic* debuted at number one, a great feat for an icon who released his first album before many of today's music listeners were even born. The Rolling Stones' *A Bigger Bang* tour, which lasted from 2005 to 2007, became the biggest tour in music history, grossing $558 million. (See "Top Ten Classic Rock Ring Tones, 2006.")

Top Ten Classic Rock Ring Tones, 2006

Artist	Song
1. AC/DC	"Back in Black"
2. Lynyrd Skynyrd	"Sweet Home Alabama"
3. Ozzy Osbourne	"Crazy Train"
4. Pink Floyd	"Wish You Were Here"
5. Journey	"Don't Stop Believin'"
6. Def Leppard	"Pour Some Sugar on Me"
7. Steppenwolf	"Born to Be Wild"
8. AC/DC	"Hells Bells"
9. Van Morrison	"Brown Eyed Girl"
10. AC/DC	"Thunderstruck"

Source: T-Mobile.

Bob Dylan

Bob Dylan remains a prolific singer/songwriter and iconic figure in popular culture. In the new millennium, he has released a series of groundbreaking CDs, including "*Love and Theft*" (2001) and *Modern Times* (2006). His reissues have been just as prolific, including *The Essential Bob Dylan* (2000), *Live 1975* (2002), *Live 1964* (2004), *No Direction Home* (2005), *The Best of Bob Dylan* (2005), and *Dylan* (2007). In 2000, he won both a Golden Globe for Best Original Song and an Academy Award for Best Song for "Things Have Changed," which appeared on the *Wonder Boys* soundtrack.

In addition, as he approaches 70 years old, Dylan has taken a more public role than any time in the recent past, doing advertisements for Cadillac, Victoria's Secret, and Apple. He also hosts a highly acclaimed radio show (*Theme Time Radio Hour*) on XM Satellite Radio. Dylan published *Chronicles: Volume One* in late 2004, the first of



Bob Dylan continued to redefine himself as a performer in the new millennium. Columbia/Photofest. ©Columbia Records. Courtesy of Photofest.

a rumored three-volume memoir. Dealing with the early years the singer spent in New York City and flashes of later years, he took a nonlinear path through his career that enticed readers. The book spent many weeks atop best seller lists, both nationally and regionally, and got nominated for a National Book Award.

In 2003, the film *Masked & Anonymous,* which Dylan co-wrote (using a pseudonym) with television writer/producer Larry Charles made its way into theaters, starring Luke Wilson, John Goodman, Mickey Rourke, and a host of well-known actors. Most thrilling for "Dylanologists" was that Dylan himself starred as former rock legend Jack Fate, who is bailed out of jail to perform a one-act benefit concert in a society spiraling out of control. People either loved or hated the film. In typical Dylan fashion, the movie either confounded viewers or just presented another of the musician's unique views of a nation at the end of its rope.

Dylan served as the subject of two other projects in the new millennium. Famed director Martin Scorsese released a two-part documentary, *No Direction Home,* in 2005. The film, which featured taped interviews with the singer himself, focused on his early rise to fame through his near-fatal motorcycle accident in 1966. In 2007, the film *I'm Not There,* written and produced by Todd Haynes, used six different actors to represent various parts of Dylan's life, including Marcus Carl, a 13-year-old African American actor and Academy Award-winning actress Cate Blanchett, who won widespread praise for portraying Dylan's mid-1960s "mod" phase. The daring film earned critical acclaim and spots as one of the year's 10 best films at *The Washington Post, Premiere, The Village Voice,* and many others.

U2

Two titans of the music business came together in 2004 when U2 and Apple teamed to launch an ad campaign for the iPod. That project, which Apple dubbed the fusion of "Art, Technology & Commerce," cemented Apple's place at the center of the digital music revolution and helped keep the Irish rock band in the forefront of consumers' minds. The early iPod U2 Special Edition digital player held up to 5,000 songs and had unique features, such as a red click wheel and signatures of each member of U2 engraved on the device. For Bono, the new player took him back to the early days of listening to music with headphones via a bulky cassette player. "We want our audience to have a more intimate online relationship with the band, and Apple can help us do that," he said. "With iPod and iTunes, Apple has created a crossroads of art, commerce and technology which feels good for both musicians and fans."[14]

In addition to the stylistic innovations, the U2 iPod launched as the band prepared to release its new album *How to Dismantle an Atomic Bomb* and gave fans access to its first single, "Vertigo," through the iTunes Music Store. Even more directly, however, U2 starred in a television commercial for the player and the new song, silhouetting images of band members against a red background.[15]

The ad received heavy rotation on network and cable television, ensuring that the player and the band's new CD would be successful. The partnership between the corporation and U2 may have seemed pretty typical in terms of using celebrities

and music to sell goods and services, but the key attribute of the U2-Apple campaign served to further legitimize digital music, downloaded legally, and the iPod's centrality in the music industry. Before long, brokering deals with Apple became more important than virtually every other retail outlet.

Although it is hard to believe, given their enduring popularity, U2 formed more than 30 years ago. The four-man group (Bono, The Edge, Larry Mullen Jr., and Adam Clayton) rose to prominence in the early 1980s as a wave of European groups broke big in the United States. Back then, U2's sound was alternative rock, emerging as an underground favorite of college students. In 1987, however, U2 released *The Joshua Tree,* a landmark album that sold millions of copies, produced number one hit singles, and propelled the band into the upper echelon of rock stardom. They sold out arenas across the country, and U2 videos played continuously on MTV. In 2007, celebrating the 20-year anniversary of the groundbreaking album, the band re-released *The Joshua Tree,* digitally remastered, along with a DVD from the accompanying tour and footage of the recording process.

In 2000, U2 released *All That You Can't Leave Behind,* a monumental CD that earned the group seven Grammy Awards, including Record of the Year. The album reflected the spirit of the early decade, examining ideas about individual and collective contributions to the greater good and the enduring love of family. "It's an album about essence, about the casting away of the nonessential things and realizing what those essential things are: family, friendship," Bono explained, reflecting on the album in 2005. "I wanted to make a really raw record about the things you just cannot live without." Interestingly, Bono had a health scare during the recording of the album, a possible throat cancer that remained secret at the time. His facing mortality may help explain the lyrical content involving family/friendship bonds.[16]

U2 followed up the success early in the decade with *How to Dismantle an Atomic Bomb.* Accolades followed, and the band's fame rose on the back of the Apple partnership and Bono's increasingly public work as a peace ambassador, particularly for African nations and AIDS victims in those regions and worldwide. In 2005, the singer raised some $15 billion by working with government leaders from around the world, including George W. Bush. Bono's work in Africa and for eradicating AIDS even began rumors about him possibly winning a Nobel Peace Prize—high praise for a singer who has taken on a much higher calling by using his fame for good in an era where there is little benefit in doing so. (See "Top Concert Tours in 2007.")

Top Concert Tours in 2007

Year	Total (millions)
The Police	$133.2
Justin Timberlake	$70.6
Van Halen	$56.7
Rod Stewart	$49
Genesis	$47.6
Bon Jovi	$41.4
Dave Matthews Band	$41.1
Billy Joel	$39.1
Roger Waters	$38.3
Bruce Springsteen and the E Street Band	$38.2

Source: Pollstar.

MUSIC BUSINESS GURUS

Rick Rubin

Rarely do music producers become as famous as the stars they help shape. Rick Rubin is an exception. Sporting his distinct shaggy hair and long, unruly beard, Rubin led the comeback efforts of Johnny Cash and Neil Diamond and infused new life into groups such as the Red Hot Chili Peppers and the Dixie Chicks. As a record company executive, Rubin signed Public Enemy and the Black Crowes.[17]

Initially, Rubin gained fame as a rap and hip hop producer, working with LL Cool J and Run-DMC. In the late 1980s, he went from underground prodigy to mainstream star after shaping the Beastie Boys' debut *Licensed to Ill,* which sold 9 million copies and virtually launched rap music commercially. He parlayed that success into a series of high-profile ventures with other artists,

though it was his work with legendary country star Cash that showed the full power of his artistic vision. "I don't think I have a sound. I think it's more about capturing the most direct sound of the artist—what they're supposed to sound like," Rubin said. "I would say my production tends to be sparse, and it tends to be minimal."[18]

In 2007, Time magazine called Rubin "the most widely accomplished record producer of the past 20 years," which he accomplishes with "teddy-bear sensitivity that defies every stereotype of his profession."[19] That year, he had albums nominated for a Grammy in rock, country, and pop/soul categories. At least part of Rubin's magic with artists is getting them to realize their artistry again, as writers, vocalists, or whatever else he can pull from their souls. "I try to get them in the mindset that they're not writing music for an album," he said. "They're writing music because they're writers and that's what they do."[20]

Sports

and Leisure of the 2000s

American popular culture is tied closely to the way people play and relax, whether that is attending a Pittsburgh Steelers football game or watching the X Games on a 46-inch high definition flat screen television. Leisure time encompasses a broad sweep of sporting events and other fun activities designed to take us outside the drudgery represented by the work world and often harsh realities of everyday life. However, leisure activity also includes sitting around the house, watching a sporting event or movie on one's home theater system.

In the new millennium, social media is a new popular leisure activity. Social media Web sites give users a way to broadcast news and information about themselves that appeals to the general narcissism of young people (though a surprisingly large number of adults over the age of 30 participate as well).

From a popular culture perspective, many of the traditional sports have been eclipsed by activities scoffed at in earlier times. If measured by spectators and television ratings, NASCAR, for example, is certainly more popular than any pro sport outside football. Professional wrestling remains highly popular. More and more viewers are interested in the no-holds-barred world of ultimate fighting, surpassing boxing on most people's radars.

The rising popularity of video games, bolstered by the confluence of technology and culture, has significant consequences. Many young people would much rather spend their days playing games online or via the hottest video console in front of the television or computer screen than go outside to play or engage in a sport. Although critics bemoan video games for contributing to childhood obesity and diverting young people's attention away from schoolwork, the gaming industry is big business. Journalist Laura M. Holson reported on the growth of video games versus movies based on 2004 revenue totals: "Video games are among the fastest-growing, most profitable businesses in the entertainment world. In the United States, domestic sales of video games and consoles generated $10 billion in revenue, compared with movie ticket sales of $9.4 billion."[1]

Cultural transformations are also changing the way people look at the sports they play. Golf, for instance, is losing players at an alarming rate, considering that Tiger Woods is the dominant professional athlete in the world, both on the course and as a celebrity spokesperson. The fact is that many younger, married men just will not spend four to six hours away from their families on a weekend morning like their fathers did. As a result, even Woods's incredible fame is not enough to attract new players to the sport.

The unfortunate fact is that actual physical activity during leisure time is declining and being replaced by time spent in front of the computer or television. For example, a poll conducted in early 2008 revealed that watching television served as the favorite leisure activity for women, with some 23 percent identifying it as such, followed by 16 percent who said they enjoyed using the Internet, with 10 percent saying that they liked to play free Web-based games. Only 4 percent claimed that playing sports or exercising was their favorite leisure activity. No other individual physical activity made the top 10 list.[2]

In the 11- to 17-year-old demographic, only 10 percent claimed they enjoyed playing sports or exercising. They preferred either using the Web or talking on the phone, both at 19 percent. In contrast, women aged 55 to 64 most enjoy watching television (22%) or playing free Web-based games (18%). According to one observer, "More women than men say TV is their favorite leisure activity—almost one-third more. And TV scores as the favorite activity for women, while with men, the Internet edged it out for first place."[3]

The declining amount of physical activity (and the many health challenges that come with being overweight and obesity) may harm the nation (see Food of the 2000s), but forcing people off the couch is not realistic, even if it makes sense. One thing is certain: the Web-based technology that people love to use has a downside; Pandora's Box has been opened, and the Internet has been unleashed.

SPORTS

In the summer of 2007, with ESPN cameras rolling, 32-year-old professional skateboarder Jake Brown fell 45 feet while performing at the X Games in Los Angeles. In the famous "Big Air" competition, competitors took turns dazzling the crowd and television viewers with aerial stunts on the 62-foot-tall, 293-foot-long Mega Ramp. After the fall, spectators and other skateboarders in the games thought Brown had died, but he walked off the ramp with assistance several minutes after the disaster. He wound up in an L.A. hospital with a liver injury, two sprained wrists, a bruised lung, whiplash, and a concussion. Luckily, Brown survived his brush with death. In fact, he became more famous after the fall, particularly as the video spread via the Internet.[4]

This kind of willingness to push boundaries is a central tenet of the way people approach leisure time in the new millennium—at least among those who perform their leisure activities by getting up off the couch. What one might have assumed to be the limits are now just another goal for fitness-crazed people, whether than means doing yoga in a studio with the heat cranked up to 110 degrees or running sub six minute miles at 40 years old. However, the unfortunate truth in America is that the fitness buffs are a vocal minority among an otherwise sedentary population.

Between 1999 and 2004, a study concluded that summer leisure time in the United States increased from five hours a day to six-and-a-half hours daily. However, this extra time is being eaten up primarily by computers, television, and video games. Also taking up a great deal of leisure time is food (either eating out, cooking, or baking) and "me time" (e.g., reading, religion, or pets). Gardening, for example, jumped 60 percent from 2000 to 2004. The greatest growth over that span, however, was watching a movie at home.[5]

Since the late 1990s, some 20 million people stopped being active, many of them aging Baby Boomers. Those older than 45 who still do fitness programs, are more likely to be women than men (81% versus 66%). Baby Boomers often turn to swimming as a primary form of exercise, while people under 45 years old prefer running and jogging. About 80 percent of those considered active live in the Western United States, where a healthier lifestyle is a given more than a task.[6]

NASCAR Speeds to the Top

Everything about NASCAR is larger than life. The drivers buzz along super speedways at speeds eclipsing 200 miles per hour with just inches between them. The stands at the massive racetracks shoot up several hundred feet, seemingly straight into the air. And, just for good measure, nearly every inch of the cars, drivers, and fan areas are covered with corporate logos from the most important brand names in the world. Of course, when racing at high speeds, what seems like a



NASCAR race day at Martinsville Speedway, Martinsville, Virginia. From the film *Nascar 3D: The IMAX Experience* (2004). Warner Bros./Photofest. ©Warner Bros. Courtesy of Photofest.

simple fender bender can turn into a multi-car pile up with billowing smoke, fire, and near fistfights among drivers and fans alike. That is the beauty of NASCAR—its fans are as passionate about the sport and the teams they root for as the teams themselves.

Cost to Run a NASCAR Nextel Cup Team

Feature	Cost (millions)
Engine Program	$3.5–$4
Cars (15–18 per team)	$2–$3 ($150,000 per car)
Tires	$1
Travel	$1.5
Team Salaries	$3–$4
Driver Compensation (salary, winnings, bonuses)	$2–$12
Total	$13–$23

The overwhelming fan support pays dividends for NASCAR. In terms of dedicated spectators and corporate sponsorships, no other sports come close to professional football and stock car racing. The NFL and NASCAR have a stranglehold on American culture, grabbling headlines whether in season or out. Racecar drivers such as Dale Earnhardt Jr., Jeff Gordon, Tony Stewart, and Jimmie Johnson are celebrities, growing larger than the sport itself.

Gordon, for example, made headlines nearly as often during 2007 for the birth of his daughter as for his racing. In the past, the popular four-time champion also appeared on both the *Regis and Kelly* morning show and *Saturday Night Live*. On November 29, 2007, more than 100,000 fans watched two-time Nextel Cup champion Johnson take his car on a victory lap around Times Square in New York City. The driver then made appearances on several national morning news programs.

If there is a chink in racing's armor, it is that the sport's tremendous growth over the last decade makes it difficult to keep up the pace. Regardless of its popularity, at some point, the numbers will start to level out, particularly with every other sport in the world gunning for its audience. Television ratings, historically one of stock car racing's tried and true strengths, are leveling off, dropping 12 percent from 2005 to 2007. This figure is in line with other major professional sports, but it is still a sign of potential pitfalls ahead.

Another challenge NASCAR faces is that the cost of participation is escalating, whether it is for the top-tier teams or lesser contenders. Top organizations like Hendrick Motorsports or Joe Gibbs Racing have large facilities filled with engineers, software specialists, and technicians that cut into operating margins. Estimates show that the cost of fielding a team can eclipse $20 million. Granted, corporate money offsets team cost, but given the dicey national economy, some companies are cutting back.

Primary team sponsorship, by the likes of Office Depot, Mountain Dew, or DuPont costs about $15 to $20 million. A secondary sponsorship, which may mean a small decal on a top driver's car, is $2 to $4 million. Teams are not the only ones to gain in the relationship, though. A marketing firm estimated that each sponsor received $5.2 billion in television exposure during the 2007 season. Larry DeGaris, president of Sponsorship Research & Strategy, explained: "There's a lot of competition for sponsors right now. Teams are going to be selling against each other."[7]

NASCAR's coffers certainly are not empty, even though some aspects of the business have stagnated. Nextel signed a $700 million, 10-year deal in 2004 for the primary naming rights, and NASCAR-licensed merchandise sales topped $2 billion each year from 2004 to 2006.

A survey of stockcar fans revealed that 71 percent "almost always" or "frequently" choose products or services because of their NASCAR affiliation. So, a Jimmie Johnson fan chooses Lowe's over Home Depot, while a Jeff Gordon supporter will drink Pepsi versus Coke. In more than any other professional sport, NASCAR fans buy the products endorsed by their favorite teams.[8] (See "Cost to Run a NASCAR Nextel Team.")

Football

Football's inherent violence carries weight on and off the field. Between end zones, the game is full of career-threatening traumas, from multiple concussions to ruptured tendons and knee ligaments. After the game has ended, the violent nature of the game presents itself in the situations some players find themselves, from college stars getting into fights outside bars to professionals encountering gunplay. These kinds of stories dominate the news headlines and serve as fodder for radio and television talk shows. When a big name star is confronted with such challenges, the question becomes whether the game can survive or will fans turn their backs after reaching a breaking point.

In 2007, the NFL came under fire for the dog-fighting allegations and indictment of Michael Vick, the star quarterback of the Atlanta Falcons. A search of the three-time Pro Bowl player's property in rural Virginia uncovered more than 50 pit bulls and the graves of dogs killed in an extensive dog-fighting ring sponsored by Vick. After a lengthy trial and protests by animal rights organizations nationwide, the judge sentenced Vick to 23 months in prison. Although he could be released early, the former star also faces state dog-fighting charges that could result in additional jail time.[9]

Pundits wondered whether the NFL could withstand having one of its highest-paid and most prolific players jailed for such cruel charges. However, after the verdict and the authorities carted Vick off to jail, the media machine turned to other stories. Vick became old news, as stale as a week-old donut. The 2007 and 2008 football seasons went off without a hitch, though when Atlanta Falcons games were televised nationally, one could see many number 7 jerseys in honor of Vick. Commentators made the obligatory remark or two, but they basically avoided the topic, and the game continued. Despite the Vick verdict, football remains the most popular American sport. By the time the 2007 season ended, there were fewer and fewer mentions of Vick.

Football, however, continues to thrive. Millions of people participate in fantasy football

leagues across the nation, while betting action in Las Vegas picks up dramatically during the season, culminating in the college bowl games and Super Bowl. When the Pittsburgh Steelers beat the Seattle Seahawks in the 2006 Super Bowl, people bet $94.5 million in Vegas, a record at the time. Experts estimated that the latest game between the New York Giants and New England Patriots topped $100 million. While it is impossible to pinpoint, pro football is thought to generate about $10 billion in gambling, both legally and illegally. In contrast, the NFL makes about $7 billion in revenues each year.[10]

Basketball: The LeBron James Era

A handful of years ago, on the playgrounds in and around Cleveland, whispers circulated about a young kid in nearby Akron who might be the next Michael Jordan. He possessed otherworldly athletic ability with attributes that cannot be taught: size, speed, vision, and a natural feel for the game. The budding superstar's name was LeBron James. When sketchy rumors turned into hard facts, the story seemed too typically rags-to-riches to be true, like the creation of the perfect athlete by some shoe company for marketing purposes. He helped lead his team to the state championship—despite a tumultuous home life and being raised by a single mother in Akron's toughest ghetto.

Two events changed James's young life forever: appearing on the cover of *Sports Illustrated* in early 2002 (when only a junior in high school) christened "The Chosen One," and, seven months later, the nationally televised ESPN2 game against perennial high school champion Oak Hill Academy. The *SI* magazine article and flurry of copycat stories that followed put him on the national radar screen. The hype machine included another cover story, this time for *ESPN The Magazine,* revealing a much different James dealing with his newfound fame and the subsequent avalanche of publicity. As the region's largest newspaper, The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* took over the James watch, virtually covering his every move, including "The James Journal," a compendium of all things LeBron.

The attention of the print media placed James on a pedestal. Before the rise of the Internet and countless new media outlets (from talk radio shows to cable television programming), this degree of buildup would have been reserved for a mere handful of proven superstars. However, in the twenty-first century, when many celebrities are famous for little more than being famous, a high school superstar can grab the interest of the world. And yet, despite all the hype, relatively few people had actually seen James play basketball.

That all changed, however, in late 2002 when ESPN2 televised the Saint Vincent-Saint Mary match-up with Oak Hill Academy. The network then followed the first broadcast with an early 2003 game against Mater Dei High School at the famed Pauley Pavilion on UCLA's campus, a basketball temple. Befitting a legend in the making, James responded to the limelight in both games, thus cementing his position as the next big thing in the sports world.

Against Oak Hill, a crowd of more than 11,500 spectators packed Cleveland State University's Convocation Center, some paying more than $100 for courtside seats. Also in the mix were dozens of NBA scouts and officials and even a couple players from the Cleveland Browns, all out to judge the skills of the 17-year-old high school phenomenon. More importantly, for the television network, the game drew a 1.97 rating, which equates to 1.67 million homes tuning into the high school basketball contest. James's star power made the telecast ESPN2's highest rated program in the two years since it covered the death of NASCAR legend Dale Earnhardt.

The final box score revealed SVSM's utter dominance over the former number one high school basketball team in America, 65–45. James lit it up for 31 points, 13 rebounds, and 6 assists in his television debut. After the Oak Hill game, LeBron James would no longer be an urban legend, like playground heroes from yesteryear. His national debut and astounding success against one of the country's best high school teams turned skeptics into believers. The James hype machine went into overdrive.

Many of today's sports and entertainment heroes have an edge. They appear a little dangerous, often just half a step away from a good brawl or jail cell. This hardcore image appeals to the MTV generation. Teenagers always seem to fall for

the kind of corporate-sponsored rebellion MTV peddles, whether it is the latest rap single providing a glimpse of street life, the bling lifestyle, or violence-filled videogames and movies. As a matter of fact, many young people would rather sit around playing videogames than actually play a particular game itself, so the videogame companies fill their wares with action and graphics that are cartoon-like. Basketball games feature crazy dunks, high-flying acrobatics, and little, if any, fundamentals. Why shoot a 15-foot jump shot when a dunk could be had?

What may make LeBron James the perfect NBA idol for the twenty-first century is that he combines the style and grace of Michael Jordan with a healthy dose of urban culture, personified by young rappers and sports stars, such as Nelly, Jay-Z, Ludacris, Allen Iverson, and the late Tupac Shakur. James has that big smile and natural good looks, which appeals to consumer product marketers, while at the same time possessing the skills and toughness that draws in the free-spending teenage demographic.

While a combination of talent and personality fueled Jordan's rise to icon status, James differs in that he is from the ghetto, thus naturally possessing more "street cred." James also more readily identifies with black urban culture. Unlike Jordan, who lived a middle class lifestyle growing up in Wilmington, North Carolina, James has risen from the ghettoes of Akron, a rough town in the aging Rustbelt, under pressure to stay vibrant as the manufacturing-based economy vanished, leaving high unemployment rates and many people struggling to survive.

James and his mother (who gave birth to him when she was only 16 years old) jumped from apartment to apartment when he was little, always searching for a little better way of life, but unable to escape the vicious cycle of poverty. Like many young black men across the nation, James has never met his biological father.

Unlike some athletes who embellish the tough times of their youths to gain respect among their peers, James does not have to exaggerate about his experiences in the roughest sections of town. He told *Sports Illustrated,* "I saw drugs, guns, killings; it was crazy. But my mom kept food in my mouth and clothes on my back."[11]

On the court, James personifies the popular culture influences that shape today's teenagers. He wears it on his skin, in the form of multiple tattoos (which he had to cover with white athletic tape while in high school according to SVSM school rules) to the dress code teens follow—the ever-present headband, armband, droopy shorts and oversized jersey. In the videogame and cable show world of spectacular dunks and highlight reel plays, James excels at symbolizing his generation, even though his individual game is about more than freewheeling acrobatics. For corporations looking for a fresh face, the youngster will appeal with his good looks and bright smile.

On the streets, and particularly in the African America community, respect is a key tenet of an individual's social mindset. The idea of respect among young black males has been portrayed in numerous popular culture vehicles, from a slew of television shows and movies to the lyrics of slain rapper Biggie "Notorious B.I.G." Smalls and other hip hop stars. James shows his respect for those who have given him guidance and support by publicly thanking God and showing his reverence for his mother. In return, James asks for the community to respect him for turning raw ability into brilliance.

James is not immune to the chest pounding, trash-talking style that pervades basketball, whether on the blacktop behind the local high school or in NBA arenas around the country. After dunking on an opposing player, James ferociously yells, "King James," or "You sorry," reported a writer who has covered James.[12] At one time, this kind of behavior would have been punished or scorned, but now popular culture glorifies displays of individual self-importance that give athletes a kind of signature gesture that kids can then mimic. Showing up an opponent not only ensures an athlete "gets his," but it can also make him more famous (or infamous).

There are many similarities between James and Michael Jordan (circa the 1980s and 1990s) in addition to the familiar number 23 they each wear. On the court, both have tremendous quickness and jumping ability. When the game ends, they each flash a similar multimillion-dollar smile and display an innate, natural charisma. Like the youthful Jordan before him, James is even criticized for

having a weak jump shot—about the only Achilles' heel that can be found in his game.

Because he is routinely compared with Jordan and seemingly destined for NBA superstardom, James faces incredible pressure every single day of his life. These demands intensified when he became the first pick in the 2003 NBA draft. Observers expect James to single-handedly resurrect the hometown Cleveland Cavaliers, despite the franchise's history of underperformance and disappointment.

In fact, this level of anticipation and expectation separates Jordan and James. Over the last several years, James has already experienced Michael Jordan-level attention. Every move he makes on and off the court is up for public consumption and scrutiny. Jordan, on the other hand, did not face this pressure as a rookie because the NBA was a different place then. Jordan certainly did not have much of a grace period, but there was a time when he still had some measure of privacy. Of course, as the team's number one draft pick, Jordan was expected to help the club right away. No one, however, expected the scrawny kid out of the University of North Carolina to become the Michael Jordan that he developed into.

In contrast to the way James's star has risen, there is almost an innocence to Jordan's ascent to global icon status, even though he became a star in his freshman year at the University of North Carolina after hitting the game-winning jump shot against Georgetown in the NCAA Championship game. Observers who watched Jordan realized that he had the potential to be a special player, but no one thought he would develop into the greatest player to ever live. The general public gradually recognized Jordan's immense talent, hand-in-hand with seeing his face on television in Nike ads.

One NBA Western Conference scouting director explained how James would have to push himself to achieve the level of Kobe Bryant, Tracy McGrady, and the handful of top pro stars. "He's able to get by on his physical ability right now," the scout told sports writer Marc Stein. "The question is, what happens when he can't just get by on physical ability alone? The mental side, the emotional side, those are unknowns. In high school, the only thing we're seeing is the physical ability."[13]

James is already considered the game's next great marketing hope. Experts estimate that his first shoe contract—signed with Nike after a long battle with Adidas—approached or exceeded $90 million over five years. Although he waited until after the draft to sign the Nike deal, college was never really an option for the youngster. He had been marketed too long to be put on the shelf while competing for any major college program.

Jordan took a liking to James, inviting him to Chicago to play together and giving the youngster his top secret cell phone number. It is a role Jordan has taken with other young, African American superstars, such as his close friendship with golf sensation Tiger Woods. Critics, however, view the James-Jordan relationship with a grain of skepticism, thinking that the move was intended to get James on the Nike payroll, like his basketball idol.

As James's on the court exploits continue to electrify and his jumper has started dropping on a regular basis for the Cavaliers, thus muting the one criticism of his game, the only issue that concerns basketball experts is how the young man will deal with the fanfare. An NBA Eastern Conference scout explained the way a high school player affects a team, stating, "The problem with taking on a high school player is that, for the coach, you're dealing with a lot of things you don't normally deal with. And it takes up a lot of time." Summing up the challenge of easing a teenager into the game, the scout explained, "These kids don't even know how to keep a checkbook when they get to the NBA."[14]

In the years since joining the NBA, James developed into one of the league's most popular players and one of its fiercest competitors. He won Rookie of the Year after the 2003–2004 season, in which the Cavaliers tallied 18 more victories than the preceding year. The following year, James averaged more than 27 points per game, then surpassed that figure at 31.4 points per game in 2005–2006. That season, the team made its first playoff appearance since 1998, and James won the All-Star MVP.

In 2006–2007, James led the Cavaliers to the NBA Finals for the first time in team history, though they were swept in the best of seven series by the San Antonio Spurs, the closest thing

the NBA has had to a dynasty in the last decade, winning four championships. The ability to lead his somewhat undermanned team to the championship round evoked comparisons to Michael Jordan, the same one James faced since bursting on the national scene as a teenager. According to Howard Beck, "What James does best, other than win, is make the game look simple. He can fill a box score and dominate on the court without ever looking as if he is trying to do either. The greatest measure of an NBA star is how much he lifts up his teammates, and James excels in this category."[15]



Tiger Woods in the TV golf match Lincoln Financial Group Battle at Bighorn, Bighorn Golf Club, Palm Desert, California. ABC Sports, July 29, 2001. ©2001 ABC, Inc. Courtesy of Photofest.

Golf

There is a serious conflict in the world of golf today. On one hand, Tiger Woods is possibly the greatest golfer who ever lived and draws the sport huge television ratings in addition to his global fame. However, Woods's wins and winning personality have done little to popularize golf or draw more people into the game. One could argue, however, that the true measure of Woods's work in this regard will not be reflected for another decade, but the numbers as they currently exist reveal that golf is dropping in popularity.

Woods is not only the best golfer in the world, but he is the king of endorsements. His phenomenal popularity led to a wide range of gigs as celebrity spokesperson, from Gillette razors and Nike to management consulting firm Accenture and Buick. In early 2008, *Chicago Sun-Times* columnist Jay Mariotti went as far as to declare that, as measured by "his impact on sport and fashion and popular culture and the American condition," Woods has now surpassed the legendary Michael Jordan. When combining the level of excellence on the playing field with the carefully managed aura in the celebrity world, it does seem that Mariotti's statement rings true.[16]

In pro golf, the ultimate measure of success is the number of major tournaments won. Woods stands in second place on the all-time list with 13 majors, behind Jack Nicklaus who owns 18. Some 11 of Woods's major wins took place in the new millennium, as well as many of his other notable achievements, including winning 11 tournaments in 2000 and possessing all four major trophies at one time by winning over the 2000–2001 timeframe. Through 2007, Wood earned $76.6 million on the PGA Tour and $94 million overall.[17]

While Woods won tournaments, drove revenues for corporate partners and the PGA Tour, and brought in countless millions for charity, the number of people who played golf in America either stayed flat or declined since 2000. The National Golf Foundation and the Sporting Goods Manufacturers Association estimates that the total number of people who play golf dropped from 30 million to 26 million over the decade. More troubling than this figure is the significant drop in the number of people who play 25 times a year or more (6.9 million in 2000 to 4.6 million in 2005) and eight times or more (17.7 million in 2000 to 15 million in 2006). "The man in the street will tell you that golf is booming because he sees Tiger Woods on TV," said Jim Kass, research director of the National Golf Foundation. "But we track the reality. The reality is, while we haven't exactly tanked, the numbers have been disappointing for some time." Kass is optimistic, but the combination of an aging population in the United States and a less active younger generation spells real trouble for golf and many other recreational sports.[18]

Ironically, given golf's link to consumerism and corporate sponsorship, the difficult economy is the primary factor people claim keeps them from playing more often, if at all. According to Kass,

the surveys show that people are working more, making less in real wages, and corporations are cutting back golf-related perks, such as country club memberships. In the early part of the 2000s, observers believed that the retiring Baby Boomers would actually increase the number of golfers. Playing on this hunch, many additional golf courses were built, with more than 3,000 created between 1999 and 2003. The surplus actually resulted in a glut and many facilities are up for sale or gone bankrupt, mainly in Arizona, Florida, Michigan, and South Carolina.[19]

JUICED: BASEBALL'S STEROID CHALLENGE

In February 2008, Roger Clemens—by nearly all accounts the most dominating pitcher in his era and one of the all-time greatest—appeared before a Congressional panel investigating steroid use in baseball. For fans that grew up idolizing Clemens and other big name legends, the day crushed dreams. For cynics already skeptical about the state of the national pastime, Clemens's testimony (shown live on ESPN) sounded phony; it was another nail in baseball's coffin. A survey conducted shortly after the pitcher's testimony revealed that a majority of baseball fans (57%) did not believe his claim that he never used performance-enhancing drugs.[20]

Clemens is the most recent legend caught up in the steroid scandal that has rocked baseball for years. Standing at home plate is Barry Bonds, baseball's all-time homerun champion, the virtual poster boy for illegal performance-enhancing drugs in the game, allegations that have dogged him for a decade. Sitting on the bench are other stars (for instance, Andy Pettite and Rafael Palmeiro), mid-level players (like Brady Anderson and Jason Giambi), and ordinary players (like John Rocker and Brett Boone) who are accused of using steroids to elevate their games in an era in which drug use seemingly runs rampant.

Few players have admitted to using steroids or growth hormones, though much of the current debate about drug use can be traced to a tell-all book by former all-star Jose Canseco, *Juiced* (2005). Although widely ridiculed at the time of publication, Canseco's book foreshadowed much of what followed over the next three years. Taking a different approach, Jason Giambi, for instance, publicly apologized to New York Yankee fans without ever specifically stating what he had done to warrant such an apology.

The Clemens accusations came to light in the final report of an investigation commissioned by Major League Baseball and headed by former Senator George Mitchell, dubbed "The Mitchell Report." A media circus erupted after the release of the findings, though a deeper read revealed that much of Mitchell's juiciest information came from disgruntled trainers and other peripheral people loosely affiliated with the game. This information diminished the report somewhat, but it did not stop the wall-to-wall coverage of the names involved, including the big fish caught in the expedition: Roger Clemens.

Journalist Tom Verducci called the reaction to Clemens part of the "perpetual, multimedia cycle in the Britneyfication of events," which included live events and a nationally-televised interview on *60 Minutes*. However, Clemens deserves a special place in the history of steroid investigations because he chose to publicly defend himself. According to Verducci, "Hundreds of ballplayers have used performance-enhancing drugs. Only a

WORLD SERIES

2000 New York Yankees (AL), 4 games; New York Mets (NL), 1 game

2001 Arizona Diamondbacks (NL), 4 games; New York Yankees (AL), 3 games

2002 Anaheim Angels (AL), 4 games; San Francisco Giants (NL), 3 games

2003 Florida Marlins (NL), 4 games; New York Yankees (AL), 2 games

2004 Boston Red Sox (AL), 4 games; St. Louis Cardinals (NL), 0 games

2005 Chicago White Sox (AL), 4 games; Houston Astros (NL), 0 games

2006 St. Louis Cardinals (NL), 4 games; Detroit Tigers (AL), 1 game

2007 Boston Red Sox (AL), 4 games; Colorado Rockies (NL), 0 games

fraction of them have been publicly identified as users. None have gone anywhere near the lengths Clemens has to defend themselves. He even asked to appear before Congress."[21]

The Mitchell Report grew out of a series of events that dominated the headlines in the 2000s, including the 2003 raid of the Bay Area Laboratory Cooperative (BALCO), which revealed that Giambi and Bonds were clients. A series of congressional hearings in 2005 featured testimony by Mark McGwire and Palmeiro. The former refused to say much of anything about possible steroid use, while the later angrily declared his innocence in a video clip that has been played countless times since then. That Palmeiro tested positive for illegal drugs just months afterward forced Major League Baseball to act, thus leading to the formation of the Mitchell Commission. According to professor Abraham Socher, "The pharmacological genie has long been out of the bottle… still, the report is valuable for the wealth and specificity of its detail."[22]

BREAKING INTO THE MAINSTREAM

Mixed Martial Arts

In the early years of the new millennium, Ultimate Fighting Championship (UFC) dominated the then-underground sport of mixed martial arts, a modified street fight that took place in an octagonal ring in which contestants either submitted or were knocked unconscious. The fights, unlike professional wrestling, were real and often bloody. The gritty realism of splattering blood, forced submission, or true knockouts gave the sport a brutality that fans desired, even as commentators and legislators questioned the legality of such fights. The payoff for Ultimate Fighting and other sanctioning mixed martial arts organizations was the dream 18- to 34-year-old male demographic that large companies battle to attract.

Back then, fans who wanted to see UFC were basically limited to pay-per-view events, which some states would not even allow to take place in their jurisdictions. Quickly, however, mixed martial arts moved from the extreme fringes of the sports world to center stage. The spectacle of watching two men basically knock the snot out of each other captured the interest of fight fans growing weary of mismatched boxing matches and the deterioration of the heavyweight division, most notably by the seemingly-invincible Mike Tyson and the bland fighters that blundered through the weight class after Lennox Lewis retired.

From these rather auspicious beginnings, mixed martial arts grew into a force in the sports world. By 2007, cable network Showtime aired matches, and in early 2008, CBS announced that it would become the first major broadcast network to show mixed martial arts fights. The network said that it would place bouts on Sunday nights, which is the least watched night on television. The goal is to draw in young viewers who have traditionally shied away that night. Not incidentally, CBS owns Showtime, which is helping with production.[23]

The Ultimate Fighting Championship is the elite organization for mixed martial arts. In the 1990s, the company had been marred in legislative and regulatory battles at the hands of critics who lamented the sport's violence, including Arizona Senator John McCain. The move to the mainstream began in 2001 when Dana White and two old sparring partners bought the company for $2 million. By 2006, UFC had pay-per-view sales of $223 million and sold out arenas across the nation. White bought out Pride, an Asian competitor, for $70 million in 2007. The company also started a reality television show on Spike TV, a Viacom-owned cable network directed at young males. In June 2007, the season finale of The Ultimate Fighter 5 drew 2.6 million viewers.[24]

Some commentators believe that mixed martial arts is the perfect vehicle for attracting young male viewers who have been raised on ultraviolent video games. Others point to the UFC's real fights, a far cry from the scripted world of professional wrestling. At least in part due to the power of the Web and online videos as a distribution channel, a number of mainstream and underground no-holds-barred sites exist, ranging from the illegal to the outlandish. In early 2008, on YouTube alone, thousands of amateur fight videos are available, from *Fight Club*-style matches to high school females squaring off in suburban locations. And, of course, clips from UFC and other companies are freely available online.[25]

OLYMPICS

2004 Olympics

Coming together under the motto "Unity," more than 10,500 athletes from 600 nations met in Athens for the 2004 Summer Olympic Games. NBC won the rights to cover the Olympics on television in the United States, but the Athens event marked the first time the games would be broadcast via the Internet as well. The United States took home the most medals (102, including 36 gold), followed by Russia (92, 27), and China (63, 32).

The United States did well in track and field at the Athens games, but lanky swimmer Michael Phelps stole the show, winning four individual gold medals and two more as part of winning relay teams. Phelps's amazing performance placed Mark Spitz's all-time record of winning seven gold medals in one games (at the 1972 Munich Olympics) in jeopardy and built expectations for the 2008 Olympics.

In contrast, the men's basketball team disappointed fans around the globe by settling for a bronze medal. With young superstars, such as LeBron James and Dwayne Wade, complimenting all-stars Tim Duncan, Allen Iverson, and others, the team seemed a lock for the gold. An 89–81 loss to eventual gold medal-winning Argentina in the semifinals derailed the American team.

2008 Olympics

The 2008 Beijing Olympics transformed from a global competition into the Michael Phelps show almost from the start. The 23-year-old swimmer from Baltimore stood so dominant in his sport at the start of the games, that many believed he could break Spitz's mark. Phelps did not disappoint, winning eight gold medals. For his career, Phelps earned 16 Olympic medals (14 gold and 2 bronze). In the process, the young man set seven world records—five on his own and two more on a team relay.

By the time Phelps left China, the only question left on most peoples' minds was where the swimmer stacked up against the best athletes of all time. While this question may be argued for the next 100 years, it is certainly a given that he will become one of the great celebrity endorsers ever. One of Phelps's first stops was the cover of *Sports Illustrated* with all eight gold medals draped from his neck, mimicking the picture Spitz made famous. Marketing experts estimate that Phelps upped his earning potential to about $10 million annually, placing him among the richest Olympic pitchmen ever. "Right now, the guy's got the world on a string," said one marketing analyst. "He's in that upper realm, not in terms of income but in terms of profile, with Tiger Woods and LeBron James and Lance Armstrong."[26]

Seemingly minutes after Phelps won the eighth gold, for example, Visa aired a commercial narrated by Academy Award winning actor Morgan Freeman thanking the young man for his feats. In addition to Visa, Phelps has deals in place with Speedo, Omega, Hilton, and AT&T. There are even rumors that Phelps is on his way to Hollywood to play an underwater superhero. Perhaps such a casting would make sense, given that more than one million people have already signed up to be Phelps fans on Facebook.[27]

Beyond Phelps, the biggest story about the Beijing Games was China and how well the Chinese athletes performed. While many observers thought that the Olympics would be marred by protests regarding China's human rights abuses, there were few disruptions. Furthermore, Beijing itself was decked out with fantastic architecture and buildings specifically for the Olympics. Few viewers will forget the sight of "The Cube" swimming arena or the "Bird's Nest" track and field stadium.

TECHNOLOGY

Social Media

The rebirth of the Internet after the spectacle flameout early in the decade came at the hands of Web users themselves who started to explore the Internet's capacity for linking people in a personal way, yet with the distance that online communication provides. Upstarts such as Friendster, Classmates, MySpace, and Facebook, gave users the freedom to build profiles, a kind of online billboard that provided a public face for anyone who wanted to participate. Observers labeled these outlets "social networking" sites.

Web sites enabling regular users to build their own free homepages and share content, pictures, and other information without first learning intricate programming skills developed relatively early in Internet history. AOL, GeoCities, and others served as early pioneers in the effort to get users their own tiny space on the Web. None of these sites, however, caught the user's imagination like MySpace and Facebook. Within a year of their launching in 2003 and 2004, respectively, each social media site changed the way people talk about the Internet. People nationwide could be heard saying, "Do you have a Facebook?" or "Check out my MySpace."

Founded in 2003 by Tom Anderson and Chris DeWolfe, MySpace grew quickly into the leading social network site. Launched as an online hub to showcase upcoming bands and musicians, MySpace rapidly evolved into a phenomenon, acquiring more than 106 million profiles by 2006. The ability to list and link to MySpace friends (i.e., other users) provided the gimmick that caught people's attention. In addition, users could manipulate their profiles to reflect their personalities, or at least the persona that they wanted other MySpace users to see.

MySpace's centrality in the Web 2.0 universe attracted Rupert Murdoch, the magnate who owns the media conglomerate News Corporation. In 2005, Murdoch purchased MySpace's parent company (Intermix Media Inc.) for $580 million. While many users and critics railed against the new corporate owner, MySpace continued to grow and expand, moving into 24 countries by 2007. Under the guidance of its corporate parent, MySpace also charged into new content areas, forming its own record label and producing online video series. With its vast and deep user base, MySpace also developed into an advertisers' dream. Corporations flocked to the site to hock their wares to the predominantly young demographic. Industry observers estimate that MySpace will draw about $800 million in revenue in fiscal 2008, primarily from advertising.[28]

The success or failure of MySpace's transformation from an independent site to more of a mainstream media outlet may be an indicator of how the Web will evolve in the future. Will independent-minded users keep coming back to the site as it becomes more of a media portal as its slogan claims, "a place for friends?" DeWolfe, the founder who runs the business aspect of MySpace, said, "Some people still perceive MySpace like it was in early 2004, as a niche place for scenesters in New York and Los Angeles. That's how it started, but it's become very mainstream. It's about consuming content and discovering pop culture."[29]

Founded in 2004 by Harvard undergraduate Mark Zuckerberg, Facebook is MySpace's primary competitor in the social networking arena. Originally a tool to link college students at elite universities, Zuckerberg later expanded the site to other colleges and high schools, and then eventually opened to those outside universities. Facebook's strengths are its clean layout style and the ability to track friends' actions on the site, whether it is adding a gadget that ranks favorite movies or merely updating an online photo album.

Journalist Michael Hirschorn sees the site's ability to thwart spammers and porn site offers as a key to its popularity and continued expansion. In addition, Zuckerberg opened the site to outside developers, which enabled them to embed widgets that increase the user's experience. For example, members can send one another virtual gifts and challenge one another to music or film trivia contests. The key is that this interaction is contained among Facebook friends, which is more selective than the MySpace version. The exclusivity is an attractive quality for today's more discerning Web users. "If the overall trend on the Internet is the individual's loss of control as corporations make money off information you unwittingly provide, Facebook is offering a way to get some of that control back," Hirschorn said. "In Facebook's version of the Web, you, the user, are in control of your persona."[30]

MySpace and Facebook continue to battle for supremacy among social media sites in the United States. In December 2007, for instance, MySpace logged 69 million unique visitors, versus 35 million for Facebook. The numbers jump geometrically when examined by page views, with MySpace totaling 38 billion and Facebook 13 billion.[31]

When looked at from a global perspective, however, Facebook is actually much closer to MySpace. In November 2007, MySpace had 105 million unique visitors worldwide, while Facebook rang up

93 million. The site also surpassed its rival in the total minutes users spent on the site at 21 billion minutes versus 17 billion minutes.[32]

Online Videos

The Internet fulfilled its destiny in the mid- to late 2000s, finally becoming a kind of on-the-go television or theater. Spurred by technology, such as wider access to broadband Internet connections, and the popularity of social media networks, the Internet moved from a primarily text-based mass media channel to one dominated by video. If a single entity can be credited for this shift, it is YouTube, owned by parent company Google.

The pervasiveness of online video is demonstrated by its astronomical growth. In November 2007, for example, more than 75 percent of Internet users in the United States watched a video online, averaging 3.25 hours per person during the month. Powered by YouTube, Google is the dominant force in the video market. The company increased its market share in this category to 31 percent. In total, U.S. Internet users viewed approximately 9.5 billion videos in November, with 2.9 billion of this figure coming from YouTube.[33]

When examined individually, these statistics reveal that YouTube's 74.5 million users averaged 39 videos per person over the course of the month. In contrast, MySpace tallied 389 million videos watched by 43.2 million people, or 9 videos per user. The 3.25 hours per viewer is a 29 percent increase from January 2007.

From a demographic viewpoint, the typical online video consumer is a male (53% versus 43% female), aged 18 to 29 (70%), with at least some college education (54%). Interestingly, some 60 percent of online video watchers claim a household income exceeding $75,000, while another 53 percent fall in the $50,000 to $75,000 segment. In race or ethnicity, users break down as follows: English-speaking Latino (55%), African American (46%), and white (45%).[34]

The results of the survey, conducted by the Pew Internet & American Life Project, confirm the preconceived notions of who uses the Internet most often and who frequently visits sites such as YouTube. However, there are other interesting aspects of the survey that show the true pervasiveness of online video. Some 30 percent of those 50 to 64 years old said they visited video sites, and 16 percent of those were older than 65. The findings regarding household income show that either viewers themselves are well off, or that the children of upper middle class families are the most likely to go to these sites. The large number of English-speaking Latinos who visit YouTube and other video pages confirms recent research that reveals astronomical Internet usage growth in the Hispanic community.[35]

In December 2007, with the writers' strike crippling television, statistics show that Americans turned to the Web to fulfill their viewing needs, with 141 million people watching more than 10 billion videos that month alone. This served as the heaviest month of online video consumption since comScore Video Metrix began tracking video hits. Market leader Google accounted for 3.3 billion videos, or nearly 33 percent of the total. The time spent watching videos also increased in December, reaching 3.4 hours (203 minutes) per person over the course of the month. That trend shows no sign of slowing, with the figure jumping 34 percent over the course of 2007.[36]

Video Games

Some critics shrug off the video game industry. The reality is that gaming is big business and a major player in the worlds of technology, consumer goods, and entertainment. The industry has morphed from a niche category into an $18 billion enterprise. The names that dominate the field include a who's who of global corporations, including Microsoft and Sony, as well as divisions of all the major film studios.

The biggest transformation in video games in the new millennium centers on making games more accessible to a wider audience. Teenage boys, while still important to the overall picture, are no longer the only market in town. Games like Guitar Hero and Dance Dance Revolution prove that video game companies are designing games that appeal to people of both sexes and all ages. According to journalist Seth Schiesel, "Companies that are making games more accessible are growing like gangbusters, while traditional powerhouses with a traditionally limited strategy of building around

HOW OTHERS SEE US

YouTube and Facebook: All the World's On Stage

When an amateur opera singer wowed the judges on a British TV competition, millions of music fans got word of his performance via blogs and instantly could see it for themselves.

When a Norwegian comedian's prank on a New York City politician provoked a profanity-laced tirade, viewers the world over could watch and debate who had been in the wrong.

When protests erupted anywhere in the world—Teheran or Tibet, London or Lebanon—news broadcasts and eyewitness cell phone videos were soon posted for international viewing. Another social network site helped create a massive protest against the leftwing guerilla group, the FARC, when Oscar Morales created a group against FARC on Facebook. That group and others were then able to mobilize a crowd estimated from 500,000 to 2 million in Bogota to protest the FARC's tactics of kidnapping and guerrilla warfare.

For issues both serious and silly, and interests both broadly popular and painfully arcane, YouTube has become the world's video town square. Founded in 2005 in San Mateo, California, YouTube provides the technology for people to share video clips regardless of the formats they were filmed in. Within months of its launch, YouTube was ranked among the fastest-growing sites on the Internet. Its popularity spread via word-of-mouth (and e-mail), and soon it featured not only homemade music videos but also commercial ones. By 2007, YouTube postings included authorized promotional material from television networks, and the Web site was co-hosting U.S. presidential primary debates with CNN.

Several governments, including China, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Thailand, and Iran, have locally banned or blocked all or part of YouTube. When Pakistan, citing videos that were offensive to Islam, attempted to block its citizens from accessing the site in February 2008, it instead shut YouTube down completely for several hours. The resulting outcry from users elsewhere cast a harsh spotlight on the repressive tactics of Pakistan's ruling elite.

See "Colombians in Huge FARC Protest," BBC News, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/7225824.stm.

the same old (if you will) young male audience have stagnated, both creatively and on the bottom line."[37] The move is toward social gaming, in which people interact with each other in front of the television. Then, gaming develops into a party atmosphere, a big hit with college students and players in their 20s, who want the social aspect along with the online experience. Nintendo's Wii console is a prime example of this trend, as is Guitar Hero. Nintendo cannot keep up with Wii demand, shipping 1.8 million units a month globally.

Clearly, social gaming is driven by technological innovations and a more robust broadband network, which reveals the tight relationship between culture and technology. Online PC games, for example, allow people to interact on the screen, eliminating physical distances, but they also necessitate high-speed Internet connections and exceptional computer graphics and processors. While these systems still appeal primarily to lone gamers, the numbers of subscribers are in the tens of millions.[38]

Concurrently, an even faster segment of the market is enabling interaction in front of the screen and bringing in families, older users, and females. The Wii symbolizes this revolution, outselling more advanced systems, such as Microsoft's Xbox 360 and Sony's PlayStation 3. Wii Play ranked number two on 2007's bestselling video games. The game enabled interactive, yet simple, play among people using the system, which appealed to those not interested in learning codes or pressing multiple buttons in some arcane sequential order to win. "If new acceptance by the masses is one pillar of gaming's future, gaming's emergence as a social phenomenon is the other," Schiesel said. "Hard-core gamers are still willing to spend 30 hours playing along through a single-player story line, but most people want more human contact in their entertainment."[39]

SCRABULOUS

Scrabble, the American crossword board game that was first marketed in the 1950s, enjoyed a global burst of popularity in 2007. Far from being pleased by the renewed interest, however, the game's manufacturers began to threaten lawsuits: the version being played by 700,000 people a day was digital, and it was created and run by someone else.

The electronic game, Scrabulous, was a program written by brothers Jayant and Rajat Agarwalla in Kolkata, India. The Agarwallas grew up in an upwardly mobile family believing that education and English-language proficiency were the keys to success. To improve their English, their mother encouraged them to play Scrabble. They remained dedicated players into adulthood, and in 2005, they combined their programming skills with their love of the game to create an online version.

Mimicking the physical Scrabble in all but name, Scrabulous used a 225-space playing grid, 100 letter tiles, and identical scoring. Because it was virtual, however, far-flung players could challenge one another to games, and there were no time limits. (It also allowed for unlimited cheating opportunities, another attraction for some.) When the Agarwalla brothers made their game available to Facebook users, millions added a Scrabulous feature to their pages on the popular social-networking site, making it a worldwide phenomenon.

All those new eyeballs earned the Agarwallas substantial advertising revenues (a reported $25,000 a month) for their site, and Hasbro, Scrabble's American owner, accused them of copyright infringement. But in the Internet's freewheeling, borderless culture, that idea seemed to have little meaning. To Scrabulous players, the idea of Scrabble is as classic and free wheeling as checkers or poker; to Hasbro's lawyers, copyright law may let anyone use an idea, but the expression of that idea must be provably unique. It may take a court to decide.

Online Shopping

The most pervasive consequence of the Internet is arguably its function as yet another outlet for Americans to shop. When given overcrowded malls and outrageous gas prices, many people choose to shop online, particularly during the Christmas holiday shopping season. Further enticing reticent mall-goers, many Web-based companies dropped shipping prices or eliminated them altogether. Others guaranteed pre-Christmas delivery for orders placed by a given date.

From November 1 to December 27, 2007, consumers spent about $29.2 billion online, a 19 percent jump over the 2006 total. Many shoppers purchased video games and consoles via the Internet, with Sony PlayStation and Nintendo Wii driving sales.

Citing convenience as the primary reason for purchasing products online, two-thirds of American consumers who use the Internet told the Pew Internet & American Life Project team that they have bought an item online. This equates to about 49 percent of all Americans, up from 22 percent in June 2000. Although people enjoy the time-saving and ease of purchasing online, the Pew study found that people are concerned with the safety of their financial and personal data. Some 75 percent of Internet users do not like giving this information online. Another sticking point is that nearly 60 percent of Internet shoppers have felt frustrated, confused, or overwhelmed by the online experience.[40]

Although these worries are a natural effect from the online experience, the tremendous pace of Web-based shopping grew quickly over the decade. In comparison, 22 percent of Americans said they had bought a product online in 2000, while 35 percent claimed to have used the Web for product-related research. The latter figure jumped to 60 percent in September 2007. Furthermore, while Internet users conduct transactions in increasing numbers, the amount of money spent is growing even faster. The Census Bureau estimates that online revenues have skyrocketed

nearly 500 percent, from $7.4 billion in 2000 to $34.7 billion in the third quarter of 2007.[41]

CELEBRITY OBSESSION

Americans are not only obsessed with celebrities, but many actually act like mini-celebrities in their own daily lives. This fascination with following celebrities and mimicking their moves is a constant reminder of Andy Warhol's prediction that someday everyone will be famous for 15 minutes.

Across the nation, people are imitating celebrities when choosing their clothing, hairstyles, sunglasses, accessories, and (most important) attitude. One merely needs to walk through a crowded mall to see the consequences of this fixation. For faux-celebs, life is a barrage of people bringing their formerly private lives into public view, just as tabloid journalism has done to celebrities on television shows like *Access Hollywood* and in magazines ranging from *Us Weekly* to *People*.

In the 2000s, self-promotion is essential. In many respects, Web sites such as Facebook and MySpace and the never-ending stream of reality television shows actually teach people to expose themselves at every turn. On social networking sites, for example, a user can describe a current mood, and then have it blasted out to all his or her friends, thus making a broadcast statement and forcing others into the emotion in some small way. Then, when the mood changes, that new information is sent again, just as the changes a user makes to his or her profile and group memberships are posted for all to see. Users can even list their top friends and compare where they are in the lists of their friends—a vicious cycle of self-absorption.

As it now stands, the United States is a country full of people loudly carrying on via cell phone, bottled water in hand, wearing a T-shirt emblazoned with the message: "It's Always About Me." We do not look away in horror or subject these kinds of people to ridicule, as past generations might have done to those who tried a bit too hard to be the center of attention. We're all too busy trying to be the center of attention. These displays of nihilism are commonplace occurrences: new millennium America is self-fascination at its zenith. Millions of people go through life with the feeling that they are one coincidental event from being discovered and becoming the celebrity they all dream of becoming. Ironically, many Hollywood celebrities are fighting just as hard to remove themselves from the public eye . . . at least until their next picture is released.

Britney Spears

The headlines scream: "Last Day with Mommy," "Brit's Fight to Get Well," and "Inside Her Ordeal." The subject is Britney Spears, pop singer, celebrity, and popular culture icon. Americans cannot get enough Spears news, particularly when it focuses on her meltdowns, brushes with the law, hospitalizations, or battles with the paparazzi. She graces the covers of "celebtainment" magazines such as *People, InTouch,* and *Us Weekly* with alarming frequency. Her every move seems to be captured on film nightly on *Entertainment Tonight, E! News,* and *The Insider.* Spears always ranks among the top-searched names on various Internet sites, and a recent Google search returned 80.2 million hits.

Britney-mania even found its way into the venerable *Atlantic Monthly* in early 2008. Reporter David Samuels spent time with the paparazzi as they stalked Spears in and around Hollywood (ironically, as wildfires threatened to burn large chunks of L.A. and Hollywood). Samuels explained Spears's importance: "History's best-publicized celebrity meltdown has helped fuel dozens of television shows, magazines, and Internet sites, the combined value of whose Britney-related product easily exceeds $100 million a year." Part of the Britney Economy is driven by an underground network of spies, tipsters, and photographers, who all pocket stipends for their work charting her every move, including "500 or 600 parking-lot attendants, club kids, and shop girls in and around L.A."[42]

In late February 2008, *The New York Times* chimed in, speculating about the status of Spears's net worth, estimated at anywhere from $50 million to $125 million. The article came on the heels of a series of involuntary treatments at the UCLA Medical Center. Jamie Spears, her estranged father, became co-conservator, assuming de facto

control over her daily life. A team of lawyers set out to protect her financial interests, along with several family members, including her brother.[43]

As events in her life spiraled out of control, from allegations of heavy drinking, to her failed marriage to former backup dancer Kevin Federline, Spears squandered a myriad of endorsement deals, said to have earned her $12 million, from the likes of Toyota, Nabisco, Clairol, Sketchers, McDonald's, and Pepsi. She has an ongoing relationship with Elizabeth Ardin for Britney perfume. Despite the steady stream of chaos and uproar that surrounds Spears, she is already mounting a comeback with a recurring role on the hit CBS comedy *How I Met Your Mother.* One insider explained her continued star power, saying, "Because we're so incredibly fickle as a society, the perfect entertainment is someone who's in the bottomless pit and rising again. If she's together, fit, beautiful and on her game, it'll be just printing money."[44]

Paris, Lindsay, and Anna Nicole

Since the birth of mass media, people have longed for news of celebrities, particularly those who shine bright, while at the same time appear somewhat dangerous. Paris Hilton, Lindsay Lohan, and Anna Nicole Smith each symbolize the celebrity obsession of the new millennium. Hilton is famous for being a mega-rich heiress and Los Angeles party girl; Lohan parlayed an early acting career into teen stardom; and Smith embodied the rags-to-riches story of a poor girl who transforms into a star.

Unfortunately in the world of celebrity, death actually propels a star's legend. In the case of Smith, she rocketed to success in the 1990s after appearing in Playboy and in several high-profile advertisements. She could not sustain the success and by the beginning of the new decade, her star power fizzled. But, Americans love it when a celebrity makes a comeback. The E! cable network provided Smith with such a vehicle in 2002, *The Anna Nicole Show,* which centered on her bizarre behavior and interactions with an entourage of hangers-on. The show ran for two years and put Smith back in the spotlight.

While Smith appeared in several films after her celebrity rebirth, her fame grew exponentially when she became a spokesperson for the diet company TrimSpa. On the diet plan, she dropped about 70 pounds. Her outlandish behavior continued in late 2004 when she appeared at the American Music Awards, slurring her words and speaking incoherently. The next three years of Smith's life turned out to be a whirlwind of triumphs and tragedies, including the death of her son by an accidental overdose, marriage to longtime attorney Howard K. Stern, and the birth of a baby girl.

On February 8, 2007, a friend found Smith passed out in her hotel room in Hollywood, Florida, where she later died. Officials determined that it was a drug overdose that killed her, a combination of medications. Smith lived in a media circus for most of her life, but after her death, the frenzy intensified significantly.

Cameramen and reporters fought for space outside her hospital after news of her death hit the airwaves. Enterprising journalists filed stories from Mexia, Texas, her tiny hometown. Smith news then hit the accelerator when the dispute over her daughter's biological father played out in the national media. Soon, questions about her state of mind, her battle with drugs and alcohol, and the multimillion dollar fortune she left behind were topics of discussion on celebrity news shows, Web sites, and magazines.[45]

In the 24-hour-a-day world of modern popular culture, it is difficult to determine whether the antics of celebrities such as Lohan and Hilton are the mindless deeds of young women who symbolize their generation, or the carefully plotted actions of media smart celebrities who understand that the goal is to stay in the news at all costs. Hilton, for one, hardly warrants the title of celebrity, as her early fame derived from being rich and possessing a famous name. However, since getting in front of the paparazzi, she has built herself into a one-woman brand empire, from a singing career and reality television show to illicit video propelled by the Web and a short stay in jail.

Lohan is more difficult to understand, though her repeated stints in and out of rehab clinics makes one less certain that these are planned publicity stunts, resulting in a sinking film career and detrimental party girl image. If she meant to

stay in people's minds this way, the effort certainly backfired. However, Lohan launched another offensive in March 2008, appearing in *New York* magazine as Marilyn Monroe and on the cover of *Bazaar,* looking innocent and clean, not at all like she just stepped out of a detox clinic. Such appearances sell magazines and provide celebrities with the chance to redeem themselves. "Scandal-craving readers snap up the issues, which often promise a star's first on-the-record account of her troubles," journalist Ruth La Ferla said. "Ms. Lohan's Marilyn Monroe-inspired striptease for New York was the magazine's biggest selling issue of the past four years."[46]

Travel

of the 2000s

In 2000, the future looked bright for the travel industry. The Internet enabled airlines, hotels, and car rental agencies to interact and sell to customers in a whole new way. Big name Web-only companies, such as Priceline, Expedia, and Travelocity, used extensive advertising and branding campaigns to become household names. For consumers, the Internet allowed people to find less expensive means of travel and to do so themselves, virtually eliminating the need for travel agents. Self-service travel reigned supreme in the industry.

The online sites tackled astronomical growth. For example, in early 1998, research firm Jupiter Communications predicted that online travel sales would reach $11.3 billion by 2002. At the time, the organization considered this a gutsy call, as online sales accounted for less than a billion dollars the year before. As it turned out, Jupiter could have been bolder in its prediction. Forrester Research, another analysis firm, estimated that nearly 19 million households made travel purchases on the Web in 2001 and accounted for $16.7 billion in revenues. Despite the many challenges faced immediately after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, the Internet companies rebounded.

The attacks initially devastated the airline industry, forcing some carriers (barely holding on before the tragedy) into bankruptcy. Furthermore, the entire travel and tourism market suffered as the uncertainty following the attacks led people to reexamine their priorities, including whether business travel could be done safely. Experts estimate that the travel and tourism industry lost some $30 billion after September 11.

Even a national tragedy could not destroy the travel industry. Travel, particularly air travel, had become a normal part of everyday life for too many people in and out of the corporate world. Low-cost carriers, most notably Southwest Airlines, made air travel seem more convenient than packing up the car and kids for a long road trip. Consequently, passengers did not stay away for long, even as security measures, threat assessment codes, safety procedures, and long lines made it more time-consuming and difficult to board planes. The travel agency community also rebounded by refocusing on specialized and luxury travel.

By the late 2000s, airlines faced a different set of challenges, including rising fuel costs, which translated into higher fares, and a weakened economy that forced consumers to rethink trips and travel. By the summer of 2008, most airlines had begun to charge fees for traveling with more than one bag, and for food and drinks served on the flight, including soft drinks. Still in the late 2000s, people generally see travel and tourism as

a regular aspect of their lives. Thus, they are not going to stop, despite the rising costs and problems associated with travel, just like the need to drive regardless of gasoline prices. The proof is in the numbers, which reveal that, by 2010, online travel planning is estimated to reach $150 billion.

ONLINE TRAVEL SITES

Way back in the ancient days of 1995—we're talking about the Web here—a *Brandweek* article asked rhetorically: "Are Travel Agents Dinosaurs?" Despite the industry's $93.5 billion in yearly billings at the time, most onlookers assumed that the Internet would make travel agents obsolete.

Six years later, travel agents still roamed the earth. They were a bit disgruntled but they were also empowered by the demons sent to smite them. As it turns out, travel agents plugged into the latest and greatest technology, which helped them retain a competitive edge, just like savvy headhunters who listed job openings on Monster.com or HotJobs.

However, the success of online travel sites doesn't prove that there are still travel agencies. Unquestionably, travel is one of the industries that benefited most from the Web. Analysts estimated that the online travel industry hit $17 billion in 2001 and grew to $68 billion by 2005. Even though most of the big names in the online travel game initially focused on air travel, such as Priceline.com, Travelocity, Expedia, and Orbitz, the public soon learned to shop for travel savings across different kinds of travel-related sites.

In early 2001, the Travel Industry Association of America released two reports detailing America's fascination with online travel. The association concluded that more than 59 million travelers used the Internet to get information or check prices, while 25 million from that group purchased travel products or services on the Internet. The kinds of items they purchased varied as well:

- 84 percent bought airline tickets;
- 78 percent purchased lodging;
- 59 percent rented vehicles;
- 51 percent bought tickets for amusement parks, sporting events, and other occasions;
- 17 percent purchased travel packages;
- 8 percent purchased a cruise.

Ben Cutler, senior analyst of the Internet consumer practice at research firm Cyber Dialogue, said online travel "is the first e-retail category to be shopped by a majority of online adults." Cutler estimated that 43 million online adults shopped for travel via the Web in the early years of the new millennium, which represented 51 percent of the total people on the Net. These figures were significantly higher than 1999's numbers, which revealed 17.2 million people shopped for travel online, or 28 percent of the total online population.[1]

Most online companies failed to revolutionize business or live up to a sliver of the incredible hype brought on during the dot.com feeding frenzy. The stories of failure, unfortunately, are more abundant than the stories of success. However, several travel sites broke the mold and made money on the Internet, such as Expedia, which morphed into an online travel bazaar, and Hilton Hotels, which married its Web site and back office functions so well that some analysts believed that the company had the best e-commerce organization in the world.

Turbulence at Takeoff

Like so many other businesses in the mid-1990s, travel companies did not know what to make of the Internet. Some early pioneers realized the medium's potential, but back then, the technology had not caught up with the inspiration. No one really knew what a good Web site should or shouldn't do or even how it ought to look. As a result, the first travel sites were balky and difficult to use. Years of trial and error ensued before truly good travel sites developed. By early 1996, most American businesses raced to establish a presence on the Internet, but they rushed headlong into Internet projects before really understanding how the medium could help them. There were few people who understood how a site should be designed and even fewer who could articulate a Web strategy.

A pioneer in the online travel game was the Raleigh-based PC Travel, which launched in June 1995. Founder and president George Newsom

put up the site as an extension of his 25-year-old travel business and estimated that users filled out 1,000 reservation profile forms a day. PC Travel focused on selling discounted airline tickets, vacations, and cruises. The firm also gave extra discounts and bonus frequent flier miles to travelers who joined its Web-Net Traveler Club, at an additional cost of $49.95.

As soon as online travel started to show promise, many critics sprung to action, determined to prove that using travel agents still resulted in better savings. In 1996, magazines from *Popular Science* (concluding that the sites were "long on information, but short on savings") to *Fortune* (warning "don't dump your travel agent just yet") ran stories hopeful about the future of online travel but cautioning the reader to still keep an agent's number handy. The *Fortune* article also discussed a major problem for all Web users in the mid-1990s: the time it took to get the computer booted, signed on to a service provider, and then navigate to the individual sites. Back then, dealing with a travel agent by phone was probably a much easier task.

The critics made some good points in the short term and only cautiously explored the future implications of online travel. Booking travel via the Internet challenged even the most patient early users because many corporate Internet sites had no e-commerce capabilities. For example, the Avis car rental site did not offer online reservations. Instead, if one wanted to use Avis, one sent the company an e-mail and waited for a response.

Although detractors had their knives sharpened, surveys from the mid-1990s showed that 70 percent of Internet users used the medium to get travel information, while 15 percent booked airline tickets via the Internet. In 1997, Internet users booked $900 million in travel, an impressive figure, but less than 1 percent of the total travel market, so obviously, if online travel sites could meet customer needs at a better price, then they could continue to build on these numbers. The proof of online travel's potential clearly existed.

What travel sites like Expedia and Travelocity needed was more people online and the technology to gain wider acceptance with the general public. Once that happened, it would not take a large spark for online travel to ignite. The leading sites took the time to build technology to meet customer expectations, and then waited for enough users to go online to form a critical mass. In a short while, the explosion of venture capital money and publicity hype combined to set off that spark. Before long, people could not even remember what it was like before the Internet. As the Internet became omnipresent, travel developed into its first killer category.

Erik Blachford, an executive at Expedia, believes travel is the ideal Internet industry and sees the reasons falling into three neat little buckets. First, travel-related information is difficult to aggregate offline. Basically, there isn't a traditional way to gather all the disparate content into one location better than the way it can be done online. Second, information is electronic-based, so there is no need for warehousing or a supply chain and other necessities that tripped up so many Web companies. Finally, there are tremendous cost savings because no one is sitting around waiting for customers to walk in the door or call on the phone, as is the case with traditional travel agencies.

Companies have to use technology to deliver information correctly the first time and every time thereafter that a customer goes to the site. One of the biggest cultural changes brought on by the Web is the expectation of perfection. Zero tolerance is commonplace, especially because the competition is a click or two away. This heavy reliance on technology is the first exposure of Expedia's roots as a Microsoft company. As the company originated within the Redmond-based software giant, it had top-notch talent working on what was essentially an online startup.

The second instance of Expedia revealing its heritage occurred among senior management. Richard Barton founded the company while working on a travel CD-ROM that Microsoft founder Bill Gates wanted him to develop. Barton realized the CD idea would fail, but an online travel site had a chance for greatness. Like Barton, Expedia's other leaders cut their teeth in Microsoft's highly competitive environment, so they developed a quasi-Microsoft culture.

As a matter of fact, Blachford explained, Expedia leaders also modified the culture to fit their startup mentality. "We kept our discipline and

style, but changed what we didn't like about Microsoft. As Expedia developed, it was definitely not Microsoft, but its foundation stones were Microsoft." Blachford views this as a distinct advantage over the willy-nilly startups being led by college students and MBA dropouts. "You can't just invent that culture," he said. "We had skilled product development people, good training, and a commitment to technology."[2]

The success of Expedia in almost immediately carving out a sizeable market share poses interesting questions about the role of startups launched by corporate parents. Like Monster.com, backed and financed by the power of TMP Worldwide, Expedia had an almost unfair advantage from the start. "Could we get where we are today without Microsoft?" Blachford asked. "Probably, but that foundation made it much better. Look at Travelocity; it also grew up with Sabre in the background." Microsoft's technical resources also helped Expedia overcome the severe engineer drain that tech companies faced in 1999. Microsoft attracted the talent and could assign people to work on the travel site. "In the long run," Blachford pointed out, "sites differentiate on service, which comes down to technology. The customer doesn't see it, but technology plays into the overall customer experience."[3]

The technology push by Microsoft had a key impact early in Expedia's life. From the start, Expedia planned to become a one-stop travel hub in cyberspace, so it used Microsoft's connections with resorts, hotels, and other travel-related companies to offer discounts that no one else offered. Certainly, every advantage Microsoft could deliver was important for Expedia in the dogfight that broke out between the company and archrivals Travelocity and Priceline.com. Launched in April 1996, Priceline had more than one million visitors to its site within its first week. The auction mentality, so popular on the Internet, helped Priceline become an early leader in the New Economy. Founder Jay Walker was even likened to an electronic age Thomas Edison in a 1999 article in *Forbes* magazine. Priceline went public in March 1999 at $16 a share and rocketed to $88 its first day and then soon jumped higher to trade at $130 a share. Priceline's market cap reached an extraordinary $18.5 billion, and Walker's share of the pie equaled a tidy $9 billion. Walker's status as a New Economy paper billionaire was a far cry from Edison, who gained and lost several fortunes over the course of his life.

In March 2000, just before the Internet bubble economy popped, Travelocity went public by merging with Preview Travel, then the distant third company behind Expedia and Travelocity. The combined entity immediately became the ninth largest travel agency in the United States and the leader in market share among online travel agencies. More importantly, the new Travelocity jumped to number three among online commerce firms, right behind Amazon and eBay.

After the merger, the company's market capitalization reached $2.54 billion, but it gradually dropped down to about $700 million—much of the drop due to the NASDAQ crash that spring. With Preview Travel's long-term marketing deals with AOL, Excite, Lycos, and Snap (the leading portals in early 2000), the combined entity (with more than 6.2 million monthly visitors) worked to convert visitors into paying customers, a challenge that plagued online travel firms from the start. Less than 10 percent of people who went to the site ended up purchasing anything.

By late 2000, Travelocity extended its lead to account for more than 21 million users. The company's market share hit 35 percent, compared with Expedia's 25 percent. Both companies also turned a profit faster than anyone expected. Expedia beat its own predictions for profitability by five quarters, while Travelocity did the same one quarter early.

Orbitz Flies into Battle

In an unprecedented display of solidarity, the five largest U.S. airlines (Delta, United, Northwest, Continental, and American Airlines) came together to form Orbitz, a $145 million online travel site to rival Expedia and Travelocity. Orbitz attracted quite a buzz when it launched in June 2001, as observers noted its potential antitrust implications and the site's chances at knocking off its main competitors. It may be telling that Orbitz began life as a project code-named "T2," supposedly either after the Arnold Schwarzenegger movie of the same name or the more ominous "Travelocity Terminator."

As a matter of fact, Orbitz found its way on the radar screens of attorneys at the Justice and Transportation Departments, state attorneys general offices, and among various consumer advocacy groups even prior to going live. Critics felt that Orbitz would collude to set ticket prices and form a monopoly over its rivals. In an interesting twist, Orbitz CEO Jeffrey G. Katz believed much of the lobbying against Orbitz came from supposed consumer alliances that actually represented the interests of Expedia and Travelocity. There is plenty of evidence that he was at least partially right.

Katz promised Orbitz would offer consumers a better search engine and many more choices than they currently enjoyed. The immediate benefit of using the Orbitz engine is that it delivered fares from more than 20 major airlines. The results, laid out in a user-friendly manner, could range from a dozen to hundreds of options. The public responded favorably with 3.7 million unique users visiting in the first month. The company turned these Web surfers into $100 million in reservations. These statistics vaulted Orbitz into third place behind its two main rivals.

Orbitz was a latecomer to the online travel industry, so it had to fight to catch up with the market leaders. To beef up name recognition, each of the site's 35 charter members also committed to spending about $2 million a year on marketing opportunities for Orbitz.

Expedia: Cyberspace Travel Hub

Expedia strengthened its hub strategy by purchasing Travelscape.com and Vacationspot.com for $177 million. The deal gave Expedia access to discount hotel reservations and luxury vacation packages, which broadened its scope in important strategic ways, Blachford said. "We decided to act as a retailer rather than as a travel agent and diversified into other areas to decrease our dependency on air. Our business model allows us to make tactical pricing decisions and offer better prices to customers," he explained.[4]

Blachford estimated that technology would remain vital. Just as the banks had to determine how important ATMs would become and then scale to that figure, online sites had to scale to the number of users they forecasted. "One hundred percent of tickets will never be sold online," he said, "but what is the magic number that will? My guess is that it will reach 40 to 50 percent, which means there are still huge opportunities waiting to be realized." That kind of penetration required an ongoing commitment to technological upgrades and innovations, as online firms only accounted for about 14 percent.

The primary benefit of online travel is that people want a one-stop shopping experience and will use the site that can give them the most services in a central location. For example, someone traveling to Cozumel, Mexico, will want to reserve airfare and a hotel, but they also might want to rent snorkeling gear, plan an excursion to the Mayan ruins at Chichen Itza, and make dinner reservations at several restaurants in Cancun. "In the long run, users will be able to reserve everything online," Blachford said. "They will have an entire itinerary booked and reserved online. Today's world is piecemeal; tomorrow's will present everything all at one place."[5]

Expedia served as Microsoft's first successful spin-off, going public on November 10, 1998, at $14 a share, and like most Net stocks, jumped to $53.44, resulting in a $2 billion market cap, with Microsoft retaining a 70 percent ownership. On July 16, 2001, Microsoft sold Expedia to Barry Diller's USA Networks for $1.5 billion. Diller is a master at convergence; he built USA into a media powerhouse, with tentacles in television (USA), vacation packaging (National Leisure Group), hotel reservations (Hotel Reservation Network), discount shopping (Home Shopping Network), and ticketing (Ticketmaster). He owned a database of about 30 million customers, and Microsoft desperately needed access to them. "USA Networks has a broad reach, which Microsoft can leverage to reach consumers," said Microsoft vice president Yusuf Mehdi.[6]

Hilton Books Room on the Web

Bruce Rosenberg vividly remembers the day Hilton Hotels launched its Web site, which enabled customers to make reservations online. "We launched a site that cost $50,000 to build, and that was a big bet," he said. "The reservation system

concluded with an e-mail sent to the reservation site, but the people there didn't know how to operate e-mail. We set up a bell to alert them an e-mail was coming in."[7] The bell rang three times, and Rosenberg was ecstatic. However, it wasn't the number of orders that got him excited; it was where they came from: one each from Europe, Asia, and the United States. A bell then went off in Rosenberg's mind.

The next day he walked in to his boss's office and told him about the orders. "You've got to be kidding," his boss replied, not knowing whether to be incredibly happy or extraordinarily sad. Rosenberg had seen the light (and heard the bell); he immediately asked his boss for $500,000 to build an e-commerce Web site. Luckily, the three orders were enough for him to agree.

When it came to the Internet, Rosenberg, the Senior Vice President of e-business, knew the early metrics, but he wondered to himself, "How do you turn it into a real business?" From the first day, he decided to keep a major tenant as his guide: leverage the brick and mortar assets to compete online. Hilton focused on customer service and internal discipline, so these values would be kept as the company plunged into e-commerce.

Immediately, Rosenberg realized that Hilton could have great ambitions on the Web, but it didn't want to become a travel agency. He worked internally to set the proper expectations, both for those who expected miracles and others who didn't want to be bothered with the Web. The Web challenge intensified when Hilton acquired the Promus Hotel Corporation in late 1999, which brought Hampton Inn, DoubleTree, and Embassy Suites into the fold. All the disparate brands had to be brought under one umbrella that leveraged the power of the Hilton name.

After conducting numerous user surveys and doing other forms of research, Hilton executives saw that when customers called the Hilton help line, they only stayed on an average of two minutes. On the Web, however, customers initially stayed eight minutes, and that number fell gradually down to five. Rosenberg determined that the Hilton homepage had to be the best point of access to the company in the world.

With this idea in mind as a rallying point, bells then started ringing all over Hilton. The company realized that a customer accessing the Web site cost Hilton eight times less than a voice conversation. Using internal tech tools, Rosenberg calculated a return on investment (ROI) for the homepage and charted it daily. Using the services of a research firm, he then began forecasting how revenue and expenses would change for the site over the next three years. Rather than trying to grab market share or get big fast—the common mania of pure Web companies—Hilton used statistics and forecasting to reinforce the accuracy of its strategy.

At one point, Rosenberg worried about all the venture capital money flowing to competitors and how it would affect Hilton's efforts. In retrospect, he said that it actually kept the company on its toes. "Instead of focusing on competitors, we concentrated on executing on our plan," he said. "We did not want to overspend or have any write-offs from our e-business efforts." In fact, Rosenberg said that Hilton is already collecting $500 million in revenue from business on its Web site, which will approach five percent of the company's total by the end of 2001.[8]

After Hilton built a world-class external site, it then used Web technology to shave costs off its backend, such as having an integrated reservation booking and call center. Tony Nieves, Senior Vice President of Purchasing at Hilton, organized a team to build an internal e-business marketplace to get suppliers hooked directly into the Hilton system. The procurement site began with 500 Hilton hotels and their suppliers, but Nieves expects it to expand to Hilton's 1,600 managed and franchised hotels in the next year. In total, the exchange includes more than 3,500 suppliers, with about 1,000 of these being active participants. Nieves said that the hotels on the system are spending 60 percent of their procurement budgets on the site.

Rosenberg believes the Web is the best place to interact with Hilton. It provides content, personalization, and transaction capabilities across all the company's properties. Hilton's early success on the Web proved that brick and mortar companies could not only compete when it comes to e-commerce, but they actually had the infrastructure to dominate.

As we near the end of the new millennium, online travel is a ubiquitous part of consumer culture.

Travelocity, Expedia, and others no longer have to spend tens of millions of dollars on marketing campaigns because people automatically turn to the sites to fulfill their travel needs. The irony of the former upstart online travel companies is that they are now mainstream. For instance, in early 2008, Priceline sold for $127 a share, while Expedia shares were a more modest $25.

In today's Web 2.0 world, the stalwarts of online travel are adapting to consumer demands. Expedia, for example, owns TripAdvisor, a social travel site that features user-generated travel reviews. "The influence of social networking and community services is growing significantly for online travel," said one industry analyst. "Seeking information and looking for perspective—like-minded experience and judgments—are currently trumping the straightforward hunt for the best price. Services that facilitate a purchasing decision by aggregating or filtering content make [online travel information] relevant to the user."[9]

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Terrorism and Online Travel

It is clear that Expedia, Travelocity, and Orbitz developed different strategies, despite the similarity of their products. Internet users were trained to expect huge savings online, and the travel sites fulfilled this need. However, with the uncertainties that lingered as a result of the September 11 terrorist attacks, the brakes were applied to the phenomenal growth of online firms. Expedia dropped from trading in the mid-30s per share to the low 20s, lowering its market cap to $1.18 billion, while Travelocity fell from the low 20s down to about $13 a share, which valued the company at $650 million.

The chaos surrounding the airlines resulted in massive layoffs in that business and billions of dollars lost in travel and tourism, which had a ripple effect on the main travel Web sites. Expedia and Travelocity reported that bookings dropped by 50 percent after the attacks. If there was a saving grace for the online firms, it was that they had cash in reserve to carry them through the downturn. Expedia, for example, had $225 million in the bank, and because it carried no inventory, it could weather the storm better than many of its online brethren.

ECO-FRIENDLY TRAVEL

Checking into a room at the Quorum Hotel-Tampa, guests immediately notice a tag hanging on the back of the door and others strategically placed throughout the suite. The place cards feature beautiful pictures of sandy beaches and sunsets, perfectly appropriate for the Tampa Bay area, which features some of the world's greatest

THE ROOTS OF ECOTOURISM

The United States environmental movement has roots in the nineteenth century, but it wasn't until the 1960s and 1970s when environmentalism made the leap into public consciousness. In the late 1960s, new scientific discoveries and high-profile environmental accidents, including a widely publicized incident in 1969 when the polluted waters of the Ohio River caught fire, brought environmental issues to the political foreground. In 1970, a nationwide celebration of conservation and environmentalism, known as Earth Day, was established as a focal point for the movement. Until the mid-1970s, funding for environmental protection was obtained through government grants and public donation. As environmental concern entered the mainstream, enterprising individuals saw the potential for combining conservation and tourism. By 1989, tourist agencies were offering environmentally-friendly trips to a variety of exotic locations, from Africa to Antarctica, where visitors could engage in snorkeling, scuba diving, hiking, and photography. Now a multi-million dollar industry, ecotourism and environmentalism proved to be more than a simple fad. With a dwindling supply of natural resources, the sake of the world's natural areas is dependent on creative fundraising and cooperation between state and public organizations. By combining recreation with environmental protection, ecotourism provides a prime example of how to simultaneously address public and private interests for mutual benefit.

beaches. However, the message contained on each is more serious: "We invite you to join with us to conserve water by using your towels more than once," the notice reads. "In addition to decreasing water and energy consumption, you help us replace the amount of detergent waste water that must be recycled within our community."[10] The marketing effort to educate guests at the hotel is part of the Southwest Florida Water Management District's (Swiftmud) program to conserve water. Initiated in 2002, the move is one of many nationwide that focuses on reaching people with an eco-friendly message. Consumers in the new millennium demand these types of programs, and the travel industry is one of the most innovative in meeting this need.

As a primary tourist destination, Florida is a leader in the eco-friendly travel movement. The state began a "Green Lodging" program in 2004 within the Florida Department of Environmental Protection's waste management division to promote hotels and motels that meet a number of criteria built around environmental awareness. From 2004 to 2008, the number of hotels participating grew from 10 to more than 100, with another 275 in the application process. Companies achieving the Florida Green Lodging certification have learned that it is also a financial benefit, according to journalist Ted Jackovics, "realizing conservation can become a marketing tool as well as a cost-savings effort."[11]

Nationwide, the eco-friendly movement at hotels began in the 1990s by giving guests the opportunity to opt-out of linen and towel service, which saved on water and electricity expenses. The Texas-based Green Hotels Association estimated that hotels could save $6.50 or more a day per room if guests participated. In the Tampa region, since 2002, Swiftmud's plan is estimated to have saved participants about 20 percent to 30 percent in laundry expenses and one billion gallons of water.[12]

In addition to Florida, where Governor Charlie Christ signed an executive order requiring state agencies and departments to hold meetings and conferences at Green Lodging companies, similar programs are underway in California, Michigan, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Vermont, Virginia, and Wisconsin. According to Penny Heudorf, Director of Sales and Marketing at Quorum Hotel-Tampa, businesses are also using the eco-friendly designation in making decisions about where to permit business travel and meetings. "These days, when we go through a process with business clients to negotiate rates, the clients are asking what we are doing in terms of environmental initiatives," she said.[13]

"WHAT HAPPENS IN VEGAS . . ."

In the new millennium, destinations and tourism groups that represent geographic regions banded together in the battle to win travelers in a heated industry based on cutthroat competition. In 2005, Las Vegas, which many people equated with Sinatra's Rat Pack, gambling, and Sin City, embraced its outlaw heritage with a new slogan, "What happens here, stays here." The motto—part of a risky $75 million advertising campaign—struck a chord with adult travelers, who flocked to Vegas, viewing it as a kind of adult playground. The campaign also flew in the face of the city's attempt to mimic Disney with its former "It's anything and everything" family-friendly slogan.[14]

In early 2008, building off the success of "What happens here…," Las Vegas tourism executives introduced a complimentary tagline: "Your Vegas is Showing," meant to work with the now-iconic slogan. Erika Pope of the Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority explained that Vegas in the new millennium represents the "adult freedom experience." Each year since the original campaign launched, the number of visitors broke the record of the previous year. Some 38.9 million people visited in 2006, topped by the 39.2 million in 2007.[15]

Although its slogan is catchy, Las Vegas reinvented itself on more than just a catchphrase. At the heart of the transformation is a building boom on the Strip and a steady infusion of celebrities. In early 2008, for example, the gold-covered Trump International hotel opened, capitalizing on "The Donald's" popularity. Rapper and budding business tycoon Jay-Z opened a nightclub (dubbed 40/40) inside The Palazzo, another of Vegas's new hotels. The glitz of potentially rubbing elbows with a real life celebrity at a new club or at a boxing match draws many tourists to Vegas. At



Las Vegas at night. The spectacularly glittering skyline indicates how much of a popular vacation destination the city has become. Courtesy of Shutterstock.

the same time, the average room rate has nearly doubled over five years, from $80 to $139 a night. The new hotels begin rates at $200 and quickly go up from there. Similarly, tickets to shows in Vegas are pricey, from $95 to $250 to see Bette Midler to $94 to $160 for tickets to Cirque du Soleil's tribute to the Beatles at the Mirage.[16]

LUXURY TRAVEL

For wealthy people, travel means exclusivity and privacy. The difference between these high-end consumers and everyone else is that the rich have unlimited resources to pay for those features. Often for the wealthy, travel is one of the best ways they can enjoy their money; after all, there are only so many cars, boats, planes, or houses one can own. Milton Pedraza, CEO of the Luxury Institute in New York, explained: "The widening number of affluent travelers around the world are increasingly willing to spend their wealth on *experiences* like travel instead of *things* like cars or second and third homes." From 2005 to 2006, for example, luxury hotel revenue increased 10 percent.[17]

For business travelers on the road, more are opting for higher-end digs and upgrading from the lesser pack of discount chains. In response, some hotels are remodeling and expanding services to lure in corporate money. According to consulting firm PricewaterhouseCoopers, about 136,500 hotel rooms began construction in 2006, a 64.2 percent increase in one year and the single-biggest jump since 1994.[18]

Little upgrades, such as a larger bed and nicer bathrooms, are enough to get business road warriors hooked. Hampton Hotels designed a program called "Cloud Nine," which attracts people by making sleep more enjoyable with 200-thread-count comforters and jumbo-sized down or foam pillows. Realizing that business people have specific work needs, most hotels offer high-speed Internet access.

HOW OTHERS SEE US

Globalization = Americanization?

During the twentieth century, the expansion of mass media, the increasing ease of travel, and the burgeoning communications industry made far-flung cultures more closely interlinked. In the early years of the twenty-first century, this process has only accelerated with the Internet and wireless technologies. Are these trends a threat to local cultures that will inevitably be swamped by the homogenizing, commercialized tide of globalization? And, as many contend, does this coming global culture wear an American face?

Certainly, the power and reach of American business is tremendous. As columnist Thomas Friedman has written, "globalization wears Mickey Mouse ears, it drinks Pepsi and Coke, it eats Big Macs." Resentment of this "soft power," coupled with anger over U.S. foreign policy and the Iraq War, led to a perceptible rise in anti-American sentiment in the mid-2000s.

On the other hand, the flow of international communication goes both ways, and American popular culture itself is globalizing, incorporating more outside influences more quickly than ever before. In pop music, Caribbean styles like dub and reggaeton have been a major factor on the American charts; in fashion, Australia's Ugg boot sparked an American craze; in food, formerly exotic flavors like Thai and Vietnamese cooking are becoming positively mainstream; in film, genres like Japanese horror have attracted large audiences and inspired Hollywood remakes.

Some historians look back to Japan in the early twentieth century for clues about how to incorporate the best or most useful aspects of technology and global culture while maintaining the integrity of local culture. And, as international relations theorist Joseph Nye posits, perhaps the Internet itself—with its ability to enable the formation of virtual, idea-based communities without regard to borders or distances—will be the means by which cultural traditions and niche interests will survive and thrive in a globalized age.

Visual Arts

of the 2000s

The Biennial art show at the Whitney Museum of American Art is a showcase of young talent and presents a kind of state of the union of contemporary art. The 2008 Biennial, according to journalist Leslie Camhi, reveals the depths in which "we're living at the end of the American empire" and how that might make an observer "feel nostalgia for a not-so-distant past when our nation's art seemed in the vanguard, formally or politically."[1]

The show featured many versions of the trendy "dystopic video art and sculptural installation," but only one painter, which Camhi claims might be "a thing of the past, a relic from a preceding generation." Other artists put together works strewn together from pieces of garbage. Phoebe Washburn built an "ecosystem" of different objects rising up from "beds of neon-yellow golf balls." Other artists—81 in total—worked in video or via video screen. Many pondered the dual wars in Iraq and against terror and the consequences.[2]

Taken as a whole, the 2008 Biennial may not fulfill some grand vision of American art as we near the end of the first decade of the new millennium, but the kinds of work and what is considered art make a statement about the direction visual arts is charting. Many of the artists featured video installations, which points to the way art is both following and leading the broader culture. Taking cues from music videos, reality television, and film, among other factors, artists who work with video are showing how their work reflects broader societal implications. These artists also point toward a future where art is unfixed, whether in a flat-screen frame or concealed some way within the fabric of a home. Glimpses of this future already sit on mantles in people's homes and on the shelves of retailers in the form of picture frames loaded with digital images that change at the viewer's discretion. How long before this kind of technology transforms art and how people interact with artwork?

Undoubtedly, technology infiltrated the visual arts in the decade as the computer and its peripherals took center stage in American life. For example, computer software and programs enabled graphic artists to create designs that were more sensual and expressive of the democratic impulse. These works, unlike a static painting, allowed for interaction with the audience and a unique viewer experience. In addition, visual arts delivered a greater degree of freedom to the art world by making the Internet an important component. With the Web, more people entered into the art world, primarily through purchasing art online or participating in an auction at a site like eBay. However, enabling transactions to occur in the virtual world also carried some risk. Art collectors and museums face the real possibility that

a rare find purchased through a middle man may actually be a stolen treasure or a fake.

While new artists are breaking onto the scene in the 2000s, few, if any have, achieved the iconic or popular status of their predecessors, such as Jackson Pollack, Andy Warhol, or Ansel Adams. Artists whose work dominated the art houses of the 1980s and 1990s still receive most of the attention in the world of visual arts. The old masters still receive the lion's share of public attention, even though traditional paintings are much less influential in today's digital world.

An important trend in the 2000s is that more cultures are now participating in the art world, if only on a local or regional scale in some cases. For instance, Native Americans put on arts festivals to showcase their work, as do African Americans and other groups. Most of the smaller programs won't get much more publicity than a blurb in the hometown paper, but the millions of people collectively that flock to these community-building events have the opportunity to gain insight into the artwork of cultures outside their own.

At the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of the American Indian, for example, the professional staff enlisted community curators to help them with framing the last 500 years of native history. These helpers came from different tribes and aided the staff in gaining a better understanding of artifacts and displays. Kevin Gover, Director of the museum and a Pawnee, explained, "Our philosophy is to give voice to the native community, to give them an opportunity to tell their story. In the mind of Indian people, they've never been able to tell their story. Their story is told by others."[3]

ONLINE ART AND AUCTIONS

The Internet revolution extends to the art world and stands poised to increase its importance in the future. The Web offers some critical benefits to potential art buyers: the ability to participate in auctions across physical space and additional research opportunities that did not exist as easily before the wired world. Perhaps the most compelling feature is that the Internet delivers direct access to artists. Collectors are already using this link to buy directly from rising stars. In the near future, such exchanges may eliminate the auction house model, though posthumous sales do necessitate a middle person role to some degree.

For the larger auctions that generate global interest, Bonhams (bonhams.com), Christie's (Christies.com), and Sotheby's (sothebys.com), all have online sites that attract new audiences who either enjoy the anonymity of the Web experience or may be intimidated by the stuffy atmosphere of an in-person auction.

eBay

Web-based auction site eBay has had a central role as a popular culture phenomenon in the new millennium. Though its traditional auction model waned a bit as the novelty of the site wore off, the company created new revenue streams that simultaneously expanded its influence. In the art world, eBay Live Auctions enabled auctions to take place in the virtual world with or without a simultaneous one in the physical realm. After registering to be an online bidder, a person simply makes bids via the site.

In early 2008, Wildwood Antiques Center near Toledo, Ohio, hosted an auction that included prominent works owned by Owens-Illinois Inc., a local corporation that manufactures glass containers. The auction took place at Wildwood's location, as well the eBay site, with online bids projected onto a 20-foot-by-10-foot screen. The on-site bids were also registered on eBay, so both groups had the information simultaneously.[4]

Green Valley Auctions of Mount Crawford, Virginia, sold $368,000 in its annual winter catalogued and uncatalogued sale of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century glass and lighting in January 2008, with more than 3,500 pieces sold over 4 sessions. The firm eclipsed its 2007 winter figure, which president and senior auctioneer Jeffrey S. Evans said is due to its online component. "In this auction," he said, "about 31 percent of the sales over the three days went through eBay Live. We think that's interesting and significant." Using eBay, Evans said, opened the sale globally, with buyers in Egypt, Malta, South America, and the Netherlands, in addition to the firm's traditional European buyers. Others merely watched the action via the Internet.[5]

Along with eBay's successes, some gallery owners and observers criticize the company for focusing too much on the bottom line and moving further away from its roots as a place where small businesses and individuals could buy and trade freely. Chuck Hamsher, owner of the Purple Moon gallery in Charleston, West Virginia, had a long and fruitful relationship with the online seller dating back to 1999. By 2001, he opened an eBay store. In 2008, however, he closed the virtual location and stopped doing business with the auctioneer after it lowered listing fees but increased commission fees. The company also altered its famous feedback/rating system, the backbone of the transaction model.[6]

Hamsher wrote in his blog on why he left eBay and received hundreds of e-mails in response from other small business sellers. With tighter profit margins and cost controls, small businesses have more to lose under eBay's new commission setup. The company bumped its fee from 5.25 percent to 8.75 percent. Perhaps even more debilitating to eBay users is that sellers will no longer be able to post negative feedback to buyers, which opens the site to additional fraud. "The feedback system has worked because it was mutual. The system is worthless without being mutual," Hamsher wrote in his blog.[7]

MUSEUMS

Though most museums focus on displaying great works of art by the acknowledged masters—a distinctly historical outlook—the art world competes with all the other forms of entertainment available to consumers in the modern world. In response, museums launch marketing plans that include family nights, limited-run exhibits that will attract significant attention, and other programs that will draw people off their couches and away from the computer.

Science and technology museums, such as the Museum of Science and Industry (MOSI) in Tampa and the Carnegie Science Center in Pittsburgh, have been particularly successful in marketing to families and children. MOSI has an entire wing designed for kids to interact with science and technology through exhibits that enhance motor skills, logic, and creativity as children play. In some instances, these institutions are willing to take risks to gain exposure. Both centers hosted the controversial "Bodies" traveling exhibit, which featured preserved human bodies and internal organs on display. Despite public outcry from religious organizations and human rights activists, MOSI increased membership and used the money raised from ticket sales to fund operations and new exhibits.

In an attempt to uncover what patrons want from the museum experience, institutions nationwide are using technology. The Museum of Modern Art in New York completed a $450 million expansion in 2005 and simultaneously compiled information on visitors to put into a database. The Detroit Institute of Arts conducted research into patron preferences and uncovered statistics that overturned common perceptions, including that only 7 percent of visitors actually read wall plaques and spent a mere 4 or 5 minutes in any gallery, much less than the 20 minutes that officials assumed. Museum executives realize that these kinds of studies help them determine who visits, why they come, and what will make them return. In implementing the findings, museums are changing everything from the types of music played to hours of operation. Nancy Price from the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art said, "People want to know that what they're seeing is relevant to their life. This might sound simple, but it's important for us to hear."[8]

The challenge for museums is balancing the presentation of so-called high brow versus low brow exhibits. According to journalist Carol Vogel, "While serving up what audiences want may be a smart business move, there is a fear by curators that things can go too far, that catering to public opinion could dumb down a museum and supplant curatorial wisdom. Are museums for high culture or low? Places to see Ralph Lauren's car collection and 'Star Wars' costumes, props and drawings rather than Vermeer and Renaissance tapestries?" This kind of equilibrium remains elusive, yet critical, for museum curators, particularly in an era dominated by digital communications. It is not an easy task to get people into museums.[9]



Museums work hard to market their exhibitions to the public and to encourage attendance. Courtesy of Shutterstock.

Michael Govan

In the not-so-distant past, the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA) had little consequence on the artistic scene, locally or nationally. In 2006, backers brought in Michael Govan to turn around the ailing museum. In the years since, Govan led that transformation, basically turning LACMA into LA's foremost art institution. This is pretty heady stuff for a formerly second-tier museum in a city that is home to Hollywood and the Getty.

Govan represents a new breed of museum chief executive, both strategic and with the artistic flair to make people take notice. Similar to the rock star architects and artists of the last 20 years, Govan takes on high-profile projects and essentially becomes the face of the organization. In 2003, he drew national attention for turning an abandoned biscuit factory into the Dia Art Foundation museum in Beacon, New York.[10]

The first step in the makeover included a physical expansion and upgrade. LACMA opened the $56 million Broad Contemporary Art Museum, designed by Italian architect Renzo Piano, to house the collection of its most prominent backer, Eli Broad. The new facility contains 56,000 square feet of exhibition space, which serves as the focal point of the museum's transformation.

But, Govan's real strongpoint is in having a knack for exhibit design. Artist Alexis Smith outlined Govan's work in bringing neon artist Dan Flavin to the museum. "The Flavin exhibition was beautifully selected, installed and almost choreographed," Smith said. "Its level of visual sophistication was doubly interesting because it was done not by a museum curator but by a museum director."[11] Govan also orchestrated the remodeling of the

museum's entrance, bringing in artist Robert Irwin to create a garden of palm trees, Chris Burden to install vintage street lamps, and for phase two of the renovation, a Jeff Koons-designed 70-foot train replica dangled from a crane.

Today's young museum leaders are able to wow corporate sponsors and celebrities. Govan brought Barbara Streisand into LACMA as a trustee. He also strengthened ties with Hollywood, adding Michael Lynton, the chief executive of Sony Pictures Entertainment, as a director. These ties are critical in running a museum in the new millennium. Govan and his colleagues at other institutions must delicately mix corporate sponsorship and dollars into growth and sustainability plans. For example, the global oil company BP funded the new $25 million solar-powered entrance pavilion and will have its name adorned to the structure. This move led to some criticism, but it seems to be a necessity in today's art world. Museums need large endowments and LACMA's $170 million is miniscule compared to more well-known places like the Museum of Modern Art ($650 million).[12]

Another central figure in the LACMA's renovation is Broad, its benefactor and namesake for the new building. The list of pieces he is donating reads like a who's who of contemporary art: Koons, Cindy Sherman, Roy Lichtenstein, and Robert Rauschenberg. "I'd like to make the largest gift, and I liked to help raise a lot of money," Broad said. "But now that we've got other, younger trustees of some prominence and wealth, I'm delighted that they're very engaged. And we've got a great leader in Michael, so it all feels pretty good to me."[13]

Scams, Fakes, and Fraud

The culmination of a five-year probe into art fraud took place on January 24, 2008, when teams of federal agents from the Internal Revenue Service, National Park Service, and Immigration and Customs Enforcement descended on four California museums: The Mingei International Museum in San Diego, the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, the Pacific Asia Museum in Pasadena, and the Bowers Museum in Santa Ana. The raids came after the agencies investigated possible theft and tax schemes after the institutions allegedly accepted looted cultural treasures from Thailand. According to journalists Jeff McDonald and Jeanette Steele, the action taken in California "has drawn new attention to an unwelcome fact of the art trade: An increasing amount of pillaged property is finding its way into museums and private collections."[14]

With no federal agency providing oversight into the art theft challenge, even the best museums and collectors in the world face reproach. The stakes are high for all parties involved in complex art purchasing and trades. Often, the transactions seem more like they are from a James Bond movie than between real-life international dealers and museum representatives. In the 2000s, developing countries are most susceptible to looting.

In the California case, Robert Olson, a Los Angeles smuggler, sold items stolen from grave sites in the Ban Chiang region of northeast Thailand. At the Mingei, federal officials believe that 70 objects were acquired illegally, and they seized 23 in the January search. The artifacts in question are mainly earthenware pieces, some that date back to 3000 B.C. Similarly, in 2007, the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles returned 40 pieces that Italian officials said were stolen. Both The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston also returned stolen Italian artwork.[15]

Investigators at Immigration and Customs Enforcement's Office of Investigations conduct extensive analyses of potentially illegal art sales, citing the general political instability in some parts of the world as a catalyst for such crimes. Some 50 agents watch the Web and investigate international shipping records hoping to minimize illegal trafficking. The office focuses on returning pilfered pieces to their rightful owners, not necessarily convicting the looters and/or middlemen involved in the transactions. Putting the criminals in jail is difficult in these cases, so prosecutors concentrate on getting the items returned.[16]

PHOTOGRAPHY

Ian Allen

Photographer Ian Allen and his friend documentary filmmaker Jeremy Blakeslee snuck into

an abandoned Bethlehem steel mill in eastern Pennsylvania to look around and capture images of the empty plant, once teeming with life and hot, molten metal. Soon to be demolished and replaced with a casino, the men dodged security guards and jumped fences to get at the heart of the deserted mill. Of Allen's photography, journalist Jami Attenberg said, "The cavernous images have a mournful air; one can feel the staleness in the place. In some shots, the abandoned machinery looms as if it were wounded. The photos capture what is absent as much as what remains."[17]

Taken from inside and outside the abandoned mill, Allen's photographs underscore desertedness and the immensity of the place. Some of the shots are taken from rooftops as a sheen of snow covers the ground. They reveal depth, represented by the rail lines indicating distance and the blue-gray sky that extends out forever. The rusty buildings preview the work of demolition crews that will pull the plant apart piece by piece. In another shot, a section of the mill's roof in the foreground accentuates the run-down town built on a stark hillside just beyond its gates. These are the people the mill left behind, and their homes are multicolored, but worn: a hodgepodge of misshapen buildings filled with people as abandoned as the mill itself.

Originally from Seattle, and educated at the School of Visual Arts in New York, the 27-year-old Allen epitomizes visual arts in the new millennium. He is not limited to one medium, working in both photography and design. Allen also represents the kind of fluid globalization that younger artists embody. On a trip to Asia, Allen contrasted the chaotic street life in Tokyo with the rural solitude of Tibet. Unlike artists of past generations, Allen is focused on his work first, rather than the money he can generate. "At this point in my career, I'd rather be stuffing my portfolio and wait to stuff my wallet later, if ever," he said. "I'm trying to avoid the ever-increasing salary-equals-success mentality that young designers can get trapped in."[18] Allen's client list represents his interests across popular culture. They range from MTV and HBO, to the advertising firm Ogilvy & Mather and *New York* magazine.

Gregory Crewdson

Director, production manager, or choreographer—rather than photographer—might be better labels for what Gregory Crewdson creates on film. Rather than the traditional stereotype of a barren, white room containing little more than a photographer, model, and camera, Crewdson stages elaborate scenes, sometimes on a soundstage and others in the field, often small towns in Massachusetts. Regardless, the result is an image that tells a story of humanity, particularly in the American suburbs. Sometimes, these photographs capture the lurid details people hope to keep from their neighbors, while others the focus on the elegance in ordinary lives.

Born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1962, Crewdson teaches photography at Yale University, where he received his MFA. He gained attention in the 1990s for several series that mixed the mundane and outrageous into a surreal view of life in Lee, Massachusetts, where his family had a cabin when he was a boy. The town serves as the backdrop for many of Crewdson's works. In his artist's biography from the Guggenheim, one gets the sense of the scope and filmic vision of Crewdson's works, which are "Decidedly cinematic images reminiscent of the films of Steven Spielberg. These recent photographs have become increasingly spectacular and complex to produce, requiring dozens of assistants, Hollywood-style lighting, and specially crafted stage sets."[19]

One is thrown off when first examining Crewdson's stills. They require a second, deeper look because it is almost impossible to believe that the lush colors aren't from a painting. Crewdson's *Twilight* series (1998–2001), for example, shows typical family scenes, bathed in deep hues of reds and grays. Then, there is an added fantastical aspect of the photograph that completely changes the viewer's perception of the piece. Crewdson explained his fascination with that instant where normal and abnormal collide, saying:

> In all my pictures what I am ultimately interested in is that moment of transcendence or transportation, where one is transported into another place, into a perfect, still world. Despite my compulsion to create this still world,

> it always meets up against the impossibility of doing so. So, I like the collision between this need for order and perfection and how it collides with a sense of the impossible. I like where possibility and impossibly meet.[20]

In a 2006 photo, *Untitled (north by northwest),* a woman sits in the passenger seat of an automobile, its lights on, stopped in the middle of a desolate street at a yellow light. There is no visible sign of the driver or that the person even existed—the only option is that the character literally ran out of the frame. But how did the driver get out of the picture before the passenger could react? True to Crewdson's style, the photograph looks like a color movie still, and the dawn sky and light mist in the background have sucked the color out of the picture, which allows the faint yellow of a crosswalk in the foreground and the overhead traffic light to sizzle. Upon first glance, the viewer would be hard pressed to believe that such perfection could be staged.

The tension, however, is always the focus in Crewdson. Describing Crewdson's style as a chronicler of suburban America, a recent reviewer said, "Rather than depicting suburbia as a place of expectation, his photographs show the suburbs as a shadowy world where strange and even surreal things happen; in one image showing here, a middle-aged man watches absently as clouds of smoke billow from a backyard shed. You sense that some dark truth lies below the scene's otherwise calm surface." The artist asks the audience to reexamine life both hidden and exposed in the seemingly boring suburbs and perhaps question the stereotypes associated with suburbia.[21]

PAINTING

Mark Bradford

Over a six year span, Mark Bradford achieved the American Dream. At the beginning of the journey, he ran his mother's hair salon in South Los Angeles with hopes of someday becoming an artist. Fast forward a little more than a handful of years later, and his paintings sell for $250,000. He is a featured artist at shows around the country and enjoys global fame, including winning the 2006 Bucksbaum Award, a $100,000 prize given to a participant at the Whitney Biennial.

Like any great American success story, Bradford's did not come without some heartbreak. In 2001, he sold his first piece, titled *Enter and Exit the New Negro* to the Studio Museum in Harlem. For the next two years, some of his work met with criticism, including shows at Art Basel Miami and the Whitney Altria space. In 2003, however, Bradford bounced back at a show called "Bounce." Curator Eungie Joo pushed him to "work big" and bought him the canvas to do so. Bradford came back strong, including the piece *Los Moscos,* later one of his works at the 2006 Whitney Biennial.[22]

In September 2007, his first solo show, "Neither New nor Correct," opened at the Whitney. It featured scenes from his hometown Leimert Park neighborhood in Los Angeles. Bradford's influences extend beyond his African American roots to include his place as a third generation small business owner. He explained:

> Early on, I was interested in using material that came from my merchant roots. My mother was a hair stylist; I was a hair stylist. But then I started thinking, "Where is what I do?" It doesn't sound right, but that was my question. And the answer to where? was community. Once I looked out of the hair salon and became interested in the environment around me—and the language of that environment—everything that I had been trying to talk about was already there . . . I wanted to engage that material more directly. The conversations I was interested in were about community, fluidity, about a merchant dynamic, and the details that point to a genus of change. The species I use sometimes are racial, sexual, cultural, stereotypical. But the genus I'm always interested in is change.[23]

Like many other twenty-first century artists, Bradford works across many forms of media, not just painting. He is well-regarded as a "found" artist, or one who takes things he finds on the streets (in Bradford's case, signage and advertising) and turns it into art. "Bradford incorporates elements from his daily life into his canvases: remnants of found posters and billboards, graffitied stencils



Adam Weinberg, director of the Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, stands in front Mark Bradford's *Los Moscos* as he addresses reporters during a press preview of the Whitney Biennial 2006: "Day for Night," February 28, 2006 in New York City. AP Photo.

and logos, and hairdresser's permanent endpapers he's collected from his other profession as a stylist," the experts at The Saatchi Gallery said. "In *The Devil is Beating His Wife,* Bradford consolidates all these materials into a pixelised eruption of cultural cross-referencing. Built up on plywood in sensuous layers ranging from silky and skin-like to oily and singed, Bradford offers abstraction with an urban flair that's explosively contemporary."[24]

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MUSEUMS, ORGANIZATIONS, SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, AND USEFUL WEB SITES

America at War. The Washington Post Web site. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/world/specials/iraq. The Washington Post Company, 2008.

A compendium of information about the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the site features photographs, multimedia resources, and articles about the conflicts overseas, military and political leaders, and citizens affected by the wars. The site also has interactive maps and other features that provide quick information. There is also an updated list of casualties in both wars, including a photograph and biographical information about the fallen.

Iraq. U.S. Department of State Web site. http://www.state.gov/p/nea/ci/c3212.htm. The Office of Electronic Information, Bureau of Public Affairs, U.S. Department of State, 2008.

The Web site compiles information about the war in Iraq, including remarks by the president, top-ranked military leaders, and other governmental officials. The site also contains government reports on the military and rebuilding efforts in Iraq, as well as photographs and related links.

The Surprising Legacy of Y2K. American RadioWorks. http://americanradioworks.publicradio.org/features/y2k/index.html. American Public Media, 2008.

A Web site that contains a series of radio broadcasts (and transcripts) investigating the Y2K computer challenge that gripped the nation in the late 1990s. For the fifth anniversary of Y2K, America Public Media examines the history and the legacy of the millennium bug. After the hoopla and warnings about Y2K, many dismissed it as a hoax, scam, or non-event. Not only was Y2K a real threat narrowly averted but it also still has important effects on the economy. It continues to change how people look at technology.

Whitley, Peggy, et al. American Cultural History 1990–1999. Kingwood College Library Web site. http://kclibrary.lonestar.edu/decade90.html, 2007.

A Web site dedicated to examining American cultural history in the 1990s, Whitley provides an overview of the decade and extensive links to additional resources. The site is filled with statistics about the 1990s and photographs of the era.

William J. Clinton Presidential Library. 1200 President Clinton Avenue, Little Rock, Arkansas, 72201. http://www.clintonlibrary.gov/.

The archival and museum holdings at the Clinton Presidential Library and Museum are the largest within the Presidential Library system. Included in these collections are approximately 76.8 million pages of paper documents, 1.85 million photographs, and over 84,600 museum artifacts. Official records, as well as donated materials, will be made available to researchers. In addition to the archival collection and research facilities, the library and museum features exhibits, special events, and educational programs. The museum includes replicas of the Oval Office and the Cabinet Room. Permanent exhibits utilize documents, photographs, videos, and interactive stations. A timeline and alcoves highlight domestic and foreign policy, as well as life in the White House.

VIDEOS/FILMS

Bowling for Columbine. Directed by Michael Moore. 119 minutes. Distributed by MGM Home Entertainment, 2003. VHS. Documentarian Michael Moore examines the root of violence involving firearms in the United States. He focuses on the shootings that took place at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado.

Fahrenheit 9/11. Directed by Michael Moore. 122 minutes. Distributed by Columbia TriStar Home Entertainment, 2004. DVD. Through archival footage, interviews, and declassified documents, Michael Moore illustrates the connections President George W. Bush has to the royal house of Saud of Saudia Arabia and the bin Ladens, how the president got elected on allegedly fraudulent circumstances, and then proceeded to blunder through his early presidency. When terrorists struck on September 11, Moore explains how Bush failed to take immediate action to defend the nation.

Fight Club. Directed by David Fincher. 139 minutes. Distributed by 20th Century Fox, 2000. DVD. The film captures the zeitgeist of the late 1990s and early 2000s by examining the power of consumerism on modern American society, particularly in emasculating men. Filled with anarchist overtones and riveting performances by Brad Pitt and Edward Norton, *Fight Club* had widespread influence on filmgoers searching for existential meaning.

Hip-Hop: Beyond Beats and Rhymes. Directed by Byron Hurt. 61 minutes. Distributed by Media Education Foundation, 2006. DVD. A provocative examination of the conceptualization of masculinity and hypermasculinity in hip-hop culture. Includes interviews with prominent rappers, music industry executives, and social critics, including Mos Def, Fat Joe, Chuck D, Jadakiss, Busta Rhymes, Russell Simmons, and Michael Eric Dyson.

No End in Sight. Directed by Charles Ferguson. 102 minutes. Distributed by Magnolia Home Entertainment, 2007. DVD. Presents an insider's observations of the 2003 invasion of Iraq and the subsequent occupation, featuring commentary from high-ranking officals, Iraqi civilians, American soldiers, and analysts. The documentary examines U.S. policy decisions surrounding the invasion and their consequences in Iraq, including such issues as low U.S. troop levels, the uncontrolled looting of Baghdad, the purging of professionals from the Iraqi government, the disbanding of the national military, and the subsequent surge of civil and political chaos.

Rap: Looking for the Perfect Beat. Directed by Susan Shaw. 53 minutes. Distributed by Films for the Humanities, 2000. Featuring pioneering rap artist Melle Mel, the documentary describes the history of rap and hip-hop from its roots in earlier oral and musical traditions to its full flowering in the mid-1990s. The video contains interviews with rappers Ice Cube and Snoop Doggy Dogg.

Road to the Presidency: Inside the Clinton Campaign. Directed by Scott Jacobs. 164 minutes. Distributed by Facets Video, 2004. DVD. An unprecedented view of the 1992 presidential election. The documentary provides an inside look at Bill Clinton's path through the primaries, the Democratic convention, and the televised debates with President George H. W. Bush. The film provides insight beyond simple campaign reporting and gives a compelling view that is funny and poignant, as well as instructive.

Star Wars. Episode III, Revenge of the Sith. Directed by George Lucas. 140 minutes. Distributed by 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2005. DVD. The final piece of the *Star Wars* puzzle, the film examines how Anakin Skywalker becomes Darth Vader. Torn between loyalty to his mentor, Obi-Wan Kenobi, and the seductive powers of the Sith, Skywalker ultimately turns his back on the Jedi. This begins his journey to the dark side and his transformation into Darth Vader.

Super Size Me. Directed by Morgan Spurlock. 100 minutes. Distributed by Samuel Goldwyn Films and Showtime Independent Films, 2004. DVD. Filmmaker Morgan Spurlock embarks on a journey to find out if fast food is making Americans fat. For 30 days he eats or drinks only from the McDonald's menu. The film includes visits to doctors and nutritionists and details Spurlock's spiral toward obesity and stunning metamorphosis.

The War Room. Directed by Chris Hegedus and D. A. Pennebaker. 96 minutes. Distributed by Vidmark Entertainment, 1994. VHS. Documentary about the Clinton presidential campaign, from the New Hampshire primary to the victory party 10 months later. Featured are the two men credited with getting Clinton elected: James Carville, the campaign manager, and George Stephanopoulos, the communications director.

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Cost of Products from 1900-2000

Cost of Products 1900–2000

Product	1900s	1910s	1920s	1930s	1940s
Food					
Flour (cents per pound)	16	21	30.5	21	34.7
Bread (cents per pound)	3	7	9	7.9	11
Round steak (cents per pound)	14	23	36.2	39.3	65
Butter (cents per pound)	29	35.8	55.2	39.5	54.3
Eggs (cents per dozen)	27.2	34.1	55.4	38.3	56.1
Milk (cents per half gallon)	14.4	17.6	27.8	26.3	31.2
Potatoes (cents per 10 lbs.)	17	15	36	24.7	49.3
Coffee (cents per pound)	35	30	50.4	25.7	41.9
Sugar (cents per pound)	30	33	35	28.9	38.6
Clothing					
Women's blouse (each)	$0.98	$1.00–$1.98	$1.98	$0.39	$2.90–$7.98
Women's shoes (per pair)	$1.50	$1.95	$2.50	$2.95–$10.50	$8.95–$16.95
Men's suit	$3.98–15	$13.95–$15	$12.50	$14.95–$26.75	$27.95–$44.95
Child's coat	$2.48–$7.98	$5.98	$14.50–$16.50	$8.69–$11.98	$8.50–$13
Travel/Leisure					
Gas (dollars per gallon; yearly averages)	N/A	N/A	$0.21–$0.30	$0.17–$0.20	$0.18–$0.27
Ford Model T	$825	$360	$290	$495 (used)	$625 (used Deluxe Sedan)
Theater ticket	$0.35–$0.75	$0.10–$0.25	$0.20–$3.00	$2–$5 (opera)	$1.20–$3
Home Furnishings and Appliances					
Refrigerator	$8.92 (wooden ice box)	$900	$195–$245	$174.50–$250	$159.95
Bedroom set	$39.50–$60	$236.50–$355	$1,450	$68.75–$99.50	$100
Living Room set	NA (Sofa, $4.50–$10.98/each)	$154–$171.50	$160	$88 (3 pieces)	$269 (3 pieces)

The statistical data presented in this section are compiled from a number of sources and meant to be representative of the indicated decade. The sources include: Proquest, *New York Times Historic,* (1851–present) database; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), *Retail Prices of Selected Foods in U.S. Cities, 1890–1970;* Morris County Library, *How Much Did It Cost in Morris County, New Jersey?* http://www.gti.net/mocolib1/prices; and Energy Information Administration (EIA), Department of Energy, "Retail Gasoline Historical Prices," http://www.eia.doe.gov/oil_gas/petroleum/data_publications/wrgp/mogas_history.html, as well as information derived from the works cited in the volume.

1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s
51.8	56.7	39 (5 lb. bag)	69 (5 lb. bag)	99 (5 lb. bag)	99 (5 lb. bag)
17	22.3	39 (22 ounce loaf)	99 (2 20 ounce loaves)	99 (22 ounce loaf)	284 (per loaf)
98.8	116.1	179 (London Broil)	297 (prime rib)	289 (boneless sirloin)	600 (prime rib)
74.1	80.8	70	173	150	349
56.7	59.4	69	87	99	229
45.9	59	49	93	115	319
56.4	80.8	49.5	38	189 (5 lb. bag)	69 (per lb)
94	83.2	99	225	299 (13 ounce can)	799
53.5	61.5	49.8	43	43	43
$1.99	$8	$9.75–$20	$29.99–$119	$9.99–$48	$19.99–$49.99
$7.99–$18.95	$5.90–$19.97	$8.99–$30	$19.99–$68	$28.99–$89.99	$29.99–$129
$59–$85	$29.90–$42.95	$35–$60	$159–$265	$187.50–$475	$250–$495
$7.80–$42.98	$19.99–$37.99	$23–$55	$30–$180	$29–$116	$42–$115
$0.27–$0.31	$0.30–$0.35	$0.36–$0.90	$0.93–$1.38	$1.06–$1.23	$1.36–$4.50
$598 (used Victoria)	$2,199 (new Custom Sedan)	$2,895 (new Pinto)	$13,499 (new Mustang convertible)	$15,988 (new Taurus)	$32,080 (Explorer, Eddie Bauer edition)
$1–$1.50	$1.25	$3–$9	$10–$30	$10–$60	$26.50–$99.50
$249.95	$288.88	$348	$429.99–$699	$449.97–$1,999	$399–$1,449
$59.95–$72.96	$399–$599	$895 (6 piece)	$697–$1,267 (4 piece)	$2,799 (7 piece)	$1,500–$2,199
$129	$198.99–$299 (2 piece)	$488–$855 (3 piece)	$1,300	$499–$1,999 (3 piece)	$999–$3,199

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Appendix: Classroom Resources

This section includes an assortment of ideas for teachers and others who wish to use *American Pop* in classroom assignments. Each activity has two versions: one for the teacher and one for the student.

Advertising Messages and Stereotypes

FOR TEACHERS

ESSENTIAL QUESTION

How do today's ads use stereotypes in order to sell products to consumers?

OBJECTIVES

- Students will identify persuasive advertising techniques.
- Students will analyze how stereotypes are presented by popular advertisements.
- Students will debate about the appropriateness of advertisements.

RATIONALE

Students see so many advertisements daily that they *almost* believe they have tuned them out, until you ask them to name products they've seen advertised recently, and suddenly, they can list enough to fill a page. Although it's obvious to students that advertising has a persuasive purpose, it's only upon investigation that students can really analyze the messages advertisements send by portraying (or not portraying) people in specific ways. This lesson allows students to explore advertisements in the media both historically and today.

DISCIPLINE

This lesson could be used to study media literacy in multiple courses, including American history (modern history), government/citizenship, sociology, journalism/media studies, and/or English Language arts (to study persuasion).

STANDARDS

- Students will plan and present an oral presentation that demonstrates appropriate consideration of audience, purpose, and the information to be conveyed.
- Students will identify, analyze, and apply knowledge of the conventions, elements, and techniques of advertising and provide evidence from the works (print and/or broadcast ads) to support their understanding.

PACING

Project should take 2 to 3 days or 4 to 5 days if it includes Activity Extension.

LESSON

Activity 1 (Lesson Introduction)

Students should work with a partner. In a 10-minute timed session, ask students to generate (with their partners) a list of as many advertisements as they can remember, describing the product, the ad itself, and any messages the ad seemed to send about the product.

Activity 2: Studying ads by time period

Students will work in pairs or groups (depending on class size) to investigate a decade of American history and its advertising techniques and the productions advertised. After reading the advertising chapters from *American Pop* about the decade, students should fill out the Student Worksheet to synthesize ideas about their decade's advertising.

- Team 1: 1900s
- Team 2: 1910s
- Team 3: 1920s
- Team 4: 1930s
- Team 5: 1940s
- Team 6: 1950s
- Team 7: 1960s
- Team 8: 1970s
- Team 9: 1980s
- Team 10: 1990s
- Team 11: 2000s

Students may also bring in magazines and/or newspapers they read or have at home (assuming they are appropriate for school). The activity can also be extended by finding examples of real ads from the time period, through public or school library collections of old newspapers and magazines. Working in groups, students will select ads to evaluate based on the criteria on the Student Worksheet.

Activity 3

Divide students into teams for a debate. Although many aspects of advertising can be brought up by students during the debate, all arguments should stay focused on the overall question of whether advertising is harmful or not:

- Advertising can be harmful and images used by advertisers contribute to negative stereotyping;

- Advertising is not harmful, but it is instead a tool used by companies to sell products.

Activity Extension

Students should watch one or two hours of their favorite network or basic cable channel (because those two have commercials) and analyze the advertisements. Students should write a short paper on their findings, using the prompt on the Student Worksheet.

Assessment

Suggested Weighting

Partner-based advertising and class discussion (Activity 1), 10 points; Group advertising evaluation activity (Activity 2), 30 points; Debate (Activity 3), 20 points; Paper analyzing television ads (Activity Extension), 30 points.

Rubric: General Performance Scoring Rubric

Rubric: Debate Rubric

STUDENT WORKSHEET

Name_____

LESSON TITLE: STUDYING ADVERTISING MESSAGES AND STEREOTYPES

Mission

Advertising is an essential component of revenue for newspapers and magazines. However, very often, the people depicted in advertisements do *not* look like the average American, and the products themselves are not nearly as attractive in real life as they appear in the advertising. We *know* this, yet we still buy products. What messages do ads really send if we study them critically? This activity will help you investigate ads and will prepare you for a debate about whether ads are harmful or not.

For homework, read the advertising chapters from American Pop, from the 1900s through the 2000s. [Your teacher may also ask you to research old ads in newspapers or magazines available in digital or hard copy at libraries.] If possible, try to find different types of magazines. You will break into groups to study the advertisements and report on them as follows:

Students will work in pairs or groups (depending on class size) to investigate a decade of American history and its advertising icons. After reading the advertising chapters from *American Pop* about the decade, students should fill out the Student Worksheet to synthesize ideas about their decade's advertising. [Note: this assignment could also be made by groups of decades, by volumes of *American Pop;* thus, volume 1, 1900s–1920s; volume 2, 1930s–1950s; volume 3, 1960s–1980s; and volume 4, 1990s–2000s.]

- Team 1: 1900s
- Team 2: 1910s
- Team 3: 1920s
- Team 4: 1930s
- Team 5: 1940s
- Team 6: 1950s
- Team 7: 1960s
- Team 8: 1970s
- Team 9: 1980s
- Team 10: 1990s
- Team 11: 2000s

1. As a group, study the collection of advertisements you have obtained. What are the most interesting ads you have? Choose a few and explain them below. Why did you select them?

2. Some ads appeal to a particular group, such as women, men, mothers, or children. Find an example of an advertisement that appeals to a particular group. Describe the ad and then explain why you think it's meant to reach a particular age group.

3. Whether purposeful or not, many ads send messages about men and women. Find indications in advertisements that seem to display a female stereotype. How do they express this stereotype? For whom do you think the ads are designed and why?

4. Find an advertisement that seems to display another stereotype. How does it express this stereotype? For whom do you think the ad is designed for and why?

5. As a group, look for ways that the ads reflect the culture and history of the time. For example, how do the ads of the 1920s differ from the ads of the 1930s? What qualities of life do the ads appeal to: order, cleanliness, prejudice, excitement, freedom, security, fun, success, status, etcetera?

Now get ready for the next part of this lesson: a debate about advertising. Prepare for a debate by reading the instructions below and answering the three questions that follow.

Order of Today's Debate

Round 1: Each group will have 1 minute to present its findings in a planned speech to the class.

Round 2: Each group will have 30 seconds to give an impromptu response back to the opposing viewpoint. While this isn't fully planned ahead of time, you will jot down potential notes to use (see the worksheet below).

Choose one of these two opinions:

A. Advertising can be harmful and images used by advertisers contribute to negative stereotyping;
B. Advertising is not harmful instead a tool used by companies to sell products.

1. What is your group's topic and opinion about the topic?

2. As a group, brainstorm ideas about why your group's opinion is correct. What casual evidence (evidence from the ads you saw today or ads in general) helps you defend your topic?

3. As a group, prepare how you will refute your opponents' argument about advertising? What evidence or examples might make their argument weak?

Activity Extension

For homework, turn your attention to television advertisements. Choose a TV show that you watch or your family watches regularly and carefully observe the ads that appear during the show. Write a short paper (1–2 pages) describing and analyzing the television ads in the show. Think about the following:

- What was the primary demographic (e.g., age group, gender group, etc.) the ads aimed at? Why do you think so?

- How did the ads depict men and women? What stereotypes about men or women did the ads seem to perpetuate? How?

- What messages did the ads send about some of the following: Age? Popularity? Success? Family?

Check:

a. Did you fully respond to all the questions about your group's advertisements?

b. Did you choose a topic for the debate and come up with logical evidence to defend your group's position?

c. Did you find reasons to explain why your opponents' arguments might not be well thought-out or accurate?

d. In the extension activity, is your paper supported by details of the advertisements you saw on your selected television show?

Advertising Products and Slogans: Images That Represent America

FOR TEACHERS

ESSENTIAL QUESTION

What do products and their advertisements teach us about America?

OBJECTIVES

- Students will identify key products and slogans from the past century.
- Students will analyze how iconic products help represent the time period when they were created.
- Students will identify and analyze their own "key products and slogans" of modern-day America and present their findings to the class in an analytical paper and class project.

RATIONALE

Some teenagers admit they go to the movies just for the previews. Many Americans watch the Super Bowl for the advertisements. On *Jeopardy,* most students would do better on "Advertising Slogans" than on "Famous Quotes from Literature." Studying historical advertising helps students understand more about America at the time when the ads were made, and studying advertising today helps students reflect on our country's priorities. This project helps students study the past and present through the advertising icons that pervade our lives.

DISCIPLINE

This lesson could be used to study media literacy in such courses as American history (modern history), government/citizenship, journalism/media studies, and English language arts.

STANDARDS

- Students will organize, write, and successfully use standard English conventions.
- Students will identify and comprehend the main ideas of a work of nonfiction and use the main ideas to form an understanding of an historical event or time period.
- Students will deepen their understanding of an advertisement or advertising icon by studying its historical context and making connections between the advertisement and the events that were occurring at the time it was created.
- Students will plan and present an oral presentation that demonstrates appropriate consideration of audience, purpose, and the information to be conveyed.

PACING

Project should take 3 to 4 days or 5 to 6 days if it includes Activity Extension.

LESSON

Activity 1 (Lesson Introduction)

Students will write a 1-page journal entry answering the following questions: How has advertising affected you? What products do you currently have on you (e.g., iPod, Nike shoes, etc.) that you've seen advertising for? What products have you tried just because of advertising? What's your favorite ad on television and why? What's the importance of advertising in your life? After writing in their journals (about 10 minutes), students should talk about their answers in a class discussion.

Activity 2

Students will work in pairs or groups (depending on class size) to investigate a decade of American history and its advertising icons. After reading the research from the advertising chapters about the decade, students should fill out the Student Worksheet to synthesize ideas about their decade's advertising. The source material for students to study will be the advertising chapters below from *American Pop.*

- Team 1: 1900s
- Team 2: 1910s
- Team 3: 1920s
- Team 4: 1930s
- Team 5: 1940s
- Team 6: 1950s
- Team 7: 1960s
- Team 8: 1970s
- Team 9: 1980s
- Team 10: 1990s

Note: Students may opt for the 2000s in an activity extension, below.

Activity 3

After completing the Student Worksheet, students (working in pairs or groups) should make an informational poster for a presentation about the decade's main advertising components. They can sketch products discussed or find photos online or from their research and write key concepts on their poster. Give students time (at least 1 day) to create their poster and determine how they're going to teach the class about their assigned decade. The Student Worksheet will guide students. Groups will then present their illustrated poster to the class and discuss their assigned decade.

Activity Extension—Icons and Products of the 2000s

After students finish presenting the major advertising icons of the 1900s–1990s, they'll now create a project (paper, illustrated poster, or PowerPoint project) to examine advertising icons of the 2000s. Students should work on this independently at home. If students choose to create an illustrated poster or PowerPoint project, they should still turn in a written explanation that analyzes why they chose the icons they did to represent current advertising and what it says about America.

Assessment

Suggested Weighting

Journal response (Activity 1), 10 points; Research worksheet (Activity 2), 20 points; Class presentation (Activity 3), 20 points; Icons and Products of the 2000s (Activity Extension), 30 points.

Rubric: General Performance Scoring Rubric

STUDENT WORKSHEET

Name_____

LESSON TITLE: PRODUCTS AND SLOGANS: ADVERTISING IMAGES THAT REPRESENT AMERICA

Mission

You'll be studying iconic advertising images from a decade that has been assigned to you. By studying the advertising of a decade, you can learn a lot about the country and the time period. Your first step is to research your assigned decade. Read the material from the advertising chapters in *American Pop* and answer the following questions. Then read the directions on the bottom of this page about how to make an illustrated poster to help with your presentation.

1. What decade will you be researching? _____

2. What were the strangest advertising icons for your decade? What made them seem strange? List a few interesting icons and some information about each:

3. Which advertising icons listed for your decade are still used today? Have they changed through time? If so, how? If not, why?

4. As a whole, what statement can you make about your decade based on the advertising from that era? What do think were the country's priorities at that time? What were the hot new products? What does this show about America?

Designing an Illustrated Poster

As a pair (or group) you'll be presenting your decade to the class, using an illustrated poster as your visual aid. Draw or sketch some of the products/icons listed, or find images of these products online. In addition to the collage of products you show on your poster, write key concepts and descriptions of the products. Be ready to explain to the class the images you have selected to highlight.

Activity Extension—Icons and Products of the 2000s

Now that you've studied a decade from the 1900s through the1990s, it's time to study America today. Working by yourself, you'll now create a project (paper, illustrated poster, or PowerPoint project) to show advertising icons of the 2000s. What does it mean to be an icon today? What products are the most iconic or have the most recognized logos, and what types of consumers do they appeal to? Are these icons all positive? Possible ideas for your project include:

- An illustrated poster
- A PowerPoint presentation

- A collage
- No matter what format your project takes, you also need to turn in a 1-page written explanation that analyzes why you chose the icons you did, how they represent current advertising, and what they show us about America.

Check:

- Did you fully complete the questions about the advertising icons of the decade you were assigned or chose?

- Did you construct an illustrated poster and then label or explain these illustrations to the class?

- Did you complete a project on your own (in the Activity Extension) about the advertising icons of today?

- Did you write a short analysis paper to accompany your poster or PowerPoint project (in the Activity Extension) that explains your advertising icons?

Film, Music, and Popular Culture Images of the Vietnam War

FOR TEACHERS

ESSENTIAL QUESTION

How does popular culture help tell the story of the Vietnam Era in America?

OBJECTIVES

- Students will analyze how music lyrics help describe and define the Vietnam era.
- Students will investigate how filmmakers have portrayed the Vietnam War.
- Students will use research from *American Pop* to gather information about songs, novels, and films of Vietnam.

RATIONALE

Years ago, many schools avoided the topic of Vietnam in curriculum, but more recently, schools have embraced studying it. One easy way to reach students is to have them study the music of the time period and the more recent films made about the time period. This lesson allows students to study one particular piece of media (a song) about Vietnam and then, working in groups, choose an additional song, film, or novel about Vietnam to research and explore.

DISCIPLINE

This lesson is primarily for an American history or world history course but could be used to study media literacy in multiple courses, including government/citizenship, sociology, journalism/media studies, and/or English Language arts. The lesson also connects well with Vietnam-era novels taught in American literature courses.

STANDARDS

- Students will organize, write, and successfully use standard English conventions in their writing.
- Students will deepen their understanding of an historical event by studying media (songs, film, or photography) of the time period and about the time period.
- Students will gather information from their research, evaluate the quality of the information they obtain, and use it to write a research paper or create a media (Power Point, etc.) presentation.
- Students will identify and analyze the impact of the Vietnam conflict on soldiers and on the home-front.

PACING

Project should take 3 to 4 days or 5 to 6 days if it includes Activity Extension.

LESSON

Activity 1 (Lesson Introduction)

Students will write a 1-page journal entry answering the questions: What comes to mind when thinking of the Vietnam War? Describe what you know of the war from history, films, novels, music, or stories you have heard. How have movies or songs shaped your view of the war? After writing in their journals (about 10 minutes), students should share their answers in class discussion.

Activity 2

In Volume 3 of *American Pop,* students should read the 1960s and 1970s chapters "Overview," "Entertainment," and "Music." Working in groups, students should select a Vietnam-related song, novel, or film to study. Suggestion for possible topics include: *Apocalypse Now; Born on the Fourth of July; The Deer Hunter; Going after Cacciato; The Green Berets; In Country; Platoon; Rambo: First Blood, Part II; The Things They Carried; We Gotta Get Out of This Place;* or *Winners and Losers.* Working in groups, students should analyze their choice of topic and complete the Activity 2 section of the Student Worksheet.

Note: Although widely viewed by students, some films on the Vietnam experience are rated R. Please determine appropriateness of the films for some audiences or check with your school's video policy and/or retain parental authorization before approving student choices of R-rated films.

Activity 3

Students present their choice of topic to the class, explaining what they learned from their research and their own analysis of the piece. If possible, students could play a song, show an appropriate film clip, or read a passage (depending on whether they have chosen a song, film, or novel).

Activity Extension—Photography, Letters, and Poetry of Vietnam

After studying how novels, music, and film depicted Vietnam, students should work in groups to gather research on primary source history of Vietnam. Groups should choose either photography of Vietnam (and the home front), letters from Vietnam War soldiers back home, or poetry of soldiers and nurses serving in the war. Using the library or online research, students should acquire materials and then study the materials, coming up with a presentation (poster, PowerPoint, etc.) that highlights their findings.

Assessment

Suggested Weighting

Journal response (Activity 1), 10 points; Analysis of additional song, novel, or film (Activity 2), 40 points; Class presentation on group's choice of topic (Activity 3), 30 points; Photography, letters, or poetry analysis presentation (Activity Extension), 30 points.

Rubric: General Performance Scoring Rubric
Rubric: Multimedia Performance

STUDENT WORKSHEET

Name_____

LESSON TITLE: FILM, MUSIC, AND POPULAR CULTURE IMAGES OF THE VIETNAM WAR

Mission

It can be overwhelming learning about the complexity of the Vietnam War and its effects at home and abroad, but one easy way to gain insight about the era is to study the music and literature from the time period, as well as recent films about the Vietnam experience. This lesson allows us to study one particular song, film, or novel about Vietnam to research and explore.

Working as a group, choose another song, piece of literature, or film about Vietnam to explore. Suggestions for possible topics include: *Apocalypse Now; Born on the Fourth of July; The Deer Hunter; Going after Cacciato; The Green Berets; In Country; Platoon; Rambo: First Blood, Part II; The Things They Carried; We Gotta Get Out of This Place;* or *Winners and Losers.*

1. What work will your group be studying? _____

Carefully analyze the work. Select the bullet points below that apply to your work and begin analyzing it (after reading it, hearing it, or watching it):

- What does the work show us about soldiers? Explain.

- What does the work show us about Americans back home? Explain.

- What does the work show us about attitudes toward the government? Explain.

- Is the work positive, negative, or both? Explain.

- What are the overall messages or themes of the work?

- What stands out the most … what are the "sound bites" or strongest aspects of the work?

- What information about the time period did you find in *American Pop?*

As a group, discuss and record some thoughts about how to communicate what you learned (including the answers to the bullet points above that are applicable to your work) to the class in a short presentation. Spend time planning your group presentation. Depending on the work selected, see if you can play your song, show a short (appropriate) film clip, or distribute a photocopied passage or two of a book to help the class understand your work and understand your analysis of it.

Activity Extension—Photography, Letters, and Poetry of Vietnam

After studying how novels, music, and films depict Vietnam, now gather (in groups) primary source materials on the history of Vietnam to analyze deeper. Choose photography of the Vietnam War (and the home front), letters home from soldiers in Vietnam, or poetry by soldiers and medical personnel serving in the war. Using the library or online research, gather resources, and then share your findings with your group. As a group, present these findings to your class.

Check:

- Did your group fully analyze the song, film, or literary work about Vietnam that you chose?

- Did you create a presentation that was informative and based on research from *American Pop?*

- Did your presentation show careful analysis of the time period and content of your work (from the bullet points listed above)?

- Did your Activity Extension show careful analysis of the time period and help bring alive to the class the issues facing those living in Vietnam-era America?

Literature Links to Music: Creating a Soundtrack for a Novel

FOR TEACHERS

ESSENTIAL QUESTION

How can creating a soundtrack for a novel help students better understand and convey the characters, events, and themes of the novel?

OBJECTIVES

- Students will analyze a novel's characters, events, and themes.
- Students will choose songs to represent the novel and write a paper explaining their choices.
- Students will design an album/CD cover with an artistic image that reflects the novel.
- Students will present their findings to the class.

RATIONALE

A wonderful way to have students study major aspects of a novel is for them to relate music of today with the novel they have just read. Most of our students listen to diverse types of music, so creating an album for a work they have just read is interesting and meaningful. Whether connecting characters, events, and themes by lyrics or by the type and tone of music, students will gain confidence in reading and interpreting literature and a deeper understanding of the music and words they listen to every day.

DISCIPLINE

This lesson is designed primarily for English or music classes, although any class in which students read literature could use this lesson.

STANDARDS

- Students will organize, write, and successfully use standard English conventions in their writing.
- Students will identify and comprehend the main ideas of a work of nonfiction and use the main ideas to form an understanding of an historical event or time period.
- Students will deepen their understanding of pieces of music (songs) by studying their historical context and making connections between the songs and the events that occur within a novel.
- Students will plan and present an oral presentation that demonstrates appropriate consideration of audience, purpose, and the information to be conveyed.

PACING

Project should take 5 to 6 days (suggested time is for students to complete the project at home, not during class instruction days), with 1 to 2 class share days (for Activity Extension).

LESSON

Activity 1

Give students the Student Worksheet that explains the assignment. Students are to think about the novel they have just read and choose 8 to 10 songs to make up the album soundtrack for the novel. Depending on the era of the novel, students can research the music that was popular during that period and use that music, or current music, to illustrate the novel. If they are not familiar with music from older periods, they may be able to find it at the public or school library or by asking older relatives, neighbors, or friends. Teachers, especially music teachers, may also have some music. *Note: This does not actually mean the students have to CREATE the album—just explain (in words) what the album would include. Some students may not have the ability or technology to make a CD, and the chief value of this assignment is in the explanations of why they'd choose the particular songs. Still, if students wish to make a CD and have the technology to do so, this should be encouraged as it may help to motivate them. Do remind students not to download songs illegally in order to create their album, however.* Students should choose a dozen songs from a variety of artists that convey the characters, events, and themes of the novel. The first step for students is brainstorming about the novel itself and possible songs that would connect to the novel. This is the front side of the Student Worksheet.

Activity 2

After brainstorming, students choose the 8 to 10 songs that they believe most connect to the novel and list these songs (the artist and the song title) on the back of the Student Worksheet. Then they write a paper explaining each of their song choices with a well-argued paragraph. Each paragraph should explain why they chose the song—how it connects to a character, event, or theme of the novel. Students should cite examples of song lyrics or orchestral movements of the music to explain their choices and cite examples from

the novel that seem to match the song. Instead of typing this out and printing it on computer paper, offer students the option of actually making an 8- to 10-page CD booklet, with each page giving the song title and the paragraph explaining why they chose the song.

Activity 3

After choosing the 8 to 10 songs and explaining them in their papers, students should design an album/CD cover (hand-drawn or computer-designed) that creatively conveys the novel as well as the soundtrack choices. This is turned in with the paper that they write. Or, if they have chosen to create the 8- to 10-page CD booklet (see Activity 2), this can serve as the cover for that booklet.

Activity Extension—A Soundtrack Share Day for the Novel

Although students are not required to physically make a CD for this album, one option is to ask students to find and locate at least one 1 of their 8 to 10 songs on the album and bring the song to class (on a CD or cassette, etc.). Each student can play one of their songs (or, if that would take up too much time, a part of the song) from their soundtrack (make sure it is classroom-appropriate). The students in class then can guess why that song was chosen, and the person sharing the song can explain whether or not the class made the correct link to the novel or if there were different reasons the song was chosen.

Assessment

Suggested Weighting

Brainstorming portion of Student Worksheet, 20 points; Paper explaining each of the 8 to 10 song choices, 50 points; Short presentation of one song and explanation (Activity Extension), 20 points.

Rubric: General Performance Scoring Rubric

Rubric: Generic Writing Rubric

STUDENT WORKSHEET

Name_____

LESSON TITLE: LITERATURE LINKS TO MUSIC: CREATING A SOUNDTRACK FOR A NOVEL

Mission

Your goal is to find 8 to 10 songs to make up an album that musically represents a novel you have been reading in class. There are four steps (and a related Activity Extension) that you need to complete in order to do well on this project. Your first step is to brainstorm a list of the key characters, events, and themes of the novel. You will be connecting the music you choose for this project with your novel in three ways. Each song should fit one of three categories:

- Songs that represent characters;
- Songs that represent critical events of the novel;
- Songs that represent important themes of the novel.

For each song, you will write a paragraph explaining why you selected the song. If your song has lyrics, why do the lyrics of the song remind you of the characters, events, or themes of this work? Be specific and use examples from the song. If the song does not have lyrics, how do the musical movements of the song mirror the characters, events, or themes of the novel? Be specific in your explanation. Use your brainstorm lists below to determine your songs and then begin writing your 8 to 10 paragraphs of explanation.

Step 1: Brainstorming

1. Brainstorm about the main characters of the novel:

Character name	Words to describe character	Possible song

2. Brainstorm about the major events of the novel:

Major event	Words to describe this event	Possible song

3. Major themes of the novel:

Theme	Explanation of theme	Possible song

4. Research the music of the era:

Depending on the era of the novel, you can research in *American Pop* within the "Music" chapters for each decade, which include the music that was popular during that period. You may use older music or current music to illustrate the book. If you are not familiar with music from older periods, you may be able to find it at the public library or by asking older relatives, neighbors, or friends if they have the music.

Step 2: Writing

After completing the brainstorming chart above, begin writing your paper explaining each of your song choices with a well-argued paragraph. Each paragraph should explain why you chose the song—how it connects to a character, event, or theme of the

novel. Cite examples of song lyrics or orchestral movements of the music to explain your choices and cite examples from the novel that seem to match the song.

Creative Idea: Instead of typing and printing this out on standard size paper, you can instead actually make an 8- to 10-page CD booklet, with each page showing the song title and featuring a paragraph explaining why you chose the song.

Step 3: Album/CD Cover Design

After choosing the 8 to 10 songs and explaining them in your paper or CD booklet, create artwork (hand-drawn or computer-designed) that creatively conveys the characters, events, and themes of the novel as well as your soundtrack choices. This should be turned in with your paper that analyzes the 8 to 10 songs you've chosen. Or, if you have chosen to create the 8- to 10-page CD booklet (explained in Step 2 above), this artwork can serve as your cover for the booklet.

Activity Extension—A Soundtrack Share Day for the Novel

Find at least one of your songs on the album and bring the song to class (on a CD or cassette, etc.). You will be asked to play one of your songs (or, if that would take up too much time, a part of one of your songs) from your soundtrack (make sure it is classroom-appropriate.) The students in class then must guess why that song was chosen (how it might relate to the characters, events, and/or themes of the novel). You will then share whether or not that is how you explained your song.

Check:

- Did you successfully complete the characters-events-themes brainstorm list as part of generating ideas for how to construct your soundtrack for the novel?

- Did you write 8 to 10 well-explained paragraphs analyzing why you chose each particular song for inclusion in your soundtrack?

- Did you design an effective cover for your album/CD that helps convey the characters, events, and/or themes of the novel?

- Did you choose a song (or a section of a song) to share with the class to help them guess (and then hear from you) how the song relates to the novel?

Music Controversies: A Debate

FOR TEACHERS

ESSENTIAL QUESTION

How do current issues in the music industry affect musicians and music lovers?

OBJECTIVES

- Students will research and understand controversial issues relating to the music industry.
- Students will prepare a short persuasive speech about a topic that interests them.
- Students will analyze how music controversies impact both the industry and the consumer.

RATIONALE

Whether it's using ringtones on a cell phone or their iPods and other MP3 players as they walk through the hallways at school, students use music throughout the day. Music downloading and questions about music censorship are prevalent in their lives and the world around them. This lesson allows students to investigate and then debate issues facing the music industry, allowing the class to gain multiple perspectives on controversial issues.

DISCIPLINE

This lesson could be used to study media literacy in such courses as American history (modern history), government/citizenship, journalism/media studies, and the speech and debating standards of English language arts.

STANDARDS

- Students will organize, write, and successfully use standard English conventions in their writing.
- Students will identify and comprehend the main ideas of a work of nonfiction and use the main ideas to form an understanding of an historical event or time period.
- Students will plan and present an oral presentation that demonstrates appropriate consideration of audience, purpose, and the information to be conveyed.

PACING

Project should take 2 to 3 days or 5 to 6 days (at home, not in class) if it includes Activity Extension.

LESSON

Activity 1 (Lesson Introduction)

Students will write a 1-page journal answering the following questions: "Should people be allowed to download music for free, or is it only fair for artists to charge money for each download? Should the music industry sue people who improperly use file-sharing programs? Why or why not?" After writing their journal entry (about 10 minutes), students should talk about their answers in a class discussion.

Activity 2

Students will work in groups to investigate a controversial issue in the music industry. Six potential groups are listed below. (You could also allow students to create their own topic for debate.) In these groups, students should brainstorm to gather evidence and reasons for their side of the debate and use the Student Worksheet as a guide to stimulate discussion within their groups. Students can use informal evidence based on their own experiences and research.

Suggested source: "Music of the 2000s," volume 4, *American Pop.*

- Group 1: Downloading and file-sharing of music should be legal
- Group 2: Downloading and file-sharing of music should be illegal
- Group 3: Music should be censored, and it's OK if major stores do not sell music with offensive lyrics
- Group 4: Music should not be censored, and major stores should sell all kinds of music, even if the music contains offensive lyrics
- Group 5: MP3 players should be allowed in high schools
- Group 6: MP3 players should be banned in high schools

Activity 3

Each group will present their topic for 1 minute in a debate. The opposing group will then have 1 minute to present their topic, followed by a 30-second rebuttal for each of

the groups. Then the class members who are not in either of the debating groups will vote on a winner between the two opposing groups, based on their various arguments.

Activity Extension—Music Industry in Current Events

After the debate activity, students can continue to follow issues related to the music industry in print news and online news for the following week, with an instructor either requiring a short paper or offering the paper option as extra credit. See Student Worksheet for more information.

Assessment

Suggested Weighting

Journal response (Activity 1), 10 points; Pre-debate worksheet (Activity 2), 20 points; Speech/debate (Activity 3), 40 points; Activity Extension (paper), 20 points.

Rubric: General Performance Scoring Rubric

Rubric: Debate Rubric

STUDENT WORKSHEET

Name_____

LESSON TITLE: MUSIC CONTROVERSIES: A DEBATE!

Mission

Your group will study and take a position on a controversial topic related to the music industry. Another group will argue the opposite opinion. You'll look for different types of evidence to prove your point and help formulate an argument. Then your group will have exactly 1 minute to make your point to the class. After the opposing group has its turn to present, you'll have a chance to make an impromptu reply.

Order of today's debate:

- Round 1: Each group will have 1 minute to present its findings in a planned speech to the class.
- Round 2: Each group will have 30 seconds to make an impromptu response. While this isn't fully planned ahead of time, you'll jot down potential notes to use (see the worksheet below).

1. What is your group's topic and opinion about the topic?

2. As a group, brainstorm ideas supporting why your group's opinion is correct. What casual evidence (evidence from your own experiences or stories you've heard) supports your opinion?

3. Use research from volume 4 of *American Pop* and other sources to support your assigned opinion. What research would support your opinion?

4. Part of any debate is the ability to refute your opponent's argument, and you'll need to do this for the second round of the debate. What do you think is the strongest evidence the opposing group will have about this topic? Brainstorm a way to refute your opponents' evidence in the second round of the debate.

Activity Extension—Music Industry in Current Events

In the week following the debate, track any articles about the music industry that you find in national newspapers and magazines or through research on the Internet. Keep a folder of the articles you find during the week. At the end of the week, use your articles to write a paper (1 to 2 pages) about music in the news. Try to answer the following:

- Did you find any articles on controversies related to music or the music industry? If so, what are they?

- Did you find any articles on technology's impact in the music industry? If so, explain.

- What artists were in the news during the past week?

- What other interesting topics related to music did you read about this week?

Check:

- Did you prepare for your debate by fully answering the questions on the Student Worksheet?

- Did you speak clearly and persuasively during the debate in order to articulate your points and convince your audience?

- Did you create a folder of articles about music in the news (Activity Extension)?

- Did you write a well-argued paper (using examples) that discusses the music industry in current events?

- Did you proofread your paper and check for grammar and punctuation errors?

Sports Controversies: Newspaper Editorial/ Opinion Column

FOR TEACHERS

ESSENTIAL QUESTION

How do sports controversies affect not only sports but society itself?

OBJECTIVES

- Students will study and discuss controversial issues in the world of sports.
- Students will understand how to write a persuasive newspaper column or editorial.
- Students will research information related to their topic in order to formulate an opinion.

RATIONALE

Now more than ever, people love to express their opinions about issues involving sports in America. From callers on sports talk radio discussing gambling to analysts on ESPN arguing about performance enhancing drugs, sports talk revolves around two clear ingredients: being opinionated and knowing your information. In this lesson, students investigate important controversial issues in the world of sports and then write a persuasive opinion based on the evidence they have gathered.

DISCIPLINE

This lesson could be used in English, journalism, modern history, citizenship, or physical education courses.

STANDARDS

- Students will identify and comprehend the main ideas of a work of nonfiction and use the main ideas to form an understanding of the concept.
- Students will organize, write, and successfully use standard English conventions in their writing.
- Students will gather information from their research, evaluate the quality of the information they obtain, and use it to write a persuasive paper that is supported by research.

PACING

Project should take 2 to 3 days or 4 to 5 days if it includes Activity Extension.

LESSON

Activity 1 (Lesson Introduction)

Give students an interesting sports column from a local or national paper that is written about a current event in sports and have them read it to themselves. They will then write a 1-page journal entry answering the following questions: What is the author's main argument in this sports column? What evidence do you feel is the strongest in the column and why? What else do you notice about the author's writing style? Do you agree with the columnist's opinions on this issue? Why or why not? After writing their journal entry (about 10 minutes), students should discuss answers with their peers.

Activity 2

Randomly assign students one of the topics below and have them read the "Sports and Leisure" chapters in each decade. This will take about a day (in class) or can be assigned for homework (depending on how quickly you want to accomplish the lesson). While students are reading, they should take notes on the key facts presented regarding their controversial issue in the sports world.

Read the "Sports and Leisure" chapters, especially concentrating on these topics: 1900s, Ty Cobb; 1910s, the Black Sox scandal; 1920s, Shoeless Joe and the Negro League; 1930s-1960s, racism in sports and protests at the Olympics; 1970s, sexism, (Billie Jean King and Title IX); 1980s, the Olympics boycott and diver Greg Louganis, HIV positive and competing in the 1988 Olympics; 1990s, Mark McGuire and Sammy Sosa alleged cheating; and 2000s, steroids and congressional testimony.

- Group 1: Breaking Down Barriers; topic: racism in sports
- Group 2: Breaking Down Barriers; topic: sexism in sports
- Group 3: Bribery in Sports; topic: Black Sox scandal and more recent instances
- Group 4: Pumping Up; topic: steroids or other performance enhancers and sports

Activity 3

After researching their topics, students should complete the Student Worksheet, which helps them formulate an opinion on their topic, and then write a persuasive

editorial/column about it. Students then briefly discuss what they've written with the class before turning it in.

Activity Extension—Publishing an Opinion on a Sports Issue

Have students research another controversial issue in the world of sports and write another editorial/column. Have them publish this on a school Web site or class blog, if your school has the technology available. If not, encourage students to submit their sports opinion as a letter-to-the-editor of a local or national paper.

Assessment

Suggested Weighting

Journal response (Activity 1), 10 points; Reading notes (Activity 2), 20 points; Sports editorial (Activity 3), 40 points; Publishing an opinion (Activity Extension), 30 points.

Rubric: Newspaper Article Rubric

STUDENT WORKSHEET

Name_____

LESSON TITLE: SPORTS CONTROVERSIES: NEWSPAPER EDITORIAL/ OPINION COLUMN

Mission

You will be writing a persuasive opinion column for a newspaper. Sometimes these are called "editorials," although usually these are written by the editorial board of a newspaper. If you are simply representing yourself, usually a persuasive opinion is called a "column." A good sports column is a miniature persuasive essay, complete with the following elements:

- An interesting lead or "hook" for the reader of your column
- Your clearly stated opinion on a controversial issue
- Clear evidence and examples to support your information
  - Some examples can be factual (proven facts, statistics)
  - Some examples can be emotional (arguments designed to appeal to emotion)

Research the scandals and controversies that have occurred in sports from the 1900s to today. Read the "Sports and Leisure Activities" chapters from *American Pop* and other sources as needed. and consider these topics:

- In the 1900s, the unpopular and racist baseball player, who was, nonetheless, a major star: Ty Cobb.
- Scandal in baseball: the 1910s Black Sox scandal (ending in 1920).
- Racism: the founding of the Negro League in the 1920s due to racism in sports because African Americans were not allowed to play professional team sports until the 1940s; the controversies in the 1960s over Muhammad Ali, Arthur Ashe not being able to enter South Africa, and the protests of medalists Tommie Smith and John Carlos at the 1968 Olympics.
- Olympics and politics: the cold war.
- Sexism in American sports, both professional and amateur. The start of Title IX and Billie Jean King plays Bobby Riggs.
- Controversy at the Olympics: the 1980s Olympics summer games are boycotted by the U.S.; Diver Greg Louganis is HIV positive and his competing in the 1984 Olympics is questioned.
- Steroid use: the suspicion of McGuire and Sosa in the 1990s; steroids in the 2000s and congressional testimony.

1. What topic have you been assigned _____

2. Does your topic have two different sides? Multiple aspects? What are they? Write some detailed notes in the space below. You will use these in your column.

3. What is your opinion on this issue? Formulate a very specific argument detailing your opinion. Write one strongly worded sentence that will be the thesis or main point of your persuasive column.

4. What evidence (facts from your article, anecdotes, or other evidence meant to elicit emotional responses from the reader) will you use in your column to prove your point?

After completing question 4, you are ready to write your editorial.

Remember, when you write your editorial/column, you will be judged on:

- How thoroughly you discussed the topic;
- How clear your persuasive argument was;
- How many examples and how much evidence you used to thoroughly prove your point (evidence should be from the article you read);
- How effective your writing style was in your paper (which includes your ability to organize your editorial, make it clear to the reader, and use proper grammar and punctuation). See the Newspaper Article Rubric before you begin to write your editorial/column.

Activity Extension—Publishing an Opinion on a Sports Issue

Although for your most recent assignment you were assigned a controversial topic in the sports world, now is your chance to become a sports columnist or blogger and have complete control of what you write. Choose another controversial issue in the world of sports and write a persuasive column about that topic (based on your own knowledge and/or any research you wish to conduct). Publish this on a school Web site or class blog (if your school has the technology available) or turn it in as a persuasive column (in printed format) to your teacher. Your persuasive article will be graded with the same criteria as your assigned column.

Check:

- Did you successfully research and take notes on your assigned controversial issue in the world of sports?

- Did you write a well-organized persuasive column that used factual evidence (from the article) and emotional evidence (if applicable) as you made your persuasive point?

- Did you write in an effective style (making clear points to the reader, using proper grammar and punctuation, and powerful persuasive language)?

- Did you choose an issue (for the Activity Extension) of importance to the sports world and write an effective, well-organized, and well-supported persuasive sports column?

Televised Reality: Is Reality Television Real?

FOR TEACHERS

ESSENTIAL QUESTION

If reality television is real, then what does it reveal about America today?

OBJECTIVES

- Students will research how reality television has been criticized for not being real.
- Students will analyze what reality television shows us about society today.
- Students will investigate whether reality television needs to be real or if it serves some other purpose.

RATIONALE

Many stories in the media focus on reality television and its growing place in American society. This lesson allows students to look at source material that explains elements of reality television and discusses charges that some reality television is staged. Students then will have the opportunity to discuss current reality shows and trends and reach conclusions about the genre's validity and purpose.

DISCIPLINE

This lesson could be used to study media literacy in such courses as American history (modern history), psychology, sociology, journalism/media studies, and English language arts.

STANDARDS

- Students will organize, write, and successfully use standard English conventions in their writing.
- Students will identify and comprehend the main ideas of a work of nonfiction and use the main ideas to form an understanding of a concept.
- Students will identify, analyze, and apply knowledge of the conventions, elements, and techniques of television and provide evidence from the works to support their understanding.

PACING

Project should take 1 to 2 days or 5 days (with time at home, but not in class) if it includes Activity Extension.

LESSON

Activity (Lesson Introduction)

Students will write a 1-page journal answering the following questions: Why do Americans love reality television? What is real about reality television and what isn't? What reality television shows do you, or people you know, watch? Why? After writing their journal entries (about 10 minutes), students should talk about their answers in a class discussion.

Activity 2

Working in groups, students will brainstorm about reality programs they have watched in the past few years and record their notes. Each group will present their findings to the class.

Activity Extension—Close Interpretation of a Reality Program

For an additional project, students could choose one current reality television program and watch it at home (on their own), taking notes throughout the show in order to write a paper. Students should focus on how real the program was in their own opinion, citing evidence from throughout the show. In addition, students could explain how people were portrayed and just what the show seemed to reveal about America (e.g., stereotypes, trends, or other topics).

Assessment

Suggested Weighting

Journal response (Activity 1), 10 points; Short group presentation, 20 points; Activity Extension (individual paper analyzing reality program), 30 points.

Rubric: General Performance Scoring Rubric

Rubric: Generic Writing

STUDENT WORKSHEET

Name_____

LESSON TITLE: TELEVISED REALITY: IS REALITY TELEVISION REAL?

Mission

How real is reality television? What do some scholars say about this genre? Today, you'll investigate the role of reality television and the messages it sends to viewers and work in groups as you contemplate the current state of reality television and what it shows us about America. The Activity Extension allows you to focus on one particular reality show and write a careful analysis.

You may wish to read the television section of the "Entertainment" chapter in the 2000s section of volume 4 of *American Pop* from the beginning to the end.

Activity (Lesson Introduction)

Write a 1-page journal answering the following questions: Why do Americans love reality television? What's real about reality television and what isn't? What reality television shows do you, or people you know, watch? Why? Following journal-writing time (about 10 minutes), you should talk about your answers in a class or group discussion. In a group, brainstorm ideas about the current state of reality TV shows and report back to the class.

Activity Extension—Close Interpretation of a Reality Program

Choose one current reality television program and watch it at home (on your own), taking notes throughout in order to write a paper. Write a short paper (1 to 2 pages) analyzing the show. Here are a few issues to consider as you watch:

- How real or staged does this program seem? What examples from this episode seem to make this real? What examples could suggest that parts of this show are produced, staged, or not spontaneous? Explain.

- Are there stereotypes—gender, racial/ethnic, or age—reinforced on the show? Are there specific types of reality contestants? If so, explain.

- Are these average people? How does the cast reflect (or not reflect) the average American? What messages does this show seem to be sending to its audience?

Check:

- Did you fully complete the research questions about reality television?

- Did you brainstorm ideas about the current state of reality television in Part 2 of the Student Worksheet?

- Did you write a well-detailed paper (in the Activity Extension) that analyzes one particular reality show and the messages it sends about America?

- Did you proofread your paper and check for grammar and punctuation errors?

Television and Society: Research, Write, and Present a Television Analysis Project

FOR TEACHERS

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- How has television changed through time?
- How do television shows present similar ideas in different ways?
- What does television today tell us about American culture?

OBJECTIVES

- Students will conduct research about a television topic of their choice.
- Students will compose a research paper analyzing a topic of their choice.
- Students will present their findings to the class in a multimedia presentation.

RATIONALE

If the average teenager today spends more time watching television than completing homework, there is very little a teacher can do to change that habit. Yet, teachers can use this interest in television to help students research and study the genre of television, with students becoming experts on some phase of television, past or present. This lesson provides a framework for students to become the teachers, by choosing, exploring, and presenting a television-related research project. By the end of the class presentation days, students will have heard a mix of different projects that thoroughly investigate the genre of television.

DISCIPLINE

Although primarily designed for a journalism or media studies classroom, this lesson could be used to study media literacy in multiple courses, including American

history (modern history), government/citizenship, sociology, or English Language arts, as the core component involves writing a research paper.

STANDARDS

- Students will identify, analyze, and apply knowledge of the conventions, elements, and techniques of television and provide evidence from the works to support their understanding.
- Students will gather information from their research, evaluate the quality of the information they obtain, and use it to write an organized research paper.
- Students will organize, write, and successfully use standard English conventions in their writing.
- Students will plan and give an oral presentation that demonstrates appropriate consideration of audience, purpose, and the information to be conveyed.

PACING

Activity 1 (journal writing and sharing with class) will take one day. The paper should take about a week (depending on whether your class will research in or out of school) to research and write. The Activity Extension is designed to take 2 to 3 days in class.

LESSON

Activity 1 (Lesson Introduction)

Students will write a 1-page journal entry answering the following questions: What type of television shows are your favorites and why? What is the best television show you have ever seen? Do you have a "guilty pleasure" television show? Why do you enjoy it and why do you think you should not like it? What is your favorite television show and why? What interests you most about television? After writing in their journals (about 10 minutes), students should share their answers in a class discussion.

Activity 2

Each student will choose a topic related to television for a research project and class presentation. Projects may focus on issues that interest the student but should fall into one of the following categories:

- **Project Choice A: Genre Study:** Students analyze the current state of the television drama, television sitcoms, television animated programs, or television reality shows.
- **Project Choice B: Historical Approach:** Students study how television has changed over a period of time by narrowing the topic. (Example: how police shows have changed from *Dragnet* to *CSI* or how women in sitcoms have changed from *I Love Lucy* to *The New Adventures of Old Christine* or another current program.) The "Overview" and "Entertainment" chapters from the 1940s through the 2000s in *American Pop* should help illuminate issues of the day.

- **Project Choice C: Comparative Approach:** Students study two or more shows that present a different view of the same theme. (Example: the role of family in *Friday Night Lights* vs. *Heroes,* or the medical drama in *ER* vs. *Grey's Anatomy,* or even a comparison of *America's Top Chef* versus *Hell's Kitchen.* Other shows can be substituted.)

Note: The Student Worksheet for this lesson gives students a detailed explanation of how to research, write, and present this project. Students should be given time in and/or out of the classroom (at the instructor's discretion) to plan, library/computer lab time to research, and time to write the paper.

Activity 3

After choosing a topic, students should spend time researching their topic using resources in the school library, public library, and online. They should also spend time (as part of their research) finding and viewing TV shows that are related to their topic and choose a 5-minute clip from the TV show(s) to help highlight the findings of their paper. Instructors may want to pre-approve these clips to make sure they are classroom-appropriate. Students should complete the paper following the format outlined on the Student Worksheet. The "Entertainment" chapters from the 1940s through the 2000s in *American Pop* are good starting points for research.

Activity 4

On the day that their research paper is due, each student will briefly present his or her findings to the class, quickly summarizing the topic and presenting a 5-minute (or shorter) TV clip to the class that highlights his/her findings. In large classes, you might wish to schedule film presentations over a 2- or 3-day period in order to have enough time for all students to present.

Activity Extension

After learning so much about television, students now have their turn at becoming producers. Place students into groups of 5 or 6, with each group choosing a television show type (game show, sitcom, talk show, reality show, drama, etc.) to write and produce a 10-minute segment. Students should have 2 to 3 days in class to work on writing and rehearsing their show and then one day to perform their show for the class. Note: Some instructors may prefer to have students film their show on their own as homework.

Assessment

Suggested Weight

Research paper, 100 points; Class presentation with media/film clip, 40 points; Activity Extension, 40 points.

Rubric: Research Report

Rubric: General Performance Scoring Rubric

STUDENT WORKSHEET

Name_____

LESSON TITLE: TELEVISION AND SOCIETY: RESEARCH, WRITE, AND PRESENT A TELEVISION ANALYSIS PROJECT

Mission

You will pick a topic to study for a TV and society paper. This is an individual research paper that will include an in-depth paper, a class presentation, and a multimedia film clip.

Your project should be about television and include an in-depth study of television. Choose one of these patterns as the focus of your paper:

- **Project Choice A: Genre Study:** Analyze the current state of the television drama, television sitcoms, television animated programs, or television reality shows. Choose the genre that most interests you and find currently airing shows (not just reruns) to research and study within your genre.
- **Project Choice B: Historical Approach:** Study how television has changed over a period of time by narrowing down your topic. (Example: How police shows have changed from *Dragnet* to *CSI* or how women in sitcoms have changed from *I Love Lucy* to *The New Adventures of Old Christine.*)
- **Project Choice C: Comparative Approach:** Study two or more shows that present a different view of the same theme. (Example: the role of family in *Friday Night Lights* vs. *Heroes,* or the medical drama in *House* vs. *Grey's Anatomy,* or even a comparison of *America's Top Chef* versus *Hell's Kitchen.*)

Media Clip Requirement: You *must* use at least one media clip in your presentation: a VHS taped television show or a DVD of a television show (see back of this worksheet for more details). If you have difficulty obtaining a television clip, ask your teacher or see if you can make a visual aid (poster presentation, etc.) instead of using a clip.

Instructions for Creating Your Paper and Presentation

Introduction: (½ page)

In your introduction, explain your concept/idea (for example, the portrayal of women in television dramas today) and explain why you chose the topic, why it is worth studying, and any other background about the topic you feel is important.

Part I: Research (includes Internet and article research) (1 ½ to 2 pages)

Discuss the history of your topic and the historical background. This is where you use your notes on the history of the show(s), information about the shows' casts, writers, etcetera. What did critics say about the movies or genres you are studying? Use your Internet research, magazine articles, and journal articles, and explain what the show is like, what people have written about it, how it relates to your topic, and so on.

Part II: Analysis (3 to 4 pages)

After discussing the research you found, analyze your topic. In roughly 3 pages, write your own section of this paper where you explain what you discovered about your topic,

why the TV shows you chose are important in investigating your topic, and what your shows highlight about America. Remember, this project is called "television and society," so in this section of the paper, explain what these shows suggest about American viewers. What messages do the shows' writers/producers send to us? Do they reinforce existing stereotypes or create new stereotypes? Do they entertain? Inform? Persuade? This analysis section will be very different, depending on the topic you chose. For example, if you are writing about the role of television animation and how it has changed over time, this section will include research of when different animated shows aired and what they were like. You would also include your analysis of how animation has changed. If your topic is comparative, such as the portrayal of two different medical shows currently on TV, your section here will focus on a case-by-case comparison/contrast of differences you see in how these two shows use their setting to create TV drama. Because research is still required, you would find facts about the shows to add to your paper.

Brief Conclusion (½ to 1 page)

Provide a quick summary of your findings and explain any last thoughts you have about your topic. Your conclusion should also serve as a short reflection: what did you like or not like about the project, what was most interesting to you, what surprised you, what frustrated you, and so on. What did you learn about film from this project?

Works-Cited Page

Add a works-cited page where you list (alphabetically) your sources of your research, using an appropriate style, as explained by your instructor.

Media Clip Requirement

Remember that you must have a TV clip or visual aid when you present your paper to the class. Please have your clip cued (if it is a VCR tape) or memorize exactly where it is on a DVD. Your clip must be pre-approved by your instructor and should not be any longer than 5 minutes. If you'd like to show two quick film clips (from different TV shows), this is possible as long as the clips do not add up to more than 5 minutes. The clip should reinforce a major point you make in your paper. Make sure you have a sound reason for showing the clip you choose.

Check:

- Did you follow the step-by-step directions for the organization of your research paper?
- Did your paper contain both research and your own analysis of television?
- Did you properly cite your research according to the rules given by your teacher?
- Did you proofread your paper and check for grammar and punctuation errors?
- Did you prepare a short TV clip or visual aid to show to the class for your presentation?

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See also the Resource Guide at the end of of each volume for more suggestions of print resources, Web sites, and videos for further research.

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